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## **Tall Al-Ḥamīdiya 2: Symposion: Recent Excavations in the upper Khabur Region**

Eichler, Seyyare ; Wäfler, Markus ; Warburton, David

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EICHLER/WÄFLER  
TALL AL-ḤAMĪDĪYA 2



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SEYYARE EICHLER / MARKUS WÄFLER  
DAVID WARBURTON

# TALL AL-ḤAMĪDĪYA 2

Symposion

RECENT EXCAVATIONS  
IN THE UPPER KHABUR REGION

Berne, December 9–11, 1986

with contributions by

A. Bounni, G. Buccellati, D. Charpin, M. Kelly-Buccellati, D.J.W. Meijer, D. Oates,  
J. Oates, P.E. Pecorella, A. de Pury, M. Wäfler, H. Weiss, R.M. Whiting

VORBERICHT 1985–1987

mit Beiträgen von  
C. Bellmann und K. Deller

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ  
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1990

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(برن في ٩-١١ ديسمبر سنة ١٩٨٦)
- ١١ "التنقيب عن الآثار في تل الحميدية" بروفيسور دكتور ماركوس فيفلر  
جامعة برن - سويسرا

## PREFACE

Stating explicitly what was implied in the first volume of this series, the results of the Summer campaign of 1984 permitted only a single persuasive interpretation, establishing that the citadel on the northern border of the acropolis consisted of an unusually well preserved series of terraced structures, all of which belonged to a single unit.

In the ensuing years, 1985-1987, we were able to carry out two campaigns there each year, thanks to the assistance and cooperation of various authorities, institutions, associations and people.

Our gratitude is thus due to:

In Syria:

- H.E. the Governor in Haseke, Mr. M.M. Miro
- H.E. the Swiss Ambassador in Damascus, Mr. P. Barra
- the General Direction of Antiquities and Museums of the Syrian Arab Republic in Damascus, above all, the General Director, Prof. A. Bahnassi, the Director of Excavations in Syria, Dr. A. Bounni, as well as Mr. J.S. Lazar, Director of the Department of Antiquities in Haseke, and our Representative at Tell Hamidi
- the *mudir al-nāḥiya* in Tell Brak
- the members of the Department of Antiquities in Haseke, Mrs. Naja and Mssrs. I. Nanu and Suliman
- Mr. M. Muslim of the National Museum in Aleppo
- Mr. A. Houary, Calligrapher, Aleppo
- the denizens of the village at Tell Hamidi and the workers from the surrounding villages

## In the Federal Republic of Germany:

- the University of Constance, above all, the Rector, Prof. H. Sund and the Chancellor, Mr. G. Schlensag
- the *Freunde und Förderer der Universität Konstanz*
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- Mr. Ch. Eichler, Photographer, Munich
- Mr. C. Bellmann, Architect, Munich
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- Prof. D. Willers, Berne
- the members of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and Languages of the University of Berne, Ms. S. Sotoudeh and the photographer, Mr. J. Zbinden
- and last, but not least, the Managing Editor, Mr. G. van Dok

## INTRODUCTION

Excavations cannot take place in isolation as they only acquire significance in context. Thus the greater part of the first volume was devoted to the setting: a survey of previous archaeological research, a summary of the history, and a note on the historical geography of the Khabur Triangle.

Neglected for a long time, recent years have seen this region transformed into a centre of archaeological activity in Syria: the resumption – after an interval of several decades – of the excavations at Tell Brak was thus both a turning point and a new beginning.

As it is our intention that each Preliminary Report should contribute to the cultural history of that region in which the city whose ruins are today represented by Tell Hamidi played its part, it was only logical that the introduction to earlier archaeological work in the first volume should be followed by a more comprehensive account of the current excavations and recently completed surveys there.

The Symposium at Berne was an opportunity which brought together everyone directly involved in field work in the Khabur Triangle for lectures and discussions devoted to excavations as well as inquiries dealing with historical and topographical problems.

As we are able to provide this review of a decade's field work in the Khabur Triangle, we are happy to express our thanks to the participants who made this event possible: A. Bounni, G. Buccellati, D. Charpin, M. Kelly-Buccellati, D.J.W. Meijer, D. Oates, J. Oates, P.E. Pecorella, A. de Pury, H. Weiss and R.M. Whiting.

The first part of this Preliminary Report presents the lectures – enriched with the fruits of the informal discussions – while the second part is devoted to the excavation at Tell Hamidi. This latter is again a mere presentation of the material, not an analysis – and certainly not that of the pottery or the wide-reaching chronological problems associated with it. Pottery forms have been recorded as in the first volume. While work on the pottery catalogue has been provisionally suspended, we are withholding judgement regarding the interpretation and dating of the material presented there, as traditional theories are often based on conventional ideas supported by circular reasoning, gaining weight and validity by repetition. One of the goals of the excavation at Tell Hamidi is to properly identify the local pottery sequence based on excavated material, in such a fashion that this is readily comprehensible, meaning that several more campaigns will be necessary and that these will be dominated by

- recording the pottery in the destruction level in the squares adjacent to 41/37; this will be dealt with primarily in terms of fragmentation analysis, the basis of any statistical approach;
- recording of the pottery found *in situ* at points which can be precisely located and dated within the area of the palace – which is the point of departure for any chronological discussion.

Only on this basis will it be possible to arrive at a solution to the problems associated with the identification of significant types and their respective importance.

SYMPOSION

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN THE UPPER KHABUR REGION

BERNE, DECEMBER 9-11, 1986





## INTRODUCTION

Albert de Pury - Geneva

Ladies and Gentlemen, my dear colleagues,

Unfortunately, the little knowledge of Akkadian that I once had is now long gone, and I do not know a word of Sumerian or Hurrian. But, since Syria is the object of your work and research, allow me to address you with a few words of Arabic.

سيداتى سادتى ، زملائى الاعزاء ،

انه لمن دواعى الفخر و السرور أن أرحب بكم فى هذه الندوة حول الحفريات الخاصة بمنطقة الخابور العليا فى سوريا .

أتيت من كل صوب و حذب ، من سوريا و هولندة و ايطاليا و فرنسا و المانيا و انجلترا و الولايات المتحدة لتقارنوا ابحاثكم و تساؤلأتكم حول تلك الحقبة من تاريخ هذه المنطقة الخصبة القديم لبلاد ما بين النهرين العليا و الذى خصتم له وقتا و جهدا كبيرين و الذى تعلقتم به و احببتموه كثيرا .

و قد يبدو لكثير من الناس ان ندوتكم هذه ليست بالضرورة التى تتسم بها الندوات الدولية الاخرى المنعقدة على الاراضى السويسرية كندوات نزع السلاح و الاهتمام بالبيئة و حقوق الانسان و الواقع ان من يسعى اهمية التراث الثقافى فان سوريا سواء القديمة او الحديثة لا يمكن ان تواجه باللامبالاة بل بالعكس هى قريبة من قلوبنا .

باسم المؤسسة السويسرية لدراسة الشرق الاوسط القديم  
 اشكركم لما بذلتموه من وقت و جهد لتاتوا الى بيرن، كما ارجو  
 لكم نجاحا مثمرا في ندوتكم هذه، والسلام.

It is a privilege and a great pleasure for me to welcome you to this symposium concerned with recent excavations in the Upper Khabur Region of The Syrian Arab Republic. Coming from Syria, Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and even from the United States, you are here to confront and discuss your findings, hypotheses and questions about the early history of this fertile region of Upper Mesopotamia in which you have all invested so much time and effort, and which you have learned to know so intimately, and to love. In the eyes of many people, your conference may not share the urgency claimed by other international conferences convening on Swiss territory - concerned with disarmament, ecology and human rights. Yet, for anyone conscious of our cultural heritage, Syria - ancient or modern - will never leave us indifferent, and always remain close to our hearts.

First of all, I wish to thank those colleagues who have taken the time and trouble to come to Berne in order to present their research for this symposium. It is, however, also my duty to express my sincerest thanks to the Swiss National Science Foundation and the Swiss Academy of Humanities. Both these institutions, with substantial grants, have helped to make this meeting possible.

Last, but not least, we all have to thank Prof. Markus Wäfler - the initiator and soul of this get-together - for having conceived and realized the idea of an international symposium bringing together all of the scholars currently engaged in archaeological work in the yet little explored Upper Khabur Region. As you know, Markus Wäfler spends all of his free time, from the very first to the very last day, at his cherished Tell Hamidi. Yet he has found the time and the means to organize an impressive international gathering here in Berne. It is thanks to his relentless energy and his basic enthusiasm that all the obstacles have been overcome, and that we are thus assembled here this morning.

The aim of your symposium is first and foremost for you, the archaeologists and epigraphers, to be able to discuss your excavations and the results of your research. But, I am sure that your lectures and discussions will also be of interest to specialists from neighboring fields, and for historians in general. The imagination of Biblical Scholars may be particularly inspired, since the ancient Israelites claimed that their ancestors had come to Palestine from Aram Naharaim, which might very well correspond to the region situated between the Euphrates and the Khabur.

It is now time that voices more authoritative than mine be heard. In the name of the Swiss Society for the Study of the Ancient Near East, I wish you a very interesting and fruitful colloquium.

THE KHABUR AND HASEKE DAM PROJECTS  
AND THE PROTECTION OF THREATENED ANTIQUITIES IN THE REGION  
(A Preliminary Report)

Adnan Bounni - Damascus

THE PROJECT AND THE STAGES OF ITS EXECUTION

The Khabur Project is intended to support the development of Northeastern Syria. When finished, two billion m<sup>3</sup> of water will be available for the irrigation of 150'000 ha of arable land between Ras al-'Ain and aş-Şuar on the Euphrates. Along with other installations, it is envisaged that three dams (Fig. 1) will be built: the Khabur Dam, the Haseke-West Dam, and the Haseke-East Dam.<sup>1</sup>

These will cover three zones:

- Zone 1: between the sources at Ras al-'Ain and the Haseke-East Dam. The water of the Khabur itself will be used. An off-take of water at Ras al-'Ain will be combined with two principal irrigation canals and a siphon. Theoretically, the work should be finished in 1988.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Bulgarian firm AGROVODCOMPLECT is responsible for the research, planning and execution of the project, to be carried out with the cooperation of the Direction de la Réforme Agraire in the Ministère de l'Irrigation. The cost has been estimated at 5 billion L.S. (1980).

- Zone 2: this will consist of the Haseke-West Dam (92 million m<sup>3</sup>), the Haseke-East Dam (232 million m<sup>3</sup>), a hydro-electric plant, a pumping-station and an irrigation canal. This stage should be completed in 1990.
- Zone 3: this zone is that of the Khabur Dam below Haseke (665 million m<sup>3</sup>) with its hydro-electric plant, several pumping-stations and a series of canals. Work in this zone can only begin in 1990.<sup>2</sup> The lake which will be located to the North of this dam - at an altitude of more than 300 m above M.S.L. - will have an average width of 5 km, by a length of 35 km.

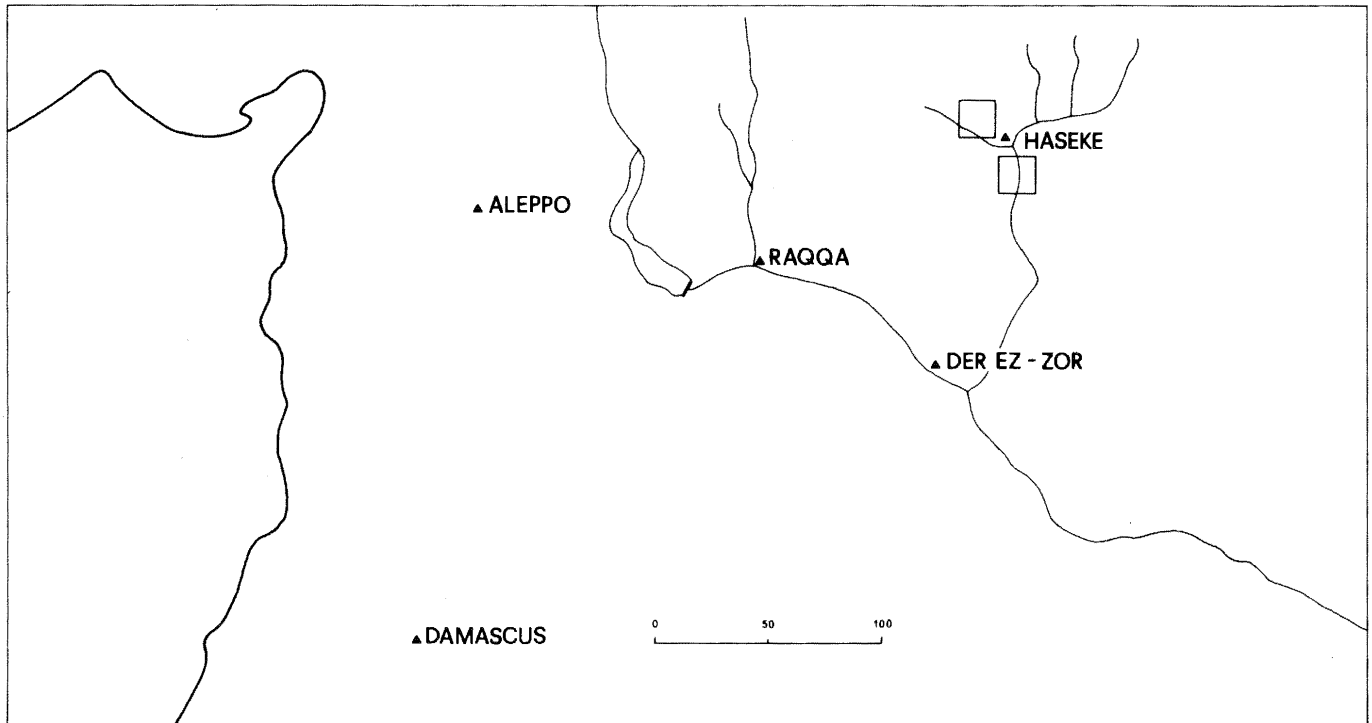


Fig. 1: The Location of the Projected Dams

## THE THREATENED ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

### THE KHABUR LAKE TO THE SOUTH OF HASEKE

The *appel pour la sauvegarde* (1983) mentioned that a good thirty tells were in danger (Fig. 2). This remains valid until work currently under way in the region leads to the discovery of other important remains (sites, canal stations, dikes, roads, etc.). The success of

<sup>2</sup> Contrary to the announcement in the *appel international* (1983).

the *campagne de sauvegarde* (eleven missions are already at work<sup>3</sup>) and the time available to us (seven or eight years) will contribute to a comprehensive view of this sector of the Khabur Valley in antiquity.

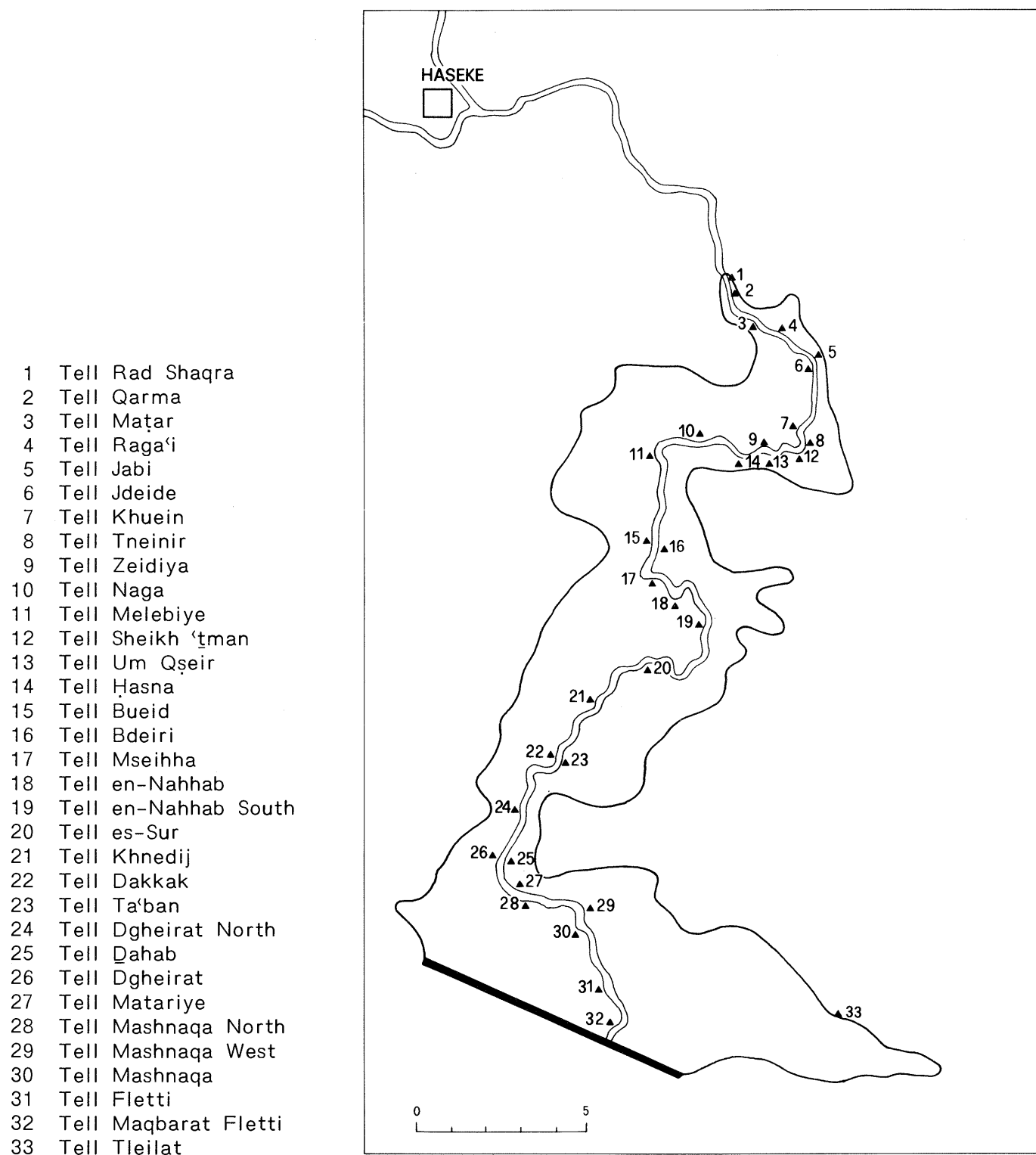


Fig.2: The Khabur Dam: The Tells Destined to be Submerged

<sup>3</sup> See the list at the end of this article.

Most of the tells in this area were already recognized by the TAVO survey conducted in the whole Khabur Valley by Mssrs. W. Röhlig and H. Kühne.<sup>4</sup> J.-Y. Monchambert led another survey in the same sector in 1983.<sup>5</sup> This was followed by the archaeological survey which we led in April 1984, with Mssrs. S. Muheisen, A. Soleiman, J. Lazar, M. Maqdissi, and A. al-Qaiem.<sup>6</sup> There is no point in repeating here what has already been published about these surveys.

Apart from some differences regarding place-names and other small details, there is general agreement concerning the number of threatened sites, their ages and their relative importance. The sites currently being excavated in this sector (Melebiye, Mashnaqa, Bdeiri, Qarma, Jabi, Raga'i, Um Qseir, etc.) have brought results very germane to this symposium and are still furnishing valuable information for the entire Khabur Valley, and not just for this short section. The geology and geomorphology of this sector permits us to continue to entertain hope. This part of the valley was formed during the Pleistocene, the Recent Quaternary (alluvial pebbles, gravel, sand, and sandy clays) and the Middle Quaternary (alluvial pebbles, conglomerates and sand).<sup>7</sup> South of Haseke the Khabur has three distinct fluvial terraces:

- The upper terrace (Jrebiat)<sup>8</sup> lies at about 60 m above the river. Lithic artifacts (cores and flakes) have been found on this terrace. The lack of bifaces indicates that this is not Acheulian. This material is perhaps about 200'000 years old.
- The second terrace (ash-Shir) at about 20 m has revealed an abundant Levelloiso-Moustérien industry; the easternmost of this facies yet found in Syria and the entire Orient, usually attributed to Neanderthal-Man. It could be approximately 70'000 years old.
- On the last and lowest of the three terraces some atypical tools dating to the end of the Palaeolithic have been found, without any traces of the Epipalaeolithic or Neolithic. The absence of Neolithic sites in the river-bed itself is due either to the fact that this was full of water at the time<sup>9</sup> or that these sites lie under the thick alluvial

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<sup>4</sup> H. Kühne, Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Hābūr: Vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung, AfO 25, 1974/1977, pp. 249-255; H. Kühne, Zur historischen Geographie am Unteren Hābūr: Zweiter, vorläufiger Bericht über eine archäologische Geländebegehung, AfO 26, 1978/1979, pp. 181-195.

<sup>5</sup> J.-Y. Monchambert, Le futur lac du Moyen Khabour: Rapport sur la prospection archéologique menée en 1983, Syria 61, 1984, pp. 181-218; J.-Y. Monchambert, Prospection archéologique sur l'emplacement du futur lac du Moyen Khabour: Rapport préliminaire, Akkadica 39, 1984, pp. 1-7.

<sup>6</sup> An unpublished preliminary report was presented at the annual conference (1985) of the *Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées*.

<sup>7</sup> Carte géologique soviétique de la Syrie, Légende Q3 + Q2.

<sup>8</sup> We employ here the local terminology for the Syrian Quaternary.

<sup>9</sup> B. Geyer, J.-Y. Monchambert, Prospection de la moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate: Rapport préliminaire, 1982-1985, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 293-344, esp. pp. 299-300.

levels.<sup>10</sup> Neolithic flint and obsidian tools have been found at sites without their having been assigned to any particular archaeological level. It is only at Tell Ziade that crude hand-made potsherds representing forms similar to those of the Neolithic have been found.<sup>11</sup> In the hope that we can take up the subject on another occasion, we will restrict ourselves to these remarks.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY IN THE FUTURE LAKES OF THE HASEKE DAMS

We led this survey from May 12 to 16, 1985, assisted by Mssrs. M. Maqdissi, J. Lazar and I. Nano. While visiting the relevant service at Haseke, we were able to obtain some important documents as well as precise information regarding the two dams (Fig. 3):

- the maximum water level in each lake will be + 341.26 m M.S.L.;
- the ordinary water level will be + 340.40 m;
- the top of the Haseke-East Dam will be + 343.65 m;
- the top of the Haseke-West Dam will be + 345.50 m;
- the length of the East Lake will be 12 km;
- the length of the West Lake will be 4 km.

### The small lake (West Lake)

First of all, we took a look at the area of the small lake (West Lake). This is a depression surrounded by basalt cliffs. The lower part of this basin was formed in the Pliocene (sandstone, argillaceous marl, limestone clay and gravel).<sup>12</sup> This is drained by a small wadi. The area surveyed revealed no more than the ruins of an abandoned village named Sham-muqa<sup>13</sup> where modern potsherds lie alongside others of perhaps Ayyubid date. The only rise in the whole area is the small tell beside the wadi, with the village cemetery. The sherds collected do not support an origin prior to the end of the Early Bronze Age. Our initial impression is that this small lake will not submerge any sites of importance.

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<sup>10</sup> K. Kohlmeyer, *Euphrates-Survey: Third Summary Report (Campaign Autumn 1984) to the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, Damascus* n.d., p.2; K. Kohlmeyer, *Euphrat-Survey 1984*, MDOG 118, 1986, pp. 51-66.

<sup>11</sup> A. Bounni, in an unpublished preliminary report presented at the annual conference (1985) of the *Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées*.

<sup>12</sup> *Carte géologique soviétique de la Syrie, Légende Na2*.

<sup>13</sup> Like many others, the inhabitants have chosen a new location to the South of the road leading to Ras al-'Ain.

### The large lake (East Lake)

The second future lake will fill up a geologically similar formation<sup>14</sup> contiguous with the small lake, to the Northwest of Haseke on the road to ad-Dirbasie, in the shape of a quarter-circle bordered-by the basaltic cliffs of a plateau called al-Hamme. This depression is also drained by a wadi, named Wadi ar-Rijle, a branch of the Wadi al-'U'aiwej pouring

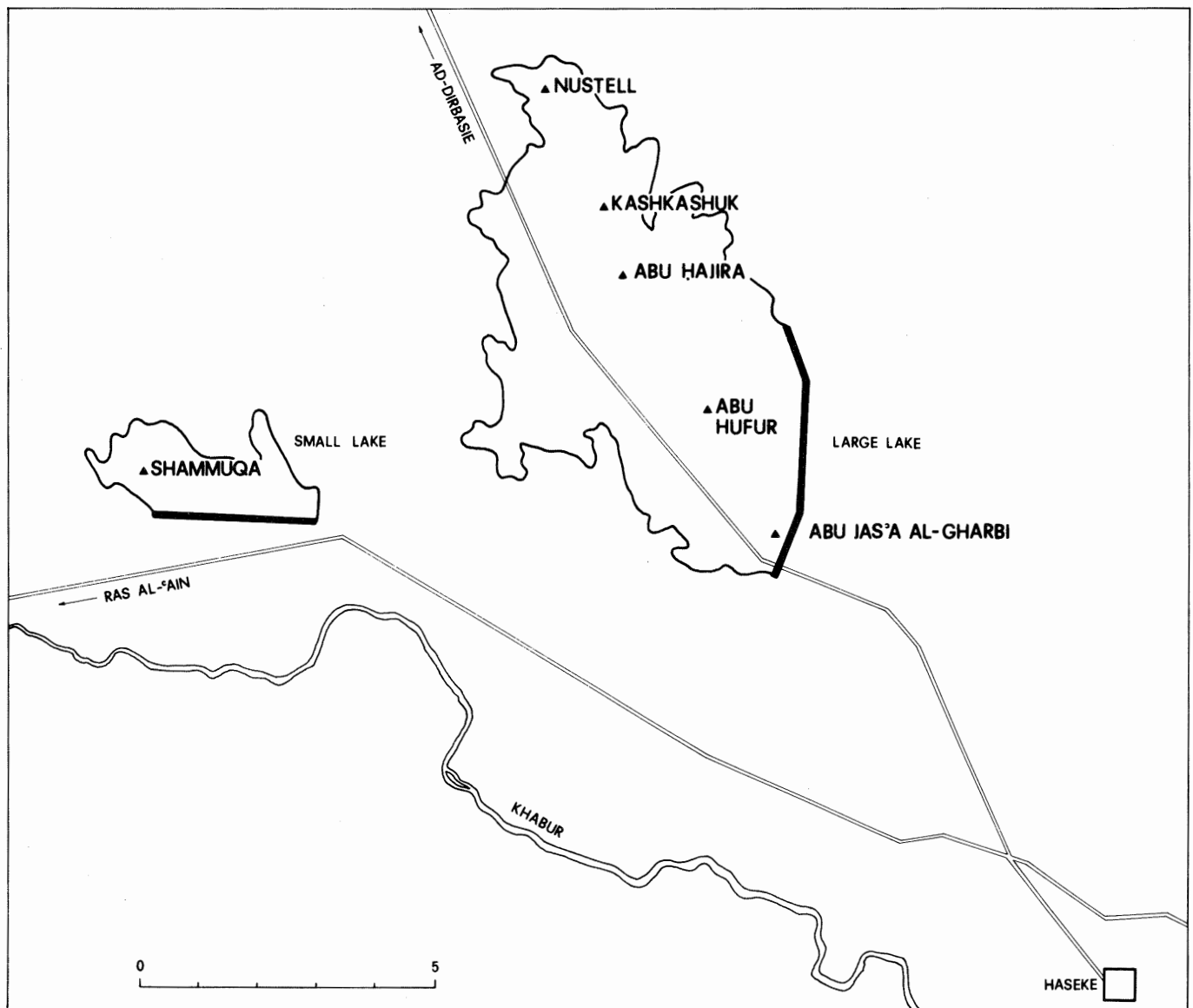


Fig. 3: The Haseke Dam Project: The Tells Destined to be Submerged

<sup>14</sup> See p. 23.



into the Jaghjagh. On the west or right bank of the wadi stand several small and medium tells, five of which form a series of regularly spaced stations on the North-South route, with dependant villages, covering the tells to some extent.

The wadi was clearly more important in the period during which settlement took place.<sup>15</sup> These five tells destined for submersion are each about 200 m long, generally conical in shape and more or less oval in form. The assembled pottery led us to suspect that these regional centres thrived roughly from the Chalcolithic period into the last quarter of the third millennium, when activity halted for the first time after a natural catastrophe or an invasion. Life in these towns probably resumed during the Byzantine period, and in Ayyubid times (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries) they had become prosperous once again, only to be abandoned with the Mongol invasion (15<sup>th</sup> century). Modern times have seen villages emerging at the foot of each of these tells, or rather large seasonal farms populated with semi-nomadic farmer-herdsmen.

The tells of which we are beginning to acquire a general idea of their makeup and history are - North to South - as follows:

- Nustell	نمى تل	("Half Tell")
- Kashkashuk (I, II, III)	كشكشوك	(?)
- Abu Hajira	ابو حجيرة	("He of the Stones")
- Abu Hufur	ابو حفور	("He of the Ditches")
- Abu Jas'a al-Gharbi	ابو جسة الغربي	("The Tell Lying to the West")

- N u s t e l l : This tell is about 15 m high and 200 m long, severely cut into on the North and East flanks by an old meander of the Wadi ar-Rijle (which gave the tell its name of 'half tell'). Below the principle tell is a secondary one on the southern and western slopes, about 3-4 m above the surrounding plains. This is a much later addition, dating to Late Antiquity and the Islamic period. The present village was built with mud bricks, and consists of three units set upon a part of the secondary tell.<sup>16</sup>

The surface pottery can be characterized as dominated by locally produced simple vessels, in relatively crude clay either buff or red in colour, without decoration. Most of the forms are of the Akkadian epoch. A single sherd is burnished and another has a handle. While Byzantine pottery is probable, the Islamic pottery is rather abundant. The most frequent pieces are the 'stamped modeled pieces' dated by J. Sauvaget to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>17</sup> as well as the 'green glazed ware' of the region between Raqqa and Der ez-Zor.

<sup>15</sup> According to the evidence of Kashkashuk II, this tendency to become settled probably took place during the Halaf period; but see Appendix, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> After our survey of the tell, H. Seeden and S. Berthier visited it in 1986; we have taken advantage of their remarks to enhance our description of the tell.

<sup>17</sup> J. Sauvaget, *Poteries Syro-Mésopotamiennes du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1932.

- K a s h k a s h u k III (Fig.4, plate 1): About 20 m in height and 200 long, with a hump on the North side, this tell was clearly the most important of the endangered tells. Our visit was fortunate enough to coincide with the accidental discovery of a jar belonging to the funerary equipment of a tomb dating to the Akkadian epoch. The fragments of another goblet of the same date were also collected. In autumn 1986 our colleague A. Soleiman directed a systematic excavation at Tell Kashkashuk, following which he informed me of his results. The stratigraphic levels of the tell lead from the Halaf period, followed by the Uruk period<sup>18</sup> into a level of the Early Dynastic period (2800-2500) which ends in a thick ash layer, most probably caused by Sargon of Agade. This is followed by an 'early Akkadian' installation with a building resembling that of the zone FS at Tell Brak.<sup>19</sup> His report does not mention any more recent remains, and no pottery of more recent date has yet come to light.

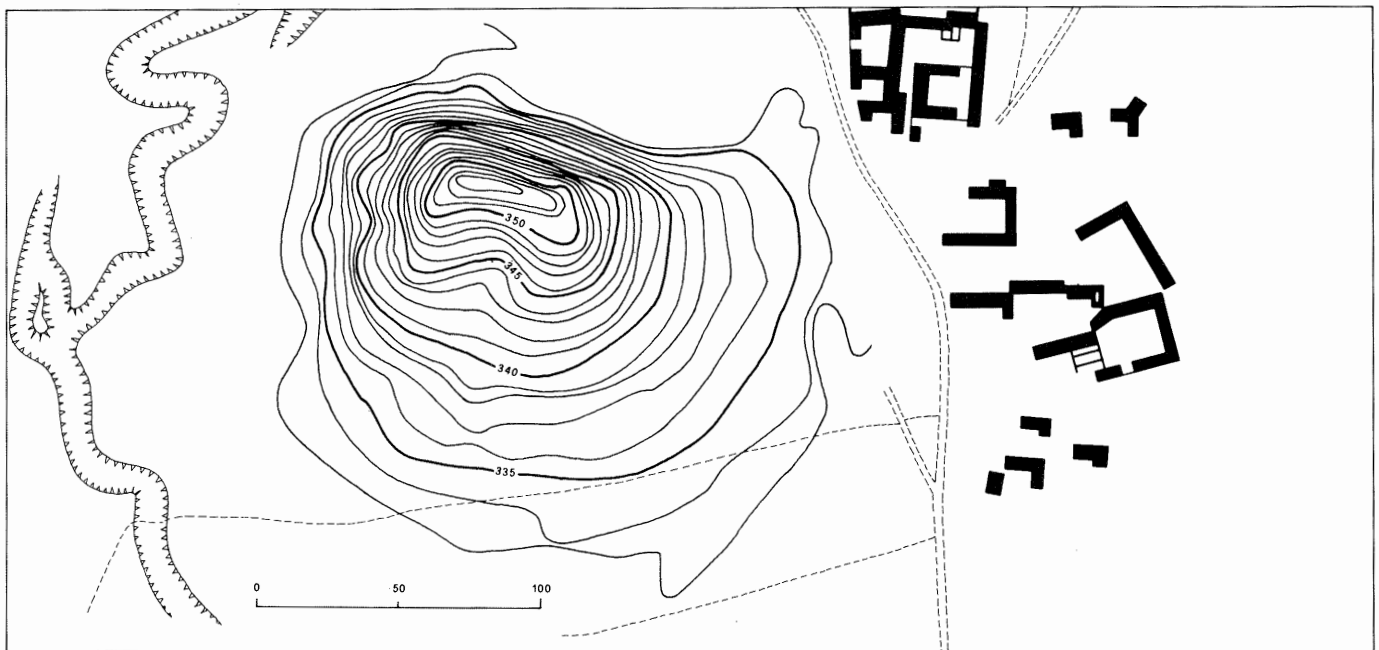


Fig. 4: Tell Kashkashuk III

- A b u H a j i r a (Fig. 5, plate 2): This tell is 17 m in height and about 200 long, with several terraces. A triangulation point marks its summit. Erosion has cut away part of the tell falling down into the wadi. The tell is also covered with tombs, both ancient and modern, and its summit shows the remains of an Islamic cenotaph. The pottery encountered includes a *terra cotta* figurine, probably dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age, as well as sherds with incised decoration and even a few Islamic sherds gathered lower down on the tell.

<sup>18</sup> 'Ubaid is not mentioned.

<sup>19</sup> D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86, Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 175-191.

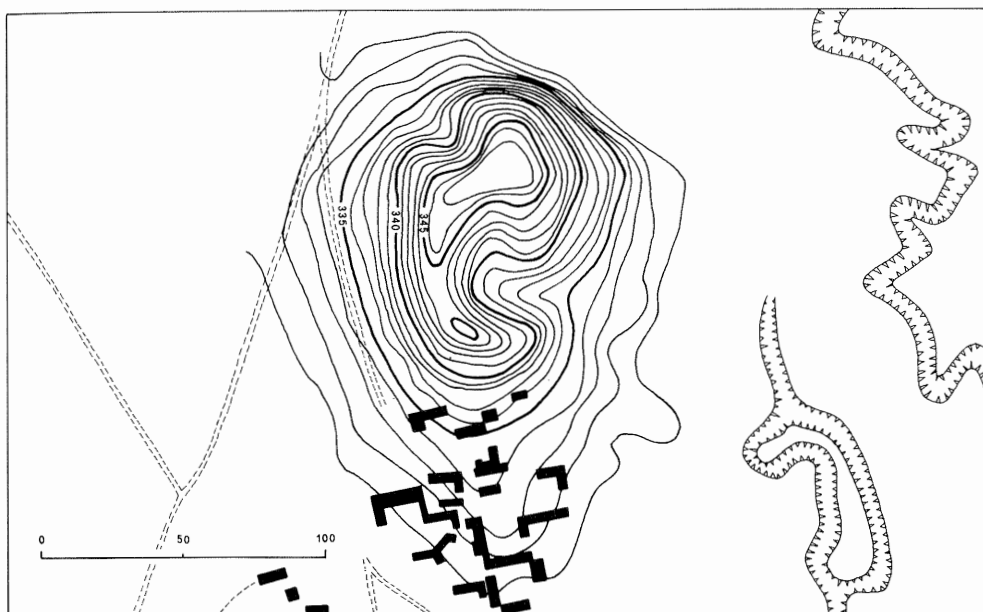


Fig. 5: Tell Abu Hajira

- Abu Hufur (Fig. 6): Situated between the village of Jukha and that bearing the name of the tell, which is about 20 m high and perhaps 225 m long. More or less ancient tombs cover the summit, and at its tip is the ruin of a stone house. Aside from the pottery of the Akkadian epoch and a few sherds which could be even older, Islamic pottery similar to that of Nustell (green glazed, out turned rims, etc.) was found.

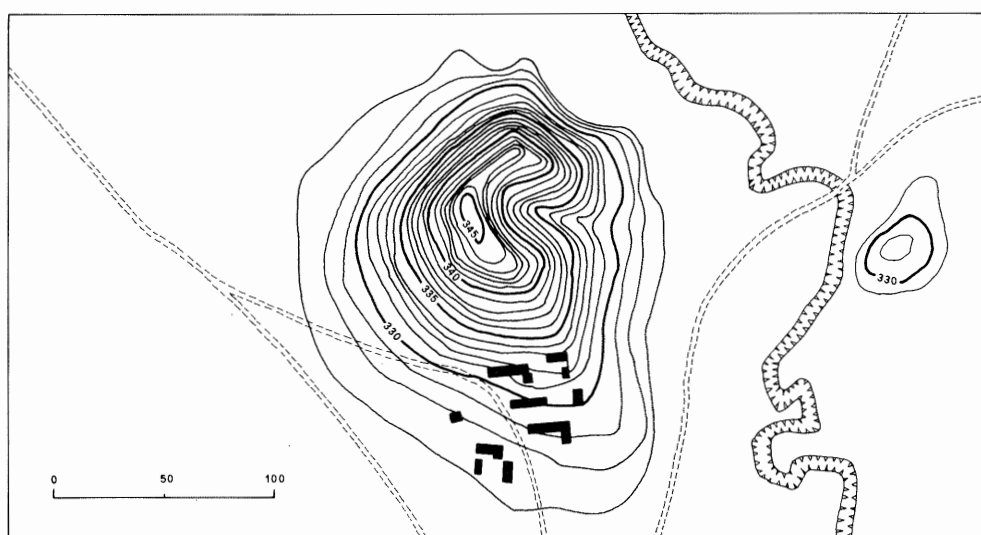


Fig. 6: Tell Abu Hufur

- Abu Jas'a al - Gharbi: About 15 m in height and 200 m long, the tell has steep slopes on the North side, but gently slopes down to the village - whose residents have now departed for the most part. The wadi is relatively far removed. While the pottery is similar to that of the preceding tell, there are also a few sherds which could be 'Ubaid in date.

## POTTERY TYPES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COURSE OF THE SURVEY

- Late Halaf, fine textured clay, brightly painted, somber monochrome geometric decoration (second half of the fifth millennium)
- 'Ubaid 3, 4, Northern 'Ubaid, fine textured clay, somber decoration, geometric motif (end of the fifth - beginning of the fourth millennium)
- Ninevite V incised ware (beginning of the third millennium)
- Stone ware (metallic) (2800-2200)
- Khabur ware (2000-1500 B.C.)
- 'Stamped modeled', 'green glazed' ware (Islamic) (13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.)

## SALVAGE MISSIONS

Syrian Mission: Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées; A. Soleiman	Kashkashuk III	1986
Belgian Mission: Université libre de Bruxelles; M. Lebeau	Melebiye	1984
French Mission: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient; I. Monchambert	Mashnaqa	1985
German Mission: Freie Universität Berlin; H. Kühne, H. Pfälzner	Bdeiri	1985
Lebanese Mission: Lebanese University; M. Saghieh	Qarma	1985
Dutch Mission: University of Amsterdam; M. van Loon	Survey Raga'i	1985 1986
Canadian Mission: University of Laval; M. Fortin (A new permit for Jdeide has been issued to him)	'Atij	1986
American Mission: Yale University; F. Hall	Um Qseir	1986
French/American Joint Mission: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient/ American University of Beirut; S. Berthier, H. Seeden	Nustell	1986

Japanese Mission: Ancient Orient Museum; T. Matsutani	Kashkashuk II	1986
American Mission: St. Louis Community College	Tneinir	1987

## APPENDIX

While correcting the final proofs of this article, we received a report on Kashkashuk II, first season (accomplished in 1986, by the Japanese Expedition headed by T. Matsutani). The report states that the mound was first occupied by Archaic Hassuna people. The area was used during the 'Ubaid period as a cemetery of the nearby settlement (Kashkashuk III). In the Early Uruk period Kashkashuk II was still used as a cemetery. The rectangular pits with vertical walls were dug in the Late Uruk period, or later. Islamic kilns were also encountered.

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## AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURFACE SURVEY: SOME ASSUMPTIONS AND IDEAS

Diederik J. W. Meijer - Amsterdam <sup>1</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

Interpreting archaeological survey material can be both rewarding and frustrating. Rewarding in that gaps in the archaeological record are filled and new avenues of research indicated; frustrating in that only superficial questions can be asked of the material. Thus surveys are not amenable to the solution of detailed historical questions, although recent literature offers new and exciting approaches in this respect, often gleaned from human geography.

The following remarks are based on material from an archaeological surface survey published recently.<sup>2</sup> In that publication, it is emphasized that the surveyed area in Northeastern Syria (east of the Jaghjagh, and bordered by the Syro-Turkish border and the Brak-Hasawiye-Malkiye track) does not constitute an ecological unity. This deficiency makes it extra difficult to use the data for any kind of penetrating analysis. Indeed such an analysis was not attempted in the book, of which the main aim was the presentation of the data.

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<sup>1</sup> This is an adapted version of the second part of a paper read at the Berne Symposium 'Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region'. The first part consisted of an exposition of the main findings of the writer's survey which was recently published (see note 2). This is the place to express great appreciation and gratitude to Prof. M. Wäfler for organizing the splendid meeting and for his hospitality.

<sup>2</sup> D.J.W. Meijer, A Survey in Northeastern Syria, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986.

The area under discussion figures prominently in written sources from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Consequently one expects a certain parallelism between the reconstructed history<sup>3</sup> and the archaeological record, or at least no contradictions. This paper attempts to deal with this issue of the interpretation of archaeological data against a historical background.

In the present state of knowledge the historical situation in Northeastern Syria during the 19<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (about which more will be said below) can be summarized as one of emergent imperialism: a wide region stretching from the Euphrates to the Tigris is brought under one heading and controlled by a ruler who has his base at Šubat-Enlil (now most probably to be identified with Tell Leilan). This state of affairs should ideally be reflected in what geographers call a primate rank-size distribution, *i.e.* a defined region in which one site is at least twice as large as the second largest, the smaller ones following in proportion. Primacy of the largest site relates to its function as a center of commerce and organization.<sup>4</sup> The surveyed area, however, seems to present a different picture for the Middle Bronze Age.

#### THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE SITES

At the outset it may be useful although not very original to state explicitly the main disadvantages adhering to survey data:

- ceramics and other finds may be assigned wrong dates;
- one may not find pottery that is, however, present in the tell;
- one cannot establish which periods are not represented at the site;
- surface collections (especially on high tells with steeply sloping sides) are not numerically representative; they give no indication of the relative importance of the various observed pottery cultures;
- site size per pottery period cannot be ascertained; thus rank-size listings carry an important element of arbitrariness;
- within most pottery periods distinguished in Near Eastern archaeology exact contemporaneity of sites is difficult to establish; yet it is a prerequisite for any analysis positing a relation between sites.

It follows that the main assumptions of this paper are:

- the MBA sizes of the sites are taken to be those of the whole sites as presented in the catalogue;<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, J.-R. Kupper, Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, in: CAH<sup>3</sup> II:1, Cambridge 1973, pp. 1-41.

<sup>4</sup> P. Haggett, *Geography: A Modern Synthesis*, London 1979, p. 359.

<sup>5</sup> D.J.W. Meijer, *A Survey in Northeastern Syria*, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986, pp. 5-31.



- all MBA sites are taken as exactly contemporaneous;
- the area under consideration is taken to be uniform in terms of fertility and communications, and uniform possibilities of interaction are presupposed;<sup>6</sup>
- there are no other important (= large) sites with MBA occupation in the region than those mentioned in the catalogue.

	Site No.	Site Name	Site Size (ha.)		Site No.	Site Name	Site Size (ha.)	
	1	210	Tall Farfara	106.25	51	126	Gra-i Mirka	2.52
	2	205	Tall Šarīsi	98.00	52	59	Šūrak	2.52
	3	44	Tall Laylān	90.00	53	144	Qašrūk	2.40
	4	251	Tall Humaydi	46.75	54	283	Umm Kīf	2.30
	5	157	Tall Brak	40.00	55	32	Ġasānīya	2.28
	6	289	Tall Barri	20.00	56	79	Qutba Tahtānī	2.25
	7	166	Tall al-‘Id	20.00	57	16	Tall Ma’sūq	2.24
	8	5	Duger	15.00	58	37	Tall Ġammāl	2.16
	9	231b	Tall Muḥammad Kabīr	12.00	59	277	Tall Abū Nağūr	2.09
	10	171a	Tall Ḥağğīt Baḡr	11.60	60	109	Ḥamāra	2.04
	11	118	Tall Muḥammad Diyāb	11.60	61	85	Qīrū	2.04
	12	98	Tall Qarāša	10.92	62	106	Tall Farsūk	2.00
	13	24	Tall ‘Abra	9.60	63	149	al-Qašmīya	2.00
	14	146	Tall ‘Alū	9.10	64	201	Ḥağğīya Ṣağīra	2.00
	15	51	Tall Nišr	9.00	65	110	‘Hirbat Ḥamāra’	2.00
	16	21	Dayr Unā Aḡā	8.30	66	1	Gra-i Reš	1.60
	17	96	Tall Abū Ḥazaf	6.80	67	101	Maṭlawṭa ‘Arīda	1.60
	18	4	Tall al-Ša‘īr	6.60	68	43	Tall Ṣaḡīya	1.50
	19	140	Tall ‘Aṭšāna	6.48	69	89	Šibāk	1.50
	20	169	Tall Taṭṭab Kabīr	6.40	70	92	Ḥirbat Ma’rūf	1.50
	21	125	Tall Abū Far’a	6.38	71	107a	Ġalaq	1.50
	22	124	Tall Abū Ḥaḡar	6.21	72	108	‘Arīda Fawqānī	1.50
	23	53	Tall Balīḡ	6.20	73	121	Nabū’a	1.50
	24	14	Dayr Ayyūb	6.00	74	131	Tall ‘Abbās (II)	1.50
	25	15	Tall Ḥaḡar	6.00	75	151	Ġuwadīya	1.50
	26	23	Tall Mehum	5.60	76	179	Tall Šūraq	1.50
	27	41	Qašr al-Dīb	5.50	77	193	Tall Tuwayyil	1.50
	28	72	Gēr Sawwār	5.12	78	195	Tall Ġazzān	1.50
	29	122	Tall Wulayqī	5.04	79	217	Farūḡa	1.50
	30	12	Tall Sa’dīya	5.00	80	231a	Tall Muḥammad Ṣaḡīr	1.50
	31	178	‘X’	5.00	81	250	Tall Šams	1.50
	32	119a	Gra-i Brē	4.80	82	258	Tall Ḥāmis	1.50
	33	148	Gērdēm	4.60	83	246	Tāqīt	1.36
	34	168	Tall Taṭṭab Ṣaḡīr	4.32	84	286	Tall Ma’az	1.30
	35	46	Šūtī	4.32	85	8	Tall al-Sayyid	1.30
	36	6	Tall Ba(ya)ndūr	4.16	86	245	Tall Ḍahab	1.20
	37	134	Tall Tuwayyil	4.08	87	285a	‘X’	1.20
	38	49	Tall Bārīš	4.00	88	71	‘X’	1.20
	39	82	Gēr Širān	3.80	89	99	al-‘Amrī	1.20
	40	139	‘Awda	3.52	90	163	Arbāt	1.08
	41	47	Qašīr	3.52	91	34	Tall ‘Awar	1.00
	42	116	Tall Tāya	3.40	92	56b	Bayāza Kabīra	1.00
	43	255	Mašrīfa Kabīra	3.00	93	117	Ḥirbat Šūfīya	1.00
	44	33	Tall Ḥallāq	2.88	94	123	Wulayqī Taṭṭara	1.00
	45	282	Tall Šayḥ Nims	2.88	95	184	Tall al-Thūm	1.00
	46	58	Abū Ḥuḡayra	2.86	96	204	Mutīnīya	1.00
	47	26	Tall Luks	2.80	97	237	Ḥirbat Ġamū	1.00
	48	141	Umm al-Raḡīm	2.70	98	284	Tall Qušla	1.00
	49	93	Kubayba	2.64	99	128	‘Uraymiš	1.00
	50	52	Šībanīyat Daḡḡām	2.55	100	80	Tall Burhum	0.96

Fig.1: Rank-size table of 100 MB sites

Source: D.J.W. Meijer, A Survey in Northeastern Syria, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986

<sup>6</sup> This is truer for the western part of the area under consideration than for the eastern part, cf. D.J.W. Meijer, A Survey in Northeastern Syria, UNI 58, 1986, pp. 1, 47.

Of the 166 sites with Middle Bronze Age occupation the first 100 are presented in the table of figure 1.<sup>7</sup> Figure 2 shows them in order of decreasing size, as plotted on double log paper. Two sharp breaks are immediately observable: the first between 90 and 45 hectares, the second between 40 and 20 hectares. The resulting graph is markedly convex in the upper echelon. Figure 2 should be compared with figure 3, where two sites are included in the ranking which lie outside the surveyed area proper. They are Hamukar (perhaps 250 ha.)<sup>8</sup> and Rumaylan Kabīr (over 45 ha.; both sites have MBA pottery, among which Khabur ware). Their

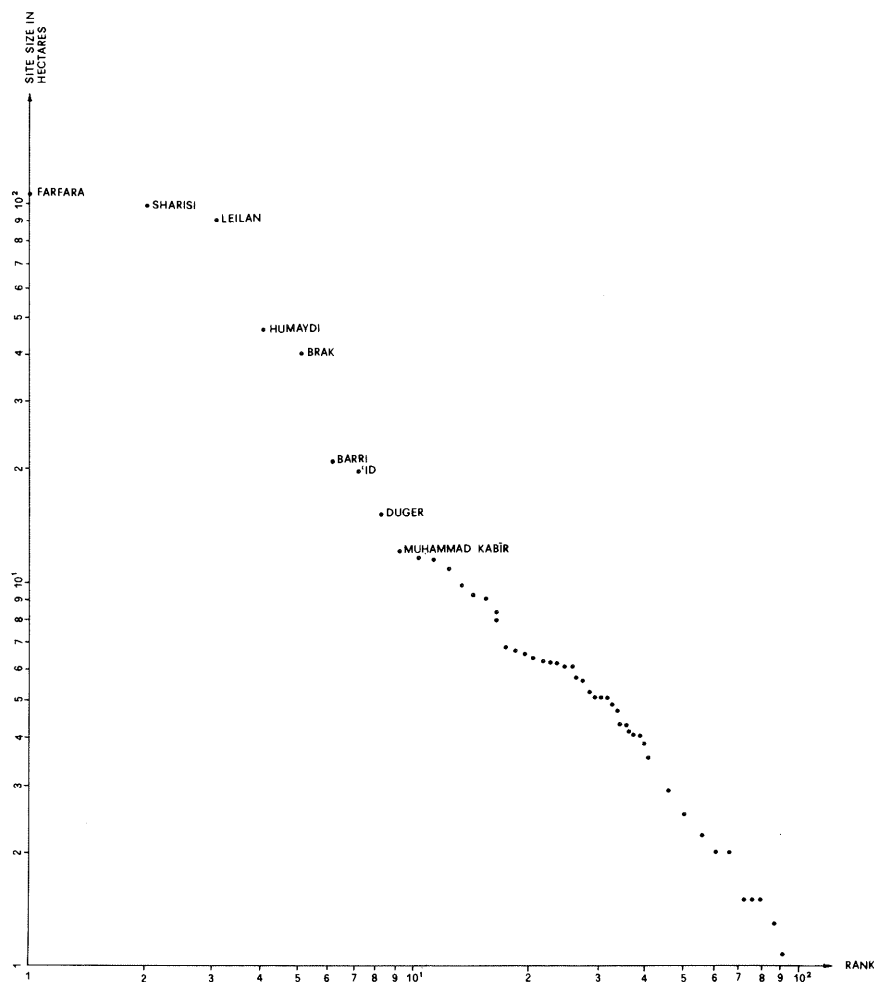


Fig. 2: Rank-Size Graph of MBA Sites

<sup>7</sup> It is of course not good practice to neglect the remaining sites (for reasons of space) when plotting a graph like figure 2, since this influences the slope of the graph. These 66 sites all range between 0.96 and 0.15 ha., and when included would decrease the slope. Nevertheless the convexity in the upper echelon remains, and can in no way be taken for a primate distribution. The preparation of the table is largely due to the greatly appreciated efforts of Mr. T. de Feyter.

<sup>8</sup> This is an estimate. Hamukar lay outside the survey area proper. The sketch plan given in: W.J. van Liere, *Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in Their Relationship to Land and Water*, AAS 13, 1963, pp. 109-122, esp. plate 3b, belies van Liere's own estimate '1km<sup>2</sup>', in: W.J. van Liere, J. Lauffray, *Nouvelle pro-*

inclusion results in a concave graph or at least a log-normal distribution. However, further inclusion of a few sites south of the Brak-Hasawiye-Malkiye track, such as Qal'at al-Hadi, Tell Haddad and Tell Barda (which range between 20 and 10 ha.) would push the middle of the graph outward again.<sup>9</sup>

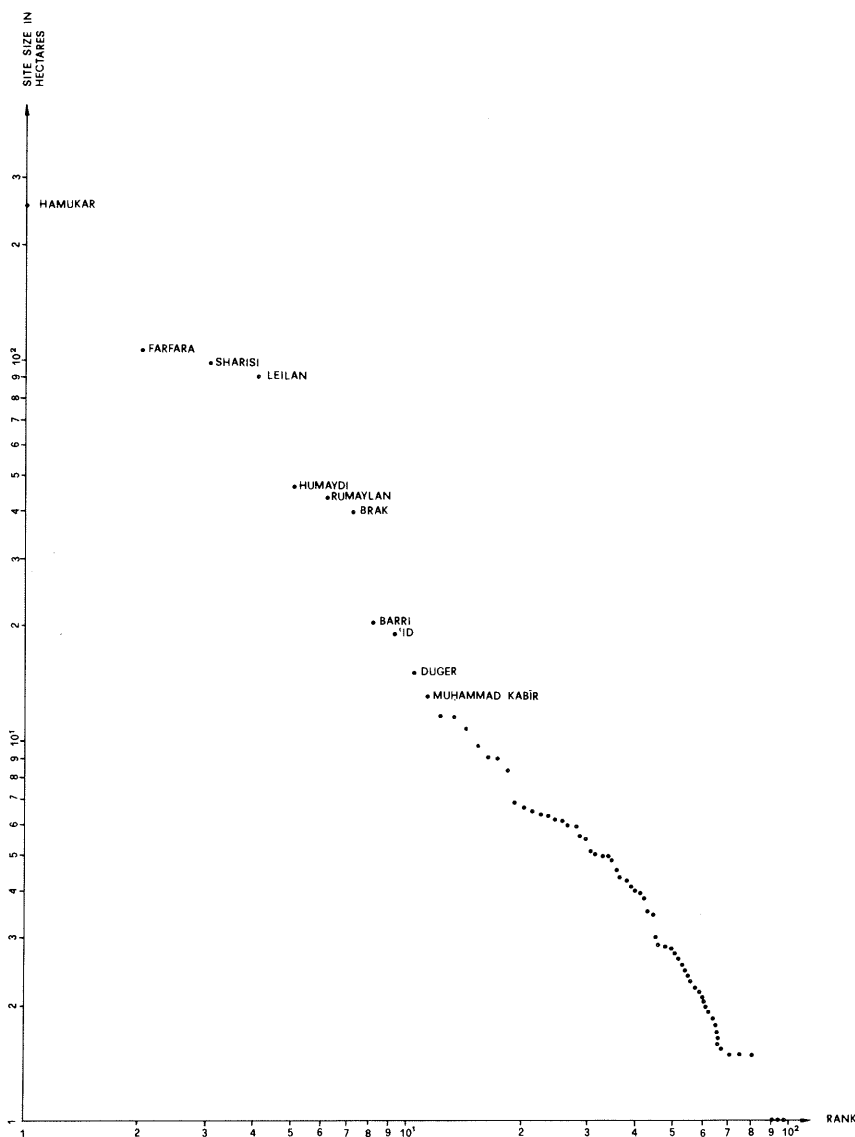


Fig. 3: Rank-Size Graph with Hamukar and Rumaylan Included

spection archéologique dans la Haute Jézireh Syrienne (Compte-rendu provisoire), AAS 4/5, 1954-1955, pp. 129-148, esp. p. 137, even if only the area within the 'inner moat' is reckoned. Van Liere's 100 hectares probably gave rise to the 90 hectares mentioned for Hamukar by: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil, MARI 4, Paris 1985, pp. 269-292, esp. p. 272. Hamukar is much larger than Leilan.

<sup>9</sup> The above may serve to illustrate the effect of arbitrarily imposed limits. In the present case, the latter consist of a modern national (and quite arbitrary) border, a river and road tracks. The tracks are and were communication routes rather than functional dividing lines. Exclusion of the surveyed but unexcavated sites of Farfara and Sharisi would result in a much steeper gradient of the graph. Thus anomalies to the primate distributions centered on Leilan which one might suspect on the basis of the historical evidence, point out sites to be investigated in archaeological field work. This applies *a fortiori* to Hamukar and Rumaylan more to the east. The position taken here is, that only excavations can provide the definition of systems necessary to make utilization of rank-size data possible.

It can be said that the larger MBA sites (*i.e.* those over 20 ha.) from the western part of the surveyed area shown on figure 4 present a striking distribution. Even with the above restrictions in mind there is a remarkably close proximity of such sites as Farfara, Leilan, Sharisi and 'Id, and Humaydi, Barri and Brak:

Farfara	106 ha.	-	Sharisi	98 ha.	8.0 km
Sharisi	98 ha.	-	Leilan	90 ha.	14.0 km
Farfara	106 ha.	-	Humaydi	46 ha.	15.0 km
Humaydi	46 ha.	-	Barri	20 ha.	9.0 km
Barri	20 ha.	-	Brak	40 ha.	10.0 km <sup>10</sup>
Sharisi	98 ha.	-	'Id	20 ha. <sup>11</sup>	6.5 km

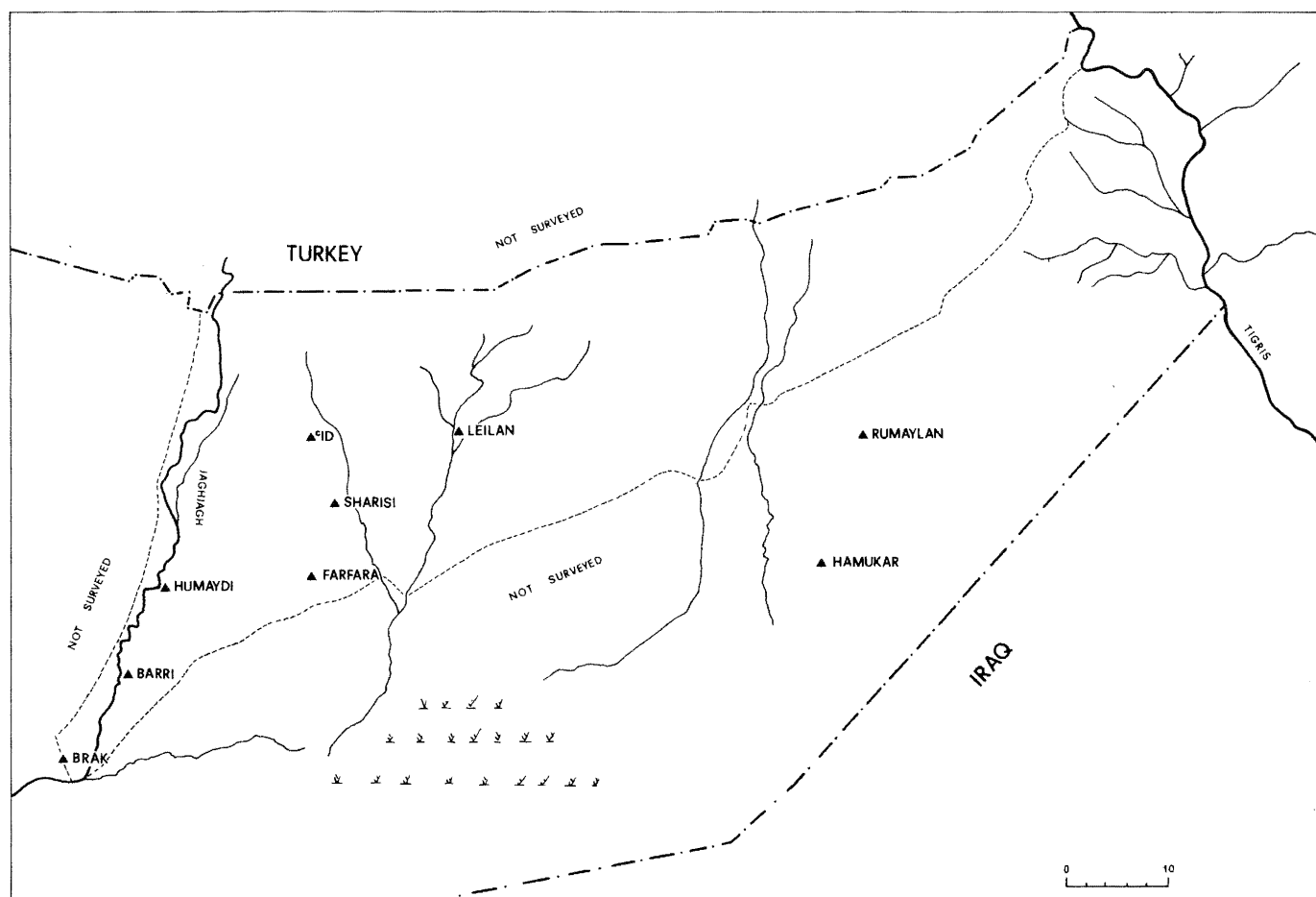


Fig. 4: Map of Surveyed Area, with Sites over 20 ha. Middle Bronze Age

<sup>10</sup> Taken in isolation, the fact that Tell Barri is half the size of Humaydi or Brak and lies exactly half way between them (thus conforming to a classic rank-size rule) is not very meaningful. Certainly the areas west of the Jaghjagh should be taken into consideration if this situation is to be analysed.

<sup>11</sup> Tell al-'Id was only visited cursorily, as surveying was not encouraged by the local villagers - a great exception in this area. The given size is thus a rough estimate.

Two recent papers, which may be said to supplement each other, have treated rank-size relationships of survey sites.<sup>12</sup> Hodder deals with the meaning and interpretability of concave rank-size graphs, *i.e.* primate distributions. Johnson concentrates on the 'other side', the convex graphs. Both writers agree that markedly concave rank-size graphs tend to reflect greater organization and hierarchy: "Steeper curves and sharper gradients reflect greater organization and lower entropy."<sup>13</sup> The interpretation of convex graphs, however, is difficult, since "it is clear that while rank-size convexity does indicate a relatively low level of system integration,<sup>14</sup> spatial definition of the 'system' is a critical operation"<sup>15</sup>.

## INTEGRATION

This convexity and its relation to 'integration' deserve some comment. Hodder uses the concept *o r g a n i z a t i o n*, Johnson that of *s y s t e m i n t e g r a t i o n*. Neither author defines his concept, leaving the reader with the impression that virtually the same thing is meant, *i.e.* something like 'organized and institutionalized cohesion in a political and economic sense'. However, whereas, *e.g.*, a dendritic system may be called highly organized (from the center), it cannot be called integrated, since the latter term suggests horizontal lines of communication between lower-order entities. The terms should therefore be used with care, and should be defined in terms of the context in which they are used.

In general, archaeological adaptations of system theory work with the proposition that the most probable state of a system is one of equilibrium = high entropy. In that view organization is the lowering of entropy, or the increase of 'effectiveness', resulting in an increasingly improbable state. Improbability and equilibrium become measures of organization. The basis on which our ideas about states of organization and integration of systems are founded, is a static situation caught in a distribution map or in a rank-size graph: an artificial freezing of a dynamic process going on in the past. The aim is thus to monitor these dy-

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<sup>12</sup> I. Hodder, *Simulating the Growth of Hierarchies*, in: C. Renfrew, K. Cooke (eds.), *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, London 1979, pp. 117-144; G.A. Johnson, *Monitoring Complex System Integration and Boundary Phenomena with Settlement Size Data*, in: S.E. van der Leeuw (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Complexity*, *Cingula VI*, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 143-196.

<sup>13</sup> I. Hodder, *Simulating the Growth of Hierarchies*, in: C. Renfrew, K. Cooke (eds.), *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, London 1979, pp. 117-144, esp. p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> However, 'dendritic' systems, where a primate center plays a role as the sole means of communication between the lower order centers, can also produce convex graphs: "Determinants of lower order settlement sizes are thus probably largely additive and their low level of horizontal integration should generate rank-size convexity." (G.A. Johnson, *Monitoring Complex System Integration and Boundary Phenomena with Settlement Size Data*, in: S.E. van der Leeuw (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Complexity*, *Cingula VI*, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 143-196, esp. p. 174) We are, however, dealing with first-order sites.

<sup>15</sup> G.A. Johnson, *Monitoring Complex System Integration and Boundary Phenomena with Settlement Size Data*, in: S.E. van der Leeuw (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Complexity*, *Cingula VI*, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 143-196, esp. p. 171.

dynamic processes by determining their sequential frozen states to be in equilibrium, near-equilibrium or non-equilibrium.

Recently the variables ( a r r o w o f ) t i m e and p l a c e have been shown to play an extremely important role in environmental and other irreversible systems, resulting in an adapted view of 'improbability' for the organized, non-equilibrium state of a system.<sup>16</sup> Environmental systems are predicated on irreversibility. The increase of knowledge and information through communication can also be taken as irreversible. To a large extent, therefore, human organization, of which communication is the hallmark, can be said to be irreversible.<sup>17</sup> In practice this means that we need to know the history of a system before moment X in order to say whether the system's state at that moment is improbable or not, or whether it is stable or not. Conversely, it is almost impossible to establish the character of point X from a later point Y without k n o w i n g the history of the process - and that history is the very thing we attempt to reconstruct. In the words of J.W. Gibbs:

"(...) while the distinction of prior and subsequent events may be immaterial with respect to mathematical fictions, it is quite otherwise with respect to the events of the real world. It should not be forgotten, when our ensembles are chosen to illustrate the probabilities of events in the real world, that while the probabilities of subsequent events may often be determined from the probabilities of prior events, it is rarely the case that probabilities of prior events can be determined from those of subsequent events, for we are rarely justified in excluding the consideration of the antecedent probability of the prior events."<sup>18</sup>

It thus appears that organization and integration are indeed relative concepts, which are a function of the history of the system in question. This means that even if sound empirical data can be produced as indices for an example system, their use as a rule of thumb for other archaeological situations is at best tenuous. I n t e g r a t i o n or o r g a n i z a t i o n (whether they are an improbable state or just unascertainable without knowledge - e.g., textual information - of what went on before) are best taken as things to be proved and not as correlates of rank-size graphs, especially in the context of survey material. Consequently, our treatment of the sites in the present case coincides with the analysis advocated by Johnson<sup>19</sup>, but for different reasons, and so far without any idea about the 'critical' spatial definition of the system, or about the system's history.

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<sup>16</sup> I. Prigogine, I. Stengers, *Order Out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue with Nature*, New York 1984.

<sup>17</sup> *cf.* I. Prigogine, I. Stengers, *Order Out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue with Nature*, New York 1984, p. 295.

<sup>18</sup> J.W. Gibbs, *Elementary Principles in Statistical Mechanics*, New York 1960, pp. 150-151; *cf.* I. Prigogine, I. Stengers, *Order Out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue with Nature*, New York 1984, pp. 247-253. 260.

<sup>19</sup> G.A. Johnson, *Monitoring Complex System Integration and Boundary Phenomena with Settlement Size Data*, in: S.E. van der Leeuw (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Complexity*, Cingula VI, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 143-196.

## CENTERS

The practical consequence for an archaeologist of giving up the integration hypothesis (which for the period and area under discussion seems to be suggested by the historical evidence) would be to concentrate on large centers with their immediate surroundings.

If not hindered by war, famine or epidemic, the population of a functional center tends to grow. The pressure of demand on the functions of the center grows concomitantly, hence the threshold population grows. Then one of two things may happen. Either both the service mechanisms and the production mechanisms are intensified, for instance through more effective agricultural techniques or nutritional inventions and through growth of the administrative mechanisms. One tends to see these developments reflected in physical growth of the center, followed by the annexation of larger hinterlands if that can be achieved.

Alternatively, the development of a manifold threshold population may lead to the creation of more separate functional centers, if enough 'untaken' space is available. Each of these separate centers would then attract its own surrounding villages for its central functions, and the process would start anew. The integration of these new centers into the system of the earlier one, *cq.* their political dependence, is not a necessary precondition. Nor is their socio-economic integration! (This distinction between political and socio-economic integration is not unimportant).<sup>20</sup> It is notable that if constant growth can be shown for a number of large centers before their historically attested integration, this integration can hardly be analysed as the primary contributing force to the location or rank-size relationships of these centers (unless one presumes that the historical evidence is incomplete or false). The centers under discussion here all have sizeable EB III-IV occupation,<sup>21</sup> yet there is no evidence that any political and/or economic organization or integration obtained at that time.

The size of the hinterland of a functional center depends on several factors such as distance to the fields from place of habitation, and feasible transport distance for the most important commodities ('economic distance'). Much of course depends on the number of inhabitants requiring feeding - usually this is taken to be a correlate of site size. If *ca.* half a day trip to the central market is computed at some 10-12 kilometers, and 5 kilometers

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<sup>20</sup> Large centers need time to grow to their given size. This growth may in principle be monitored archaeologically. But where centers appear to be large to begin with and seem to be drawn into the orbit of a political power only subsequently, the resulting alliance or dependency is political and superficial, not socio-economic in nature. For a reconnoitering and somewhat bold discussion of the extent of reciprocal influences of centers, see: C. Renfrew, E.V. Level, *Exploring Dominance: Predicting Polities from Centers*, in: C. Renfrew, K. Cooke (eds.), *Transformations: Mathematical Approaches to Culture Change*, London 1979, pp. 145-167. (There - pp. 149-151 -, however, a formula is generated which needs the very variable that one wants to derive from the analysis, *i.e.* 'k'.)

<sup>21</sup> D.J.W. Meijer, *A Survey in Northeastern Syria*, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986.

is added for maximum house-field distance,<sup>22</sup> the aggregate radius would come to about 15-17 kilometers for the hinterland of a center. Providing each center with such a radius would, however, be unrealistic in view of their different sizes. This means that

- either this approach is totally unrealistic, and border areas, *i.e.* the regions where the hinterland circles overlap, do not necessarily 'belong' to one functional center only,
- or the radius of the circles or hexagons should be much smaller in order not to overlap. In the case of Farfara, Sharisi and Leilan this would mean a radius of between 4 and 7 kilometers, those of the smaller sites decreasing accordingly. If for Leilan 90 hectares inhabited town area is given,<sup>23</sup> an estimate of the towns-population might range from 9'000 to 18'000 for its heyday during the MB period.<sup>24</sup> If *ca.* 1.5 hectare is needed per person as a subsistence area of cultivation,<sup>25</sup> then some 13'500 hectares, or the area enclosed in a circle with a radius of *ca.* 6.5 kilometers is needed around Leilan (or 9.3 kilometers in the case of 18'000 inhabitants).<sup>26</sup> This reminds one only distantly of the max. 7 kilometers mentioned above.

Thus, in the first case the circles or hexagons drawn on the basis of a distance measure for a center's hinterland or 'catchment area' have no real-life connotation; smaller towns and villages would not necessarily be serviced by one center only but would be oriented on different centers for different functions. In the second case, where the (smaller) circles or hexagons do not overlap, several 'islands' with the centers at their focus would coexist. In the first case a political or socio-economic integration, however defined, might be present but cannot be determined from the archaeological data. In the second case integration may not have existed since there was no need for it - political or otherwise.

## HISTORY

We are fortunate in having cuneiform sources both from the area itself and from other areas discussing the Upper Khabur triangle. These texts stem mainly from Chagar Bazar and Leilan in the area itself, and from Mari and Rimah. Although they give a relatively great

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<sup>22</sup> M. Chisholm, *Rural Settlement and Land Use*, London 1973.

<sup>23</sup> H. Weiss, *Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil*, MARI 4, Paris 1985, pp. 269-292, esp. p. 272.

<sup>24</sup> The number of 100-200 inhabitants per hectare is discussed by: W.M. Sumner, *Estimating Population by Analogy: An Example*, in: C. Kramer (ed.), *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnography for Archaeology*, New York 1979, pp. 164-174. Such statistics are, however, highly speculative.

<sup>25</sup> R.M. Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, Chicago 1981, p. 87.

<sup>26</sup> *cf.* H. Weiss, *The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia*, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 71-108, esp. p. 95; there roughly comparable figures are reached.



amount of information, our historical knowledge of the area is hampered by the fact that the texts are mainly administrative and economic in character, as well as by the fact that so far only two placenames have been identified (Tell Barri = Kaḫat, Tell Leilan = Šubat-Enlil).<sup>27</sup> Many placenames occurring in the texts have not been localized yet, and the data are insufficient to suggest identifications for sites like Farfara, Sharisi or 'Id, which must nevertheless have been well-known towns at the time. And what was Hamukar's ancient name?

Until the advent of Šamšī-Addu I (1813-1781 B.C. according to the middle chronology), there is no compelling reason to suppose that the Upper Khabur triangle was integrated into one political system. When Šamšī-Addu came upon the scene, he set up camp at Šubat-Enlil (= Tell Leilan).<sup>28</sup> One of his sons he made viceroy at Mari on the Euphrates, the other at Ekallātum on the Tigris. Here we encounter political integration on an important scale. Troop movements for keeping order and for defence are directed from the center, and the movement of goods and agricultural produce is administered from several administrative centers.<sup>29</sup> The administration sets up a new calendar system, and for instance the sealing of documents by various officials reflects a developed system of civil servants. The system starts to collapse, however, immediately after Šamšī-Addu's death.

At least parts of the area were once again politically united, under the banner of Mari under Zimri-Lim. Also this unity quickly disintegrated, however, and "a thick veil now falls over Upper Mesopotamia".<sup>30</sup> The proposition may be advanced that the Upper Khabur triangle had no trouble reverting to its 'normal' existence of relatively unintegrated centers or very small city states.

The vague picture emerging from the textual material could then be one of a number of towns which are at times united under one superficial political banner which, when lifted, may have left the functions of the respective centers unimpaired.<sup>31</sup> Integration in the political

<sup>27</sup> See the contributions in this volume by: D. Charpin, A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḫat, pp. 67-85, G. Buccellati, 'River Bank', 'High Country' and 'Pasture Land': The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur, pp. 87-117, D. Oates, Tell Brak: The Mitanni Palace and Temple, pp. 147-156, R. Whiting, Tell Leilan / Šubat-Enlil: Chronological Problems and Perspectives, pp. 165-216; see also: D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140; K. Kessler, Nilabšinu und der altorientalische Name des Tell Brak, SMEA 24, 1984, pp. 21-31.

<sup>28</sup> For a recent synopsis of Šamšī-Addu's reign, see: H.D. Galter, Das Šamšī-Adad-Syndrom: Assyrien und die Folgen kultureller Innovationen, in H.D. Galter (ed.), Kulturkontakte und ihre Bedeutung in Geschichte und Gegenwart des Orients, GMS 1, Graz 1986, pp. 13-26; I owe this reference to the kindness of Prof. K.R. Veenhof. See also: D. Charpin, Inscriptions votives d'époque assyrienne, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 41-81; D. Charpin, Données nouvelles sur la chronologie des souverains d'Ešnunna, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-M. Kupper (eds.), Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot, Paris 1985, pp. 51-66.

<sup>29</sup> The administration was compartmented into several districts, and the prerogatives of each district were apparently strictly circumscribed: In ARM IV: 11, rev. 17'-18' for instance, Šamšī-Addu mentions a place which "does not belong to (the area of) Tuttul, it belongs to (the area of) Šubat-Enlil". Cf. rev. 20': "do not undertake anything against the inhabitants of that town".

<sup>30</sup> J.-R. Kupper, Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, in: CAH<sup>3</sup> II:1, Cambridge 1973, pp. 1-41, esp. p. 29; Cf. now D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140, esp. p. 136.

<sup>31</sup> Although titulature is extremely suspect as a historical source, the use of different titles in one text (A. 889) by Šamšī-Addu is striking. The king calls himself *lugal*, *ensi* of Aššur, *rubû* of Mari, *lugal* of Ekallātum but

sense can be proved for short periods only, in other words. Whether also socio-economic integration existed in terms of a well-defined institutionalized commercial network is uncertain. It is possible to visualize frequent but non-institutionalized transactions among varying and changing partners, and private transactions rather than official, centralized ones.

The point is that any kind of integration that may have obtained in the region during the MBA period cannot be illustrated clearly by the archaeological material. In this light, the statement that "the occupational history of Tell Leilan suggests that some of the structure of Shamshi-Adad's imperial organization may already have been in place during the late third and early second millennium (...)"<sup>32</sup> needs qualification. Nor can archaeology prove the absence of integration with the data now available. However, such a lack of integration, at least in socio-economic terms, is perhaps the more probable state of affairs and seems to be admissible in the light of the historical data. It must be remembered that many of the texts known to us stem from central administrations in times of political unity; the economic integration they seem to mirror may be seen as the temporary result of political integration.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand it is only deeply rooted and enduring socio-economic integration that can give rise to primate ranking.

## CONCLUSION

We may visualize a number of independent centers each with their hinterland, undoubtedly often at odds with each other, but intertrading busily with varying partners in varying commodities and services. Occasional overpowering unity may be forced upon them, but the nose for independence remains strong. One of the main factors influencing the stability of larger integrated units may have been the ethnographic constellation of the area.

Apart from the close proximity of large centers in the area, the survey has demonstrated an enormous increase in the number of settlements over the turn of the millennia. Whereas the large centers are virtually the same ones as before, the space between them has filled up with many smaller ones. A more than threefold increase (from *ca.* 50 to 166 sites<sup>34</sup>) can-

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*ša-ki-in š[u-ba-at-de]n-[lī] [ki]*, cf. D. Charpin, *Inscriptions votives d'époque assyrienne*, MARI 3, Paris 1984, pp. 41-81, esp. p. 47-49. 75 no.4. Could the latter term be viewed as a prudent and pacificatory gesture to the gods and inhabitants of a town where the king, who originated from Ekallātum (cf. D. Charpin, *Données nouvelles sur la chronologie des souverains d'Ešnunna*, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 51-66, esp. p. 60), wanted to be seen as a benevolent guest rather than a usurper? Laying the responsibility for his position at the feet of the gods fits well in a context where the king chooses an existing town as center of operations but otherwise leaves it relatively unimpaired in order to avoid resistance from the local population: cf. his prudence readable in the last quote in note 29.

<sup>32</sup> H. Weiss, *Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil*, MARI 4, Paris 1985, pp. 269-292, esp. p. 270.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. note 20.

<sup>34</sup> D.J.W. Meijer, *A Survey in Northeastern Syria*, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986, p. 51.

not be accounted for by natural population growth alone. We cannot avoid positing the influx, or at least the settling down, of elements not settled in the area before. Who were they?

The emphasis put on the cultivation of barley in Mesopotamia during the Ur III period, in connection with the increased demand for wool rather than as a result of increased salinization,<sup>35</sup> may have occasioned an influx into the north Syrian areas, which are well-suited to these products. But whatever their incentive, a number of settlers may be found among the speakers of the Hurrian language who spread over northern Mesopotamia and Syria<sup>36</sup> during the late third and early second millennium B.C.<sup>37</sup> Whether the Hurrian speaking elements preferred urban centers or also settled as agricultural pastoralists is an open question;<sup>38</sup> but at least two ethnic groups are living side by side, Semites and Hurrians. Theories about integration should take this into account because of the potentially disruptive influence of this situation, especially if different but complementing means of sustenance are involved.

It has been argued here that such basically historical questions are unanswerable without textual information. Archaeological data, certainly when they are derived from surveys, are not amenable to complex historical problems. However, they do supplement the historical data in providing the material background necessary for a balanced interpretation and explanation of texts, and in defining avenues of further research. In the area under consideration it is urgent that controlled excavations establish the sizes of such sites as Farfara and Shari throughout their periods of occupation. It is gratifying to see that since our survey began in 1976, such excavations are now taking place at Leilan, Brak, Barri and Humaydi. Treating these and other large sites (Hamukar) *a priori* as relatively independent functional centers, each with a minimum of hinterland, seems to be the most feasible, albeit perhaps the most tedious and least exciting method to approach the question of their interaction – which undoubtedly there was. Once the excavations of the large centers have yielded concrete and well-defined evidence for a series of periods, whereby the history of parts of 'the system' becomes known, the absence or presence of an integrated system can be defined. This will deepen our insight in the history and ecology of an important region in a formative period.

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<sup>35</sup> M.A. Powell, Salt, Seed, and Yields in Sumerian Agriculture: A Critique of the Theory of Progressive Salinization, ZA 75, 1985, pp. 7-38.

<sup>36</sup> The name Ewari is a further attestation of the Hurrians in the area; it occurs on a small tablet of the Chagar Bazar type found at Qal'at al-Hadi, cf. J.D. Hawkins *apud* D.J.W. Meijer, A Survey in Northeastern Syria, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986, pp. 44-45.

<sup>37</sup> D.O. Edzard, A. Kammenhuber, Hurriter, Hurritisch, RIA 4, Berlin, New York 1972-1975, pp. 507-514; M.J. Mellink, Hurriter, Kunst, RIA 4, Berlin, New York 1972-1975, pp. 514-519.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the contribution in this volume by G. Buccellati, 'River Bank', 'High Country' and 'Pasture Land': The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur, pp.87-117.

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## THE ITALIAN EXCAVATIONS AT TELL BARRI (KAḤAT)

1980 - 1985

Paolo Emilio Pecorella - Florence<sup>1</sup>

In 1977, together with my colleague Mirjo Salvini, I made a survey of the Jaghjagh region with the object of realizing an older project, originally proposed in the 70's, jointly with our colleague Alfonso Archi.

We were essentially interested in starting an inquiry into an area which was, in our opinion, very important to the study of relations between Anatolia and Northern Syria in the Second Millennium B.C. The inquiry developed essentially out of a surface survey carried out in 1970 to the North of the Syro-Turkish frontier, in the area of Gaziantep. The results and the problems arising from this work convinced us that we should carry on with the systematic archaeological exploration of a particularly interesting site. Two localities in particular attracted our attention: Til Beşar and Oylum, both in the area of Kilis. Unfortunately, this region was excluded from consideration for reasons beyond our control. After having pursued an inquiry dedicated to the topography of Persian Azerbaijan (1976-78), we examined the possibility of crossing the tracks of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway in order to investigate the Khabur region. In fact, the heart of the problem which moved us lay, more exactly, within the triangle defined by the Khabur River and its Eastern tributaries. At the close of the 70's, the

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<sup>1</sup> The occasion offered by our friend Markus Wäfler to meet here in Berne enabling us to personally compare notes on our excavations in an area as important as that of Northeastern Syria is unique. And I wish to express my most sincere thanks for the admirable initiative, thus giving us this unique chance to directly engage in a fruitful exchange of ideas.

I wish to thank A. Bianchi, B. Etterich, and D. Warburton for translating my original Italian manuscript.

problem of the localisation of Wašukana was still open, and the Hurrians, who commanded the heartland of the Ancient Orient, still lay on the undelineated periphery of our science. We set aside such sites as Tell Fakhariya and Tell Hamukar which were too prominent, or *Kranzhügel* which thus did not precisely correspond to our primary object, which was the study of levels of the Second Millennium and particularly those of the Hurrian Period of Mitanni. During both the trips in 1977 and 1979 we visited places already noted in the archaeological literature and others which appeared to merit attention based on available cartographic records or local oral traditions. Afterwards, we selected a small list of sites which would be interesting to excavate, such as Tell Mozan (then called Tell Mu'ezzâr after Poidebard<sup>2</sup>), Tell Hamidi, Amuda, Tell Leilan (where Harvey Weiss started excavating in 1979) and Tell Farfara, as well as Tell Barri, of course.<sup>3</sup> This tell was the only one which had been identified<sup>4</sup> and, given its surface finds, which appeared to be particularly promising.

The story of textual research concerning Tell Barri, or better said, that of Kahat during the Second Millennium B.C. has been told by Mirjo Salvini elsewhere<sup>5</sup> (while Dominique Charpin will share with us something of what is known from the older material which the inexhaustible *Archives Royales de Mari* are continuing to supply), but it is in any case obvious that our site is to be considered in the larger context of the Hurrian presence at the top of the Fertile Crescent – a presence which dominated it at least as long ago as the last quarter of the Third Millennium B.C. Yet, until archaeological data could be combined with the textual material, it is clear that the two domains were bound to remain separate.

It was of course unavoidable that an archaeological research project with a decided orientation towards the Hurrian world would also involve other facets of equal interest, as we were conscious from the beginning that the project would be made more difficult due to the presence of 'late' levels.

Tell Barri (Fig. 1) lies on the East Bank of the Jaghjagh, at the mid-point on the road

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<sup>2</sup> A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie: Le Limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe: Recherches aériennes (1925-1932)*, 2 Vols., BAH 18, Paris 1934, pp. 149-150.

<sup>3</sup> For the literature about the excavations, see: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, *Tell Barri / Kahat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri / Kahat nel bacino del Habur*, Roma 1982, with contributions by R. Biscione, P. Ferioli, E. Fiandra, N. Parmegiani, R. Ricciardi Venco, U. Scerrato, S. Sorda and G. Ventrone Vassallo; P.E. Pecorella, *Gli scavi italiani a Tell Barri*, in: *Atti del II Convegno 'La presenza culturale italiana nei paesi arabi'*, Roma 1984, pp. 351-368; P.E. Pecorella, *Tell Barri: un sito sul limes nell'area del Habur (Siria), scavi 1980-1984*, *Mesopotamia* XXII, 1987, pp. 101-111; P.E. Pecorella, *The Habur area and its relationship with Anatolia mainly during the II Millennium B.C.*, in: *Acts of the X Turkish Historical Congress, Ankara (in press)*; as short preliminary notices also: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, *Tell Barri / Kahat*, *AfO* 28, 1981-1982, pp. 208-210; P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, *Tell Barri - Kahat*, *Syria* 62, 1985, pp. 128-130.

<sup>4</sup> G. Dossin, *Le site de la ville de Kahat*, *AAS* 11/12, 1961-1962, pp. 197-206.

<sup>5</sup> M. Salvini, *I dati storici*, in: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, *Tell Barri / Kahat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri / Kahat nel bacino del Habur*, Roma 1982, pp. 13-28; M. Salvini, *Le cadre historique de la fouille de Tell Barri (Syrie)*, *Akkadica* 35, 1983, pp. 24-42.



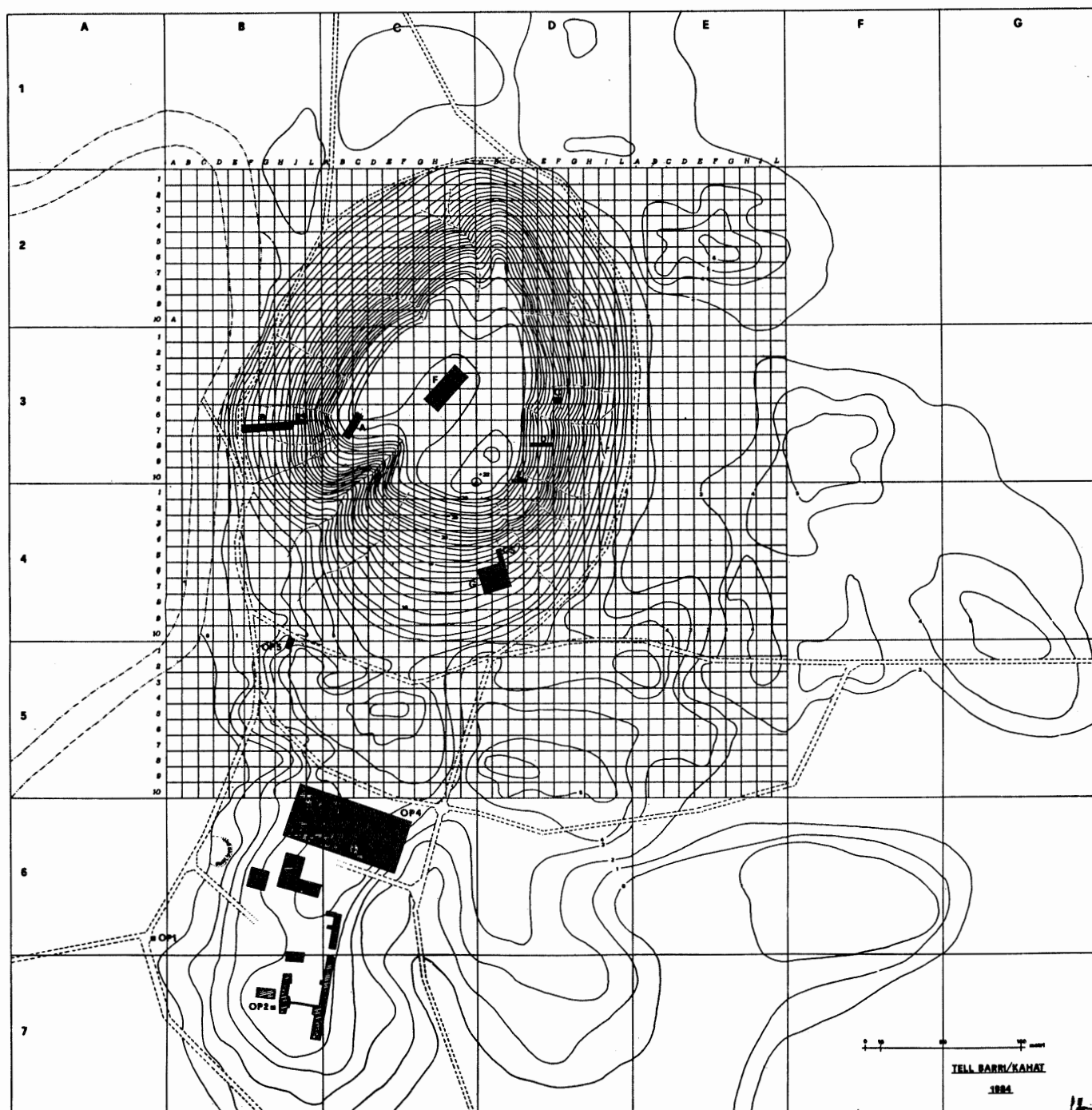


Fig. 1: Tell Barri / Kahat, 1984

from Qamishlie to Haseke, ten km to the North of Tell Brak and ten km South of Tell Hamidi. Viewed from the paved road, it has a sort of trapezoid form rising to a height of 32 m above the surrounding countryside and 374 m above MSL. (Plate 3.1). The oval acropolis has two deep trenches or canals, from the Southwest and the Northwest, where the winter rain waters gather and it is probable that these are the remains of two access ramps leading to the top during the last periods of settlement. The acropolis covers about six ha. The lower city covers the land left free by ancient meanders of the river, but the ample expanse to the South allows it an area of perhaps 27 ha. The total area is thus about 34 ha. At the base of the tell, on the Eastern and Southern sides, is the clearly visible depression of an ancient

moat, on the other side of which the external circuit of the city wall will have lain. Further out would be the *extra mural* quarters. According to Dossin<sup>6</sup>, supported by aerial observations of van Liere<sup>7</sup>, there are traces of canals, where the *girītu* fish will have been caught during the Old Babylonian Period:<sup>8</sup> obviously, such traces will be indistinguishable when viewed from the earth's surface, with the exception of a line leading from the Southeast to the Northwest about one km to the East of the tell, which is visible only at dawn, from the plateau of the acropolis. Even more can be recognized in H. Kühne's enlarged aerial photograph<sup>9</sup> (Plate 3.2): clearly visible to the Northwest of the tell is a regular grid the outer sides of which are about 250 m in length, apparently the work of relatively recent times, perhaps dating to the Roman-Parthian Period. The course of the river has probably changed only imperceptibly in the course of the ages, aside from several slight changes on the East Bank, and appears to follow its ancient course especially in the area adjacent to the tell.

The surrounding countryside is that common to the entire Northern Jezireh: cut by the courses of small and tiny rivulets which gradually trickle into the larger streams. The Jagh-jagh, the Graeco-Roman Mygdonius, forms a remarkable salient loop to the East at Tell Barri. Along its banks archaeological materials dating from the Roman-Parthian and Islamic Periods can be collected; and a few sherds which have suffered considerably from hydrological forces are probably datable to the Neo-Sumerian Period. It is quite probable that the river banks were inhabited in politically secure times and that – more certainly – a view of the countryside must have offered a decidedly different aspect, especially due to the presence of trees lining the river banks. A small sample of palaeo-botanical<sup>10</sup> material from the levels of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century B.C., demonstrated the presence of *Pinus halepensis*, *Quercus ilex*, *Olea europaea*, *Cedrus* (?) aside from *Phyllirea* and *Juniperus phoenicea* which are all elements belonging to the wild brushwood of the steppe. On the other hand, as D. Oates<sup>11</sup> has written, in light of the vacillations of about 50 km North-South of the 200 mm isohyet, Tell Barri will have lain in a zone where recourse to irrigation for the cultivation of crops will not have been imperative, at least not for grain crops. Interestingly enough the water table was very stable and lay not far beneath the surface – certainly not more than ten m or so – until a couple of years ago, meaning that the water supply will not have raised any fundamental problems for normal purposes.

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<sup>6</sup> ARM I 139: 5-7.

<sup>7</sup> W.J. van Liere, Notice géographique sur le site de la ville de Kahat – Tell Barri, AAS 11/12, 1961-1962, pp. 163-164.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. M. Salvini, Le cadre historique de la fouille de Tell Barri (Syrie), Akkadica 35, 1983, pp. 24-42, esp. p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to H. Kühne for his aerial photograph of Tell Barri.

<sup>10</sup> The analysis was carried out by Dr. D. Fregonese of the Studio Geoquater di Teramo; his results will be included in: Tell Barri / Kahat 2 (forthcoming).

<sup>11</sup> D. Oates, The Excavations at Tell Brak, 1976, Iraq 39, 1977, pp. 233-244, esp. p. 233.

The application for the excavations at Tell Barri was submitted to the Damascene authorities in the Autumn of 1979, and was promptly accepted. It is indeed a great pleasure to officially and personally thank Prof. Dr. Afif Bahnassi and Dr. Adnan Bounni of the *Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de la République Arabe Syrienne* for the hospitable reception and for the cooperation that they have offered; cooperation which together with the friendly attention of the local authorities has made the success of our project possible.

Our first visits to Tell Barri, in 1977 and 1979, and a surface survey made the complexity of the occupational history of the site clear, which can also be found on a smaller scale at a number of other tells in the region. Yet, Tell Barri had - and still has - another feature which has probably influenced its attractiveness among archaeologists, even after it had been identified as the site of the ancient Kahat by Dossin<sup>12</sup> in 1961: the existence on its acropolis of an extensive modern cemetery, around the small tomb of Sheikh Barri. There would appear to be about 300 graves, but a number of the older ones have suffered from erosion and are not visible, as we were able to confirm in the course of the excavation of Areas A and F (Fig. 2). This meant that the burials were even found a couple of metres down the slopes of the acropolis, presumably because the central area had already been occupied.

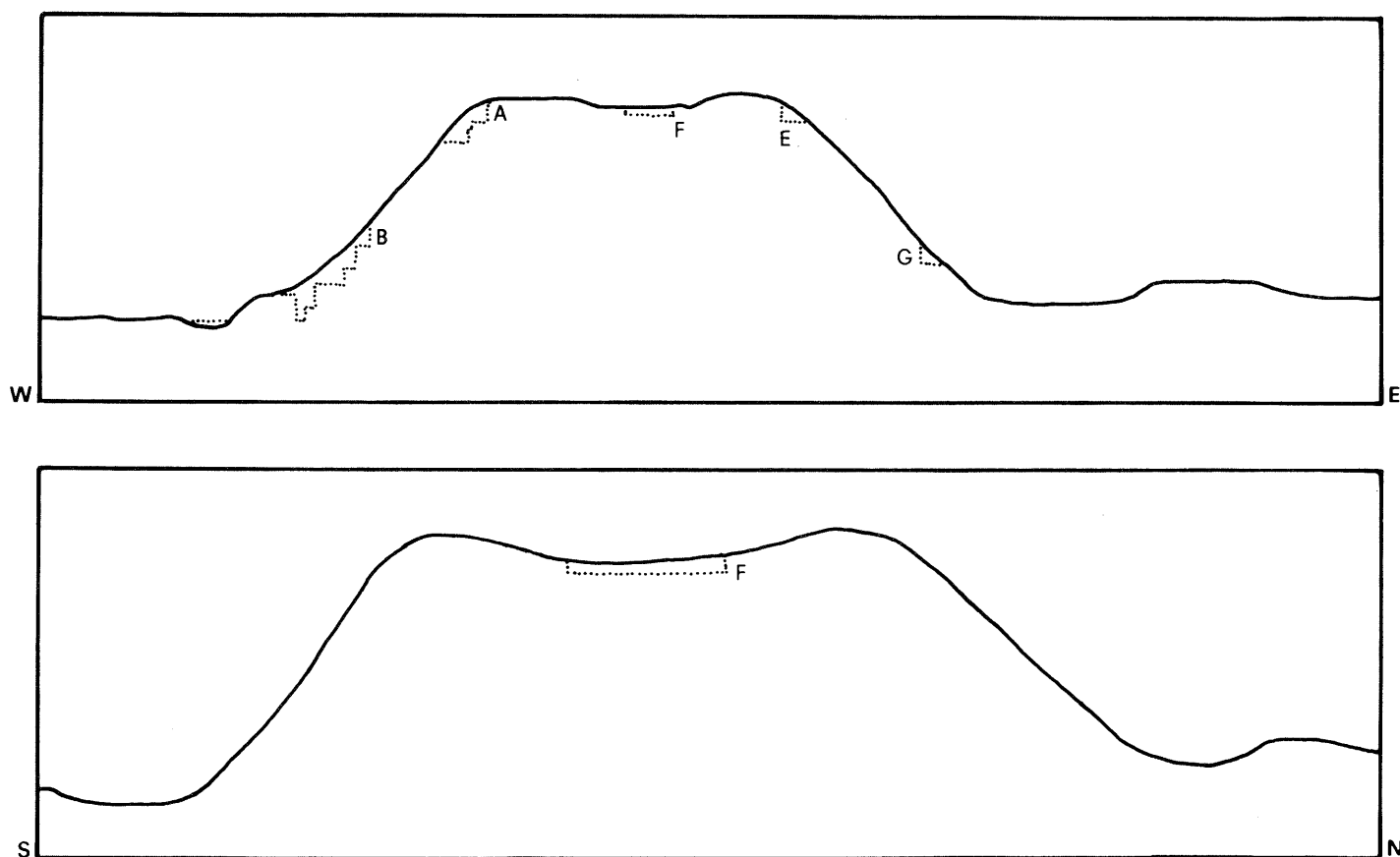


Fig. 2: The Two Profiles of Tell Barri Indicating the Areas Excavated

<sup>12</sup> G. Dossin, Le site de la ville de Kahat, AAS 11/12, 1961-1962, pp. 197-206.

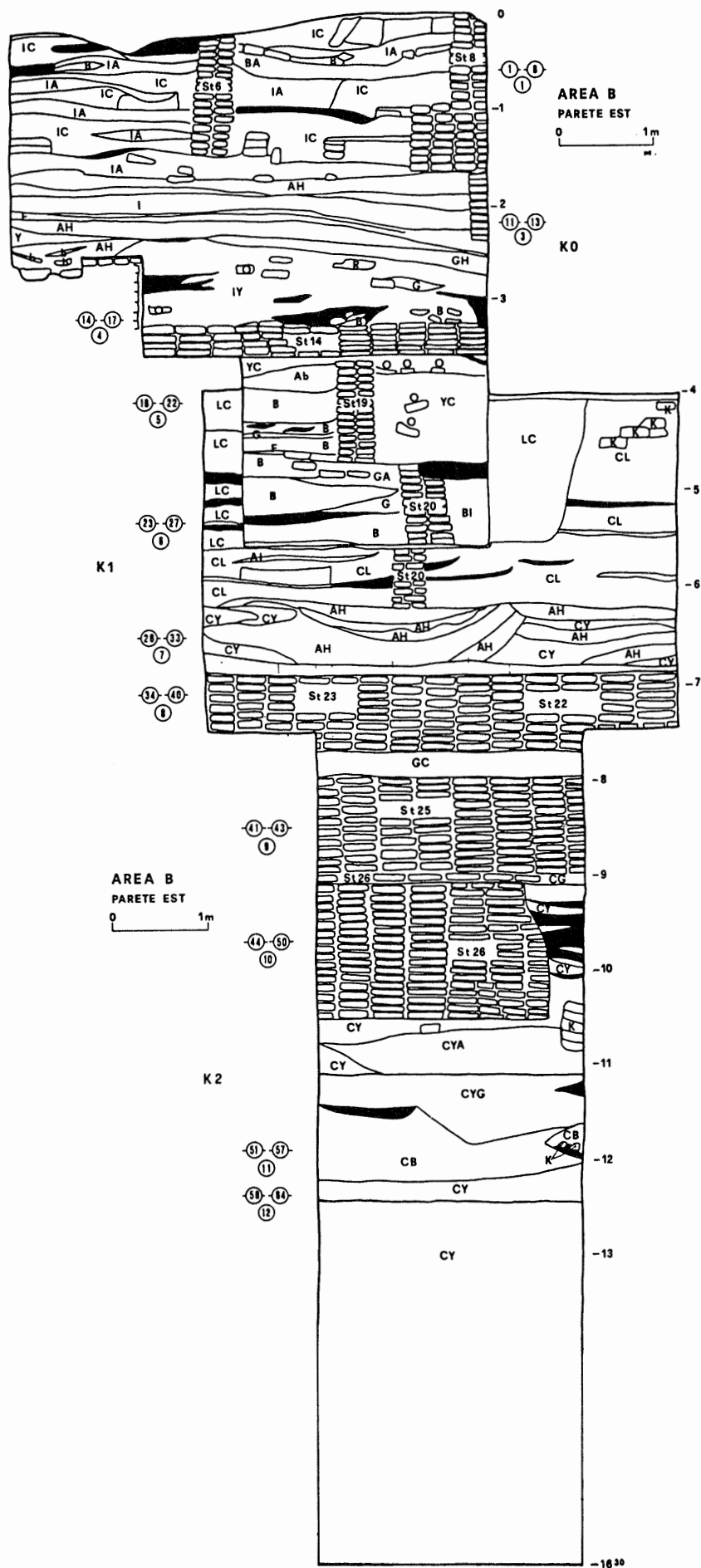


Fig. 3: The Eastern Part of Area B: The Levels of the Third Millennium

Thanks to the vigorous intervention of H.E. the Governor of the Province of Haseke, the local population have been invited to transfer their dead (which has not been done in even a single instance), and have been prohibited from any further burials. In future, the dead are to be interred on a small tell, on the other side of the river, in sight of the tomb of Sheikh Barri. The excavation has not however been disturbed in any way and the tombs are to be transferred, at our cost, to another site.

The first and most important aim of the first campaign was to establish the occupational sequence of the site, in order to reconstruct its history; the sequence, based on the data of the excavations as well as textual data and the pottery seems to present the following scheme:

1. Halaf
2. Uruk III
3. Early Dynastic II-III
4. Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian
5. The 18<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.: the period of the dominance of Aššur and Mari
6. The 15<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C.: the period of the Mitannian Empire
7. 13<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.: the Middle Assyrian domination
8. 9<sup>th</sup> (-7<sup>th</sup>) Century B.C.: the Late Assyrian domination
9. 1<sup>st</sup> Century B.C. - 1<sup>st</sup> Century A.D.: Roman-Parthian period
10. 6<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. (?): Sasanian period
11. 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D.: Medieval Islamic period
12. 1940 (?) - 1980: Islamic cemetery

Following a plausible reconstruction of the tell, the earliest settlement developed along the river banks. Pottery of the Halaf and Uruk III periods has been found on the surface as well as two *bullae* with cylinder impressions of this latter period. Given the relative proximity of Tell Brak, it is clear that Tell Barri will have housed a village at this latter point in time. In light of the *bullae*, one is inclined to think of some system of registration which was also used in minor villages. The dependence of the smaller site to the larger becomes more apparent in Period 3, when the Southern site - which still dominates the Southern horizon in the form of a hump - will have been the large regional capital.

Period 3 has been reached in our Area B, along the Western slope of the tell where Dr. Raffaele Biscione worked in 1980-1982 (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> In 1984 a small sondage from Area B up to the top of the tell (Plate 4.1), was carried out with the intention of exposing the entire depth of the levels of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C. In the end, about 15 m of layers were brought

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<sup>13</sup> Dr. R. Biscione's report of these excavations and the material of Area B, "La sequenza del III millennio a Tell Barri", will be included in: Tell Barri / Kahat 2 (forthcoming).

to light leading down to virgin soil, which consists of a conspicuous band of sterile clay. The suggestion must be discarded that this terrace is a bastion or a kind of defensive structure, above which are the Early Dynastic II-III layers.

The stratification is relatively uniform and consistent: devoid of violent disturbances. It would appear that in all of the 15 m excavated, the structures were rebuilt without having suffered from violent destruction. It is equally possible that the frequent rebuilding was necessitated by structural flaws: all of the buildings reveal traces of fire and there are many layers of ash. Unfortunately, what has been exposed in a sondage of a mere 5 x 5 m is of course inadequate to bring the remains of an entire building to light.

Apart from the upper sondage, 57 layers subdivided into 11 levels have been found; these last mostly correspond to a settlement period divided into four phases.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that the older structures were built on the architectural remains of the preceding periods, Halaf and Uruk III, unless the settlement extended only slightly to the East with regard to the river bank during these two periods. In which case, they are to be sought in the midst of the tell where future operations will lead to their exposure.

The most significant fact arising from Dr. Biscione's excavations in Area B, is the settlement continuity and the absence of cultural interruptions in the course of the accumulation of the 15 or more metres of the sequence. The pottery has been divided into fine, common fine, common, and kitchen ware; to these are to be added the metallic (very rare) and incised Ninevite V wares (Plate 4.2). While the first four classes are present in varying proportions in each of the four phases, metallic ware appears only in the earlier two, and the incised Ninevite V ware is present only in Phase I, the most recent. It is to be noted that an excellent series of 'fruit' stands which are frequently decorated with horizontal grooves come from levels 5-6 of Phase II. All of the pottery (or at least most of it) was turned on the wheel, the most common forms being bowls, jars, and small jars, all classes of which appear with a relatively limited range of variations.

Aside from some miserable scraps of metal, one should note a *jeton* or token - a slightly convex disk of fired clay with a T-like sign in the upper part - and a fragment of a lid originally decorated with a crouching animal of which only the paws are preserved. The scarcity of non-pottery finds could well be explained by the meagerness of the structural remnants exposed in this area of the tell.

The area was not heavily disturbed in periods as successively occurred in other zones. Erosion removed a good part of the Western flank: we can conceive of the structures of the more recent phases as having been erected on an ascending series of terraces cut out of the slopes of the tell. Towards the top, the construction of a terrace or defensive wall in crude

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<sup>14</sup> Phase I: levels 1-4, layers 1-18; Phase II: levels 5-6, layers 19-26; Phase III: level 7, layers 28-34; Phase IV: levels 8-11, layers 35-57.

brick dating to a late period (probably Roman-Parthian) disturbed the sequence; we thus have neither the final evidence of this period nor its relationship with the following one. According to Dr. Biscione, the four phases in their entirety should be ascribed to Early-Dynastic II-III.

The final centuries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium, that is to say, the Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian periods, are represented by Period 4, and are relatively intangible: the only evidence being a handful of sherds found out of context on the Western slope, in an intrusive pit containing material from all the periods, except the very latest. According to our observations, this material along the slope was deposited when – during the Medieval period – the top of the acropolis was levelled off and terracing walls were constructed. The possibility of finding architectural levels of Period 4 would thus appear to be relatively slight at present, in our opinion.

The period during which Kaḫat was directly or indirectly marked by the domination of the cities Aššur and Mari is represented, at the moment, exclusively by textual sources. D. Charpin published the tablet belonging to the Collège de France<sup>15</sup>, with the dimensions of the Temple of the Weather God, from which a plan has been made (Fig. 4), although some prob-

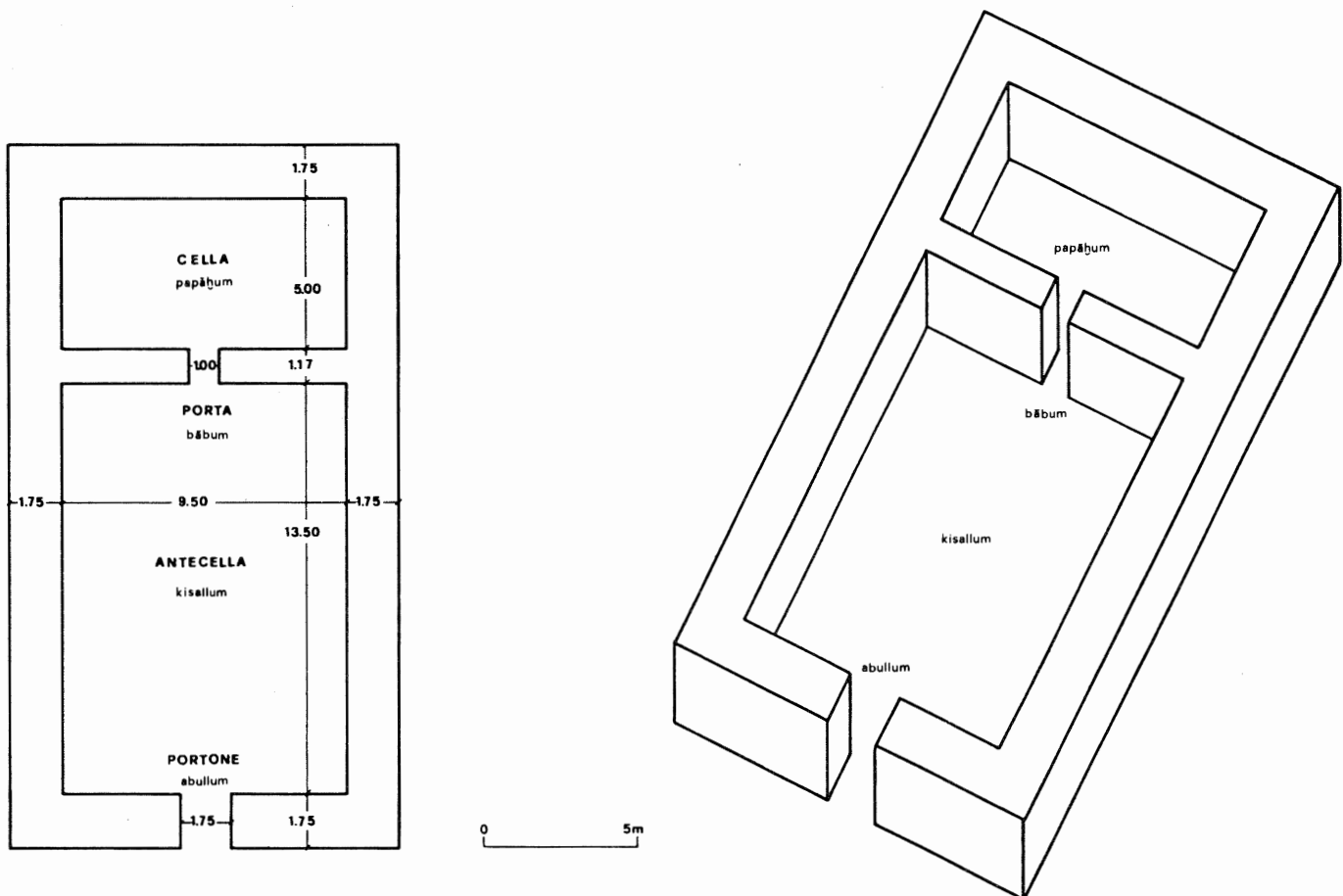


Fig. 4: Plan and Reconstruction of the Temple of the Weather God of Kaḫat  
According to the Tablet Collège de France 6672

<sup>15</sup> D. Charpin, Le temple de Kahat d'après un document inédit de Mari, MARI 1, 1982, pp. 137-147.





lems still remain concerning the size of the *antececella*: a reconstruction with double lines of wooden columns, axially aligned is possible (13.50 x 9.50 m).

This fortunate attestation of the temple of Kaḥat, at a point in time which may be assigned to the reign of Zimri-Lim (one recalls the unhappy if deserved fate of the Lord of Kaḥat, Kabiya), explains the prosperity of the city, at least until the restoration of the sanctuary in the Middle Assyrian period under Shalmaneser I (1273-1244), probably after the damages inflicted on the structure during the siege of the city by Adad-Nārārī I (1304-1274).

Kaḥat and its sanctuary became a regional cultic centre, along with such places as Urkiš, the Home of Kumarbi. The Hurrian tradition, or at least that religious phenomenon which flourished in the Mitannian period, can be traced back to a much earlier point in time. The worship of the Weather God in his chapel continued over five hundred years, ironically reaching its zenith, as far as is known, precisely at the very moment which marks the end of Mitannian power, as it is assumed that a copy of the treaty dictated to Šattiwaza by Šuppi-luliuma was to be conserved in the Temple of the Weather God of Kaḥat.<sup>16</sup>

Such a structure – even if it was frequently renewed and rebuilt over the five centuries that it was in use – must have left some not inconsiderable remains behind, and it must be conceded – for reasons which are self-evident – that the prospect of such a discovery is very enticing: not merely because of the thing itself, but also because of the more archaeological side of the enterprise (beside the philological aspect: the anticipated discovery of Hurrian texts) with the object of improving the definition (or rather creating 'the definition' *par excellence*) of the material and artistic culture of the Mitanni Hurrians, which has now been discussed for years without having established more than negative definitions<sup>17</sup> (except for glyptics). This is of course the direct result of the absence of reliable concrete facts and materials derived from excavations in the homeland of the Hurrians, in contrast to those of centers in the rich but remote province, places such as Alalah and Nuzi.

Given the overlying structure of the late levels at the top of the acropolis in 1983 and 1984, Dr. N. Parmegiani directed excavations on the Southern slope of the tell, extending Area G (Fig. 5) to a size of 20 x 20 m: we have five architectural levels for Period 6; unfortunately the uppermost have been severely disturbed by silos and trenches of the latest periods (Plate 4.3). Nevertheless, erosion has carried off the remains of this period, and deposited them in the moat surrounding the tell and beyond (it is permissible to deduce that the present condition of the tell vaguely reflects that of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium, prior to the destruction of the city walls. It is possible that on the Southern and Eastern flanks of the tell, the excavation will reach negative figures with respect to our arbitrary zero-level, lying 32 metres below the

<sup>16</sup> Cited in: M. Salvini, I dati storici, in: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, Tell Barri / Kahat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri / Kahat nel bacino del Habur, Roma 1982, pp. 13-28, esp. pp. 20-21.

<sup>17</sup> See above all: M.-T. Barrelet (ed.), Problèmes concernant les Hurrites I, Paris 1977; Problèmes concernant les Hurrites II, Paris 1984.

official triangulation point at 374 m above MSL.). In Area G remains of houses and an *intramural* sepulchre have been found. In our next campaign our efforts will be concentrated in this area.

Of particular interest is the Structure 7, belonging to the transitional level leading to Period 7, the Middle Assyrian period. This structure, preserved to a height of one metre, the foundation of which is almost completely preserved, and has been entirely exposed, has yielded deposits from a locus immediately next to the external wall containing sherds of both Khabur and Nuzi wares. This mixture was also discovered in levels 3, 4, and 5 of Area G, Sectors A-B, 3-4, which immediately precede the Middle Assyrian re-occupation. The unavoidable conclusion is obvious (although a case of this type clearly requires caution and will be subjected to further investigation in the immediate future): the co-existence of these two types of pottery at the time of the Mitanni Kingdom and at the capture of the city by Adad-Nārārī I.

At the moment it is not possible to estimate the time span separating the abandonment of Structure 7 and the lowest point reached in Sector A1 (the difference in elevation being about 6.5 m). The material collected in A1 does not however permit a precise date at present. The pottery classes are uniform within the sequence: the absence of Nuzi ware in the deepest layers could be explained as a mere accident. The Khabur ware, both that decorated with painted stripes and that with animal motifs (Plate 4.4) is uniform as far as technique (invariably based on a generous and remarkable organic temper both in the clay and in the slip) and forms are concerned, as is also true of the two other classes of undecorated ware, the medium and the common.

Period 7, that of the Middle Assyrian domination of Kaḫat is represented in Area G by the layers 1 and 2. We have here exposed an open space with drainage pits, domestic silos, many ovens and a number of modest utilitarian structures made of crude brick and occasional small pavements in baked brick. The floor was proverbially paved with an extraordinary quantity of sherds (hundreds of pieces originally) from flaring bowls and vases which were shattered but often complete or nearly so (Plate 5.1). Such a concentration suggests two possibilities: that the area was actually a courtyard, the Southern side of which was eroded down to the river, or that this zone was immediately adjacent to a public building, where communal meals were offered.

A thorough examination of the pottery (where the decorated types of Period 6 are absent) has demonstrated a typological continuity of the flaring bowls (both carinated and uncarinated) between Periods 6 and 7. This is a fact which supports the hypothesis of a temporal continuity between layers 2 and 4 (and incidentally there is absolutely no sign of a general levelling). We are very optimistic that further elements will be found in future campaigns supporting this contention.

From the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> Centuries Kaḫat suffered a considerable decline in its prosperity. In spite of this, the city must have enjoyed a certain importance, for Tukultī-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.) during his journey to Naṣībīna (in the course of his sojourn at Terqa when he

left a precious caricature of a Late Assyrian stela) felt the necessity of supporting the Assyrian domination of the country with the erection of a palace.

From this very building came the complete stone block (along with another fragment) on display in the Aleppo Museum, with the inscription permitting the identification of Tell Barri with Kaḥat, published by Dossin.<sup>18</sup> The translation of the text<sup>19</sup> is:

- 1 É.GAL mIZKIM-dMAŠ
  - 2 MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ
  - 3 A X-ERÍN-GAB MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ
  - 4 A AŠ-KAL-an MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ-ma
  - 5 I.DIB šá URU ka-ḥa-at
- 
- 1 (Property of) the Palace of Tukultī-Ninurta
  - 2 King of the Universe, King of Assyria
  - 3 Son of Adad-Nārārī, King of the Universe, King of Assyria
  - 4 Son of Aššur-dan, King of the Universe, King of Assyria
  - 5 Stone slab of the city of Kaḥat

The surface of the acropolis is covered with blocks of white limestone and black basalt, covering the tombs. These are doubtless the stones provided by the Late Assyrian Palace; one of these with a fancy decoration of rosettes in relief was found on the Northeastern sector of the acropolis in 1980 and another came from the slopes in 1984, as a result of the winter rains (Plate 5.2). The emergence of these blocks can be explained as they were probably re-used during the Roman-Parthian period, and certainly in the Medieval period. A few of the blocks were found in layer 2 of Area F4, more or less equivalent to the level reached by the modern graves. This explanation of the 'levitation' of this material inclines one to suspect that it is not very probable that anything more than the most meager remains of the palace of Tukultī-Ninurta will ever be discovered.

The interval between 712 (the last reference to Kaḥat in a text of Sargon II) and the Roman-Parthian epoch is not represented by any finds unearthed at present. In the First Century B.C., Tell Barri was again settled, probably by one of those oriental groups dependent on Roman patronage (although it is entirely possible that the continuing excavations will bring a previous Hellenistic settlement to light). The excavations in Areas A, C, E, and F have enabled us to establish that substantial works were undertaken to extend the acropolis,

<sup>18</sup> G. Dossin, *Le site de la ville de Kaḥat*, AAS 11/12, 1961-1962, pp. 197-206, esp. pp. 203-204.

<sup>19</sup> *cf.* A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, Vol. II: From Tiglath-pileser I to Ashur-nasir-apli II*, Wiesbaden 1976, p. 112, no. 12; also: M. Salvini, *I dati storici*, in: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, *Tell Barri / Kaḥat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri / Kaḥat nel bacino del Habur*, Roma 1982, pp. 13-28, esp. p. 13.

generally levelling its surface and constructing terracing walls. Today, thanks to the work in Area A of Prof. R. Ricciardi Venco, and in Area F, it was possible to uncover a series of at least four structural phases, which can be dated on the basis of the pottery to the First Century B.C. and the First Century A.D. (Figs. 6+7). Of interest here are remarkable buildings, technically excellent although made of crude brick, and particularly the two structures of Area A, layers 15 and 20. The foundation of the building exposed in layer 15 is subdivided into eight units, although it was not possible to reach all of it, some of it have been swept away down the Southern slope. The same sequence of buildings was also found in the deep trench sunk in Area F, sector 1, and the profile clearly shows the vertical succession of the Roman structures lying beneath the Islamic layers. Particularly interesting is the building - a store or an artisan's atelier - excavated in Area E (Plate 3.3) on the edge of the Eastern slope under the direction of my colleague M.G. Amadasi. Aside from the pottery to which we will return, various iron objects were also found along with three fine belt buckles, one of which - done in openwork - depicts Hercules in combat with the Lion of Nemea, surrounded by a floral pattern (Plate 5.3).

The pottery typical of this period shows that aside from the production of the usual forms - which can be identified as local products of the Northern Jezireh (previously found at places like Ain Sinu<sup>20</sup>) - there is a mixture of Western and Eastern types. To the first group belong the red glazed wares spread throughout the Mediterranean basin: according to Dr. N. Parmegiani these consist for the most part of Eastern sigillata with a small percentage of African sigillata and a few rare pieces of Arretina ware. At the other end of the spectrum are the flaring bowls and large amphoras with relief decoration: the production of glazed wares in white or light green is typical of the Parthian cities of central Mesopotamia such as Seleucia on the Tigris, according to Prof. R. Ricciardi Venco.

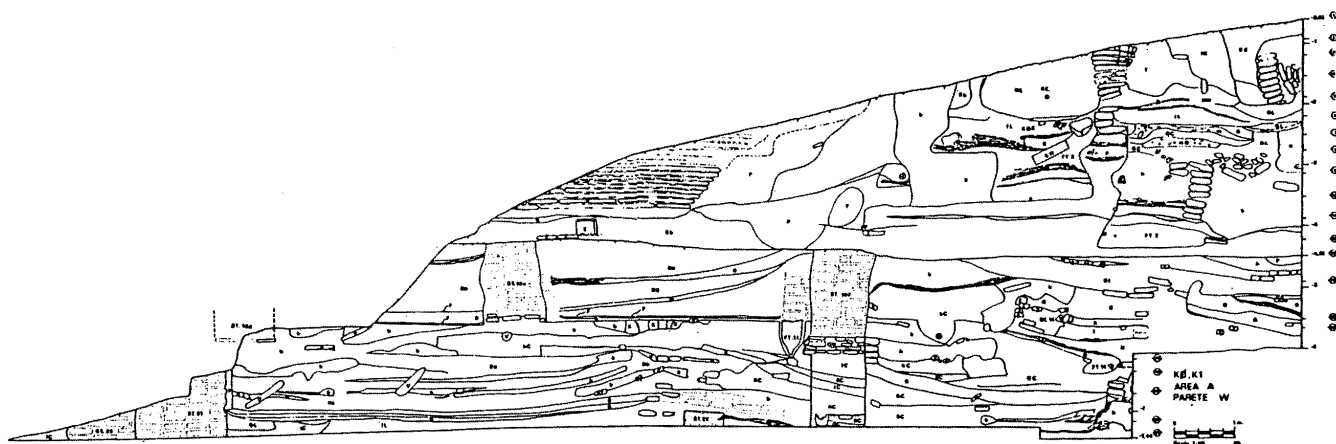


Fig. 6: The Western Part of Area A: The Levels of the Roman-Parthian and Medieval Periods

<sup>20</sup> See: D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, pp. 145-160.

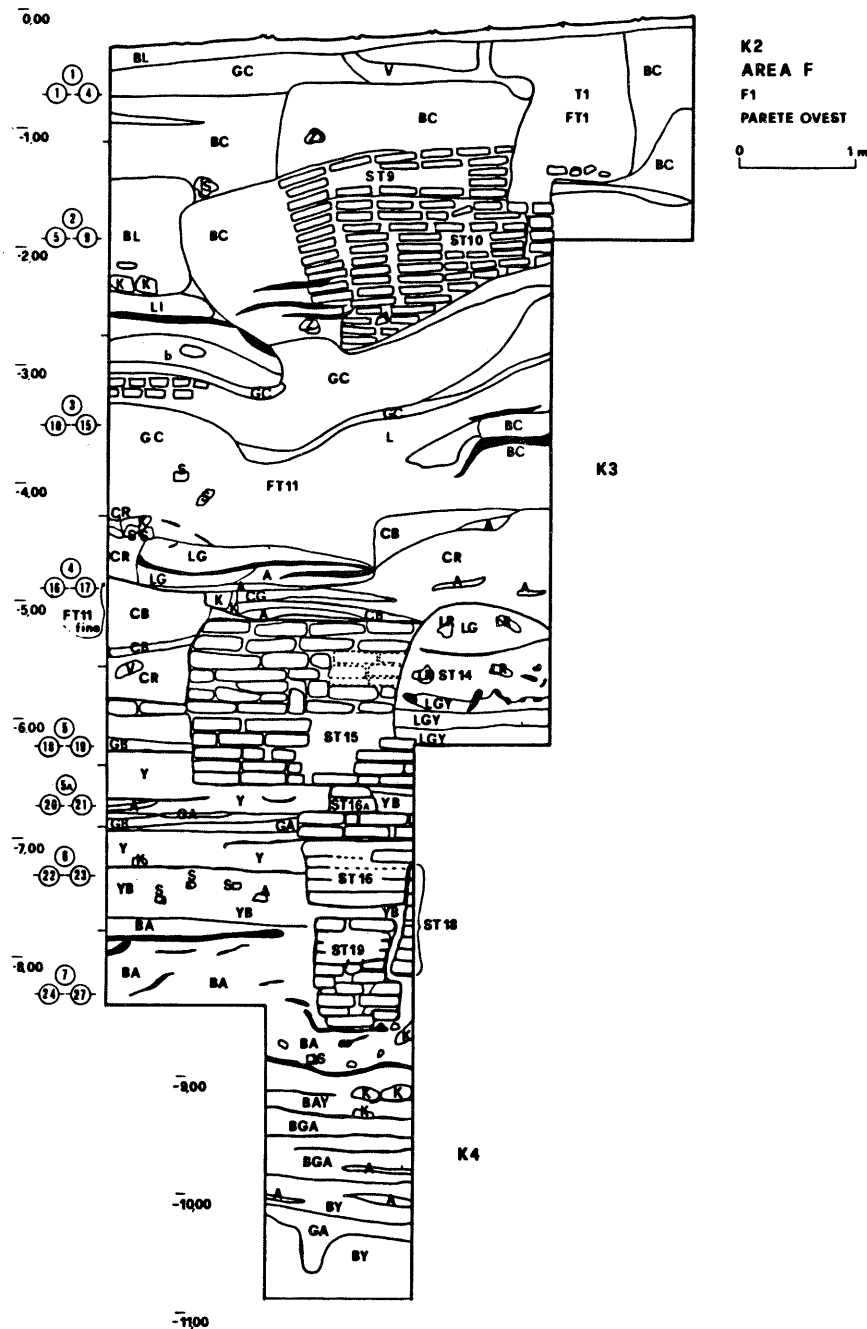


Fig. 7: The Western Part of Area F1: The Levels of the Roman-Parthian and Medieval Periods

The period represented by this thick level, as indicated above, arches over the two centuries on either side of the beginning of our era. The archaeological aspects of the establishment of the *limes* which followed the Jaghjagh and then the Khabur, from Nisibis to Circesium, in the Severian period, are unfortunately unknown. In the Islamic period the acropolis was levelled yet again (as can be seen in the Western part of Area A) and this has affected the very latest Roman-Parthian layers. This probably accounts for the small quantity of the petrol green glazed ware so typical of that produced at Dura-Europos. In any case, despite this difficulty, the data recovered to date show that Tell Barri will have lain in the buffer zone between the Roman and Parthian empires, and thus continued its existence as a border town: an advance post in this Northern region, as it most probably was in the late Hellenistic period, as is indicated by a few sherds in Area F1.

The fate of the Roman-Parthian levels after the Second Century A.D. is typical for those of the Sasanian period. Period 10 in fact provides typical material, but out of context: sherds of closed vessels stamped with circular designs between which are animal figures (mostly in profile are the lion, deer, zebu, but some *en face* as the eagle, or from above, like the scorpion), often with a kind of Maltese Cross within a field (Plate 5.4). Analogous material was uncovered at Nineveh.<sup>21</sup> To this period we have provisionally ascribed a defensive wall and a terrace (Area D) which leads a good way around the tell and up two thirds of the slopes of the tell. The foundation of this wall was made with mortar and baked brick, the upper part of which (or at least the fill) consisted of crude brick. In the interior of the wall we excavated a small rather delapidated structure, where a bronze ring with a setting of lapis lazuli and decorated with an ostrich in Sasanian style (for which this find thus constitutes a *terminus post quem*).

Period 11, that of the Medieval Islam, is the last of the archaeological units with datable objects. It lay in the lower city, where it lies above the Roman-Parthian and Mitannian layers, and more significantly on the top of the acropolis.

It is possible to distinguish two phases of which the last is poorly documented, represented by miserable ruins of poor crude brick slightly below the present surface of the lower city. The earlier period presents a number of enigmatic crude brick structures and unusually wide walls (?) made of various kinds of rock. This detail, together with the presence of some slag, suggests the existence of an artisan's atelier (perhaps a kiln?), something which would only be conceivable on the acropolis in times of regional insecurity. The two phases can in any case be distinguished by the pottery production studied by my colleagues U. Scerrato and G. Ventrone Vassallo who, based on the glazed wares, have dated the settlement to the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries A.D. The scarcity of glazed sherds would seem to hint more at the presence of labourers than that of a substantial settlement during the second phase. On the contrary, the dominant forms are those typically simple and functional, hand made (also attested in such sites as Chagar Bazar and Tell Hamidi) with incised geometric decoration, relatively crude but not ugly. This class, also called *Casual Ware*, would probably have been, in my opinion, the result of demographic changes with the consequent substitution of technically more advanced types (e.g., the glazed ware coming from Raqqa), a phenomenon which can be attributed to the widespread destructions brought about by the Mongolian invasions in North Syria. Whether or not this is the real explanation, it is certain that one can note a technical 'regression' in specific fields such as ceramic production, something which really requires further research in other disciplines if we are to be able to understand it properly.

After the end of the Seventh Century B.C., Tell Barri remains nameless. 'Kaḥat' disap-

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<sup>21</sup> R.C. Thompson, M.E.L. Mallowan, The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-32, AAA 20, 1933, pp. 71-186, esp. p. 177, plate 77.

peared with the collapse of the Assyrian Empire – only to return as we have seen – in order to take on a new role, if a much more modest one than that of the temple city – a century or two before the Christian era. We hope that the research project involving the collaboration of a number of specialists and colleagues can continue, now that the Mission has been placed under the aegis of the University of Florence.

A particular aspect of the application of new disciplines, while integrating traditional archaeological methods, concerns the processing of excavation data, using modern electronic means, either in the form of a material data base or by means of graphic documentation of the excavation (plans and profiles) accompanying these materials (Fig. 8). I hope the short appendix following below is of use to my colleagues in reference to the methods used.

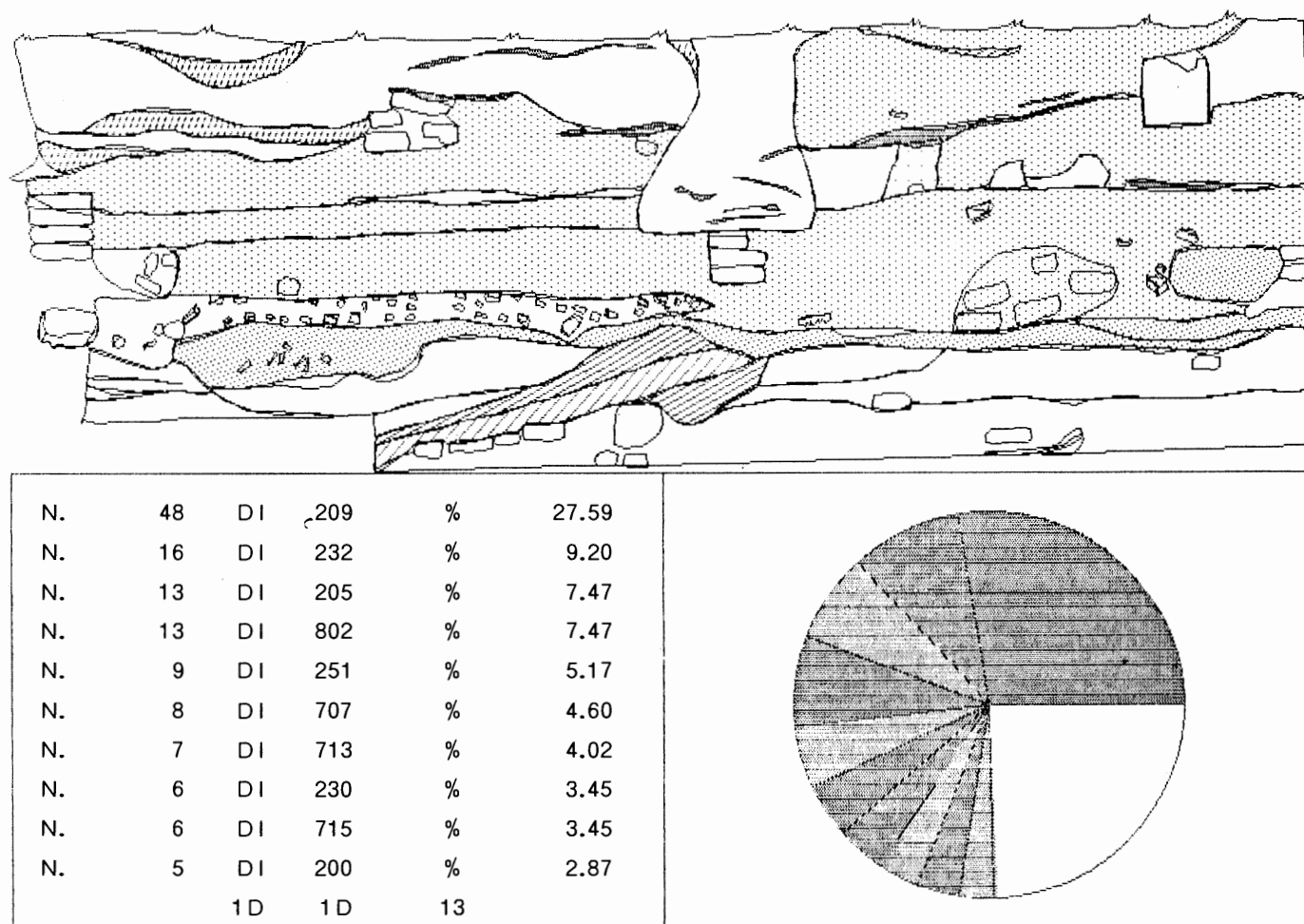


Fig. 8: Area G: A Drawing of the Northern Part with a List of the Pottery Classes Appearing with Percentages and Graphic Representations Computer Generated

## Computer Applications for the Italian Archaeological Mission at Tell Barri

Neda Parmegiani - Rome<sup>22</sup>

### Pottery Codes For Tell Barri

We have collaborated since 1982 with the Servizio Elaborazione Dati del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Area di Frascati) with the aim to put together an *ad hoc* computer program easily applicable to other situations and excavations.

The system is based on an IBM 370/158 computer, using interactive Software VM/SP, which needs:

a compiler:	FORTRAN
a library:	GDDM
a graphics terminal:	3279

It consists of interactive EXEC procedures and FORTRAN programs.

The system functions with the help of (control-)panels and permits:

- generation of a data base,
- inquiry of basic characteristics references for a fragment,
- selective analysis of the characteristics,
- cross-referencing for two or more characteristics with a visual statistics display.

### Program for the Automatic Generation of Data with a Graphic Character

This program is an integrating part of the one created for the pottery data-processing (see above) and was designed *ad hoc* for the automatic generation of graphic data.

It provides stratigraphic visualization and consists of an IBM graphics terminal 3279 with access to the data base (referring to pottery or other specific material). This permits the simultaneous display of both graphics and pictorial data with automatic search and print-out of statistics and other information referring to findings.

At the start of each work-period the display shows the stratigraphy recorded by the end of the previous work-period. With the help of a dispatch key the screen is cleared and the panel appears, which permits selection of the consecutive operations. Up to 1984 the usual procedure was to put in the X and Y coordinates; then the digitalized CALCOMP table was

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<sup>22</sup> Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche), Roma.



gradually introduced; it adds in particular the possibility to supply later stratigraphic data, which are added to the existing data.

Another option is the ZOOM: the preceding image appears with a superimposed grid. At this point it is necessary to put in the coordinates for the center of the zone one wishes enlarged and the relative factor (greater or less than 1): The system then projects the stratigraphy in correct scale. Obviously the zoom can also be used solely with the purpose to scroll horizontally and vertically those images, which are too large to be projected simultaneously. The scrolling is done by putting in the coordinates of the edge of departure as well as a factor equal to 1.

The ZOOM and SCROLL operations can be mixed at will with those of data entry. If for instance one desires to scrutinize in detail a very small zone, one can activate a zoom, insert the desired data, after which a counter-zoom is executed to recover the total visualization (image). For each visualized image the system asks, whether it should be stored and printed out. If affirmative, the image is stored on a disc with the filetype ADMPRINT.

At the end of the work-period an output is obtained on a graphic 4-colour printer (black, red, green and blue); four additional colours (yellow, pink, turquoise and white) appear only on the terminal and are then printed in black. This limitation was the result of different ways of treatment. The program provides sixteen of them, a number which can be extended to 64. Colours and treatments can be redefined interactively at any time.

#### Interactive Procedure for the Representation of a Surface

We are in the process of digitalization of the topography of the zone of Tell Barri for a representation in perspective of altitude-curves (three-dimensional viewing). The interactive procedure provides the possibility of visualization on video and on the plotter without the need to recur to a 'library' (see above) of basic graphic functions (see also the work of A. Testa of the Istituto per le Applicazioni del Calcolo, achieved in the project 'Informatica', executed by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, the objective being SOFMAT).

We are talking about a two-dimensional matrix with two values. The already classified data are inserted on a matrix (x, y) while the unclassified data are reported on a grid. With the input of the value  $z$  = quota we have the three-dimensional graphic representation.

The treatment, working on the values Zenit and Azimut, will allow for various images, which will refer to various perspective visions (according to specific points of view).

Furthermore, a study is planned for the cumulation of results of this work, including aerial photos of the zone.

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## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KAḪAT

Dominique Charpin - C.N.R.S. Paris<sup>1</sup>

My contribution to this colloquium is the product of the research project studying historical geography based on the *Archives Royales de Mari* directed by Jean-Marie Durand. This joint effort has two major aspects: research, on the one hand, using published and unpublished texts leading to a detailed analysis of the geography of the Jezireh in the 18<sup>th</sup> century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and work in the field, on the other hand, complementing this research and placing it on a concrete basis. Theoretical research confined to the desktop is of course not particularly suitable in this domain. A number of sites were inspected in Autumn 1984, as a consequence of which it was decided that excavations should be started at Tell Hamdun, five km West of Amuda. The first campaign was to have taken place in Autumn 1986, but had to be postponed to Spring 1987. Nevertheless, it was possible to effect a *sondage* at Tell Amuda, the site assumed to be Urkiš. The results were very interesting, and will be presented *in extenso* later. Suffice it to state here, that - as Harvey Weiss and Giorgio and Marilyn Buccellati already suspected - Tell Amuda cannot be Urkiš, as the site was first settled in the Middle Assyrian period; an identification with the ancient city of Kulišhinaš being thus more probable.

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank D. Warburton for translating my original French manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> This analysis should appear in: *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites II/2*, Paris (forthcoming).

In studying the geographic data contained in the Mari texts, several broad sectors have been divided among us: with F. Joannès particularly concerned with the Sinjar region, B. Lafont with the lands along the Tigris and J.-M. Durand with the Western part of the Jezireh. I myself deal with the central part of this region, and certain results of this research have already been presented – at Yale and Paris – concerning the country of Apum, showing that Šubat-Enlil can be reliably identified with Tell Leilan.<sup>3</sup> I would like to present the textual material concerning Kaḥat now, complementing the information derived from the excavations at Tell Barri, presented by P. E. Pecorella elsewhere in this volume:<sup>4</sup> the new data will be presented corresponding to the three historical periods documented in the Mari archives, the successive reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim, Šamšī-Addu and Zimri-Lim. The sources cover such varied themes as politics, geography and economy.

## REIGN OF YAḤDUN-LIM

### A MILITARY CAMPAIGN ON THE JAGHJAGH

The new data concerning Kaḥat at the time of Yaḥdun-Lim are furnished primarily by a group of 22 tablets permitting the reconstruction of an itinerary which Yaḥdun-Lim followed in the course of one of his military campaigns.<sup>5</sup> On the 6<sup>th</sup> of Month II, the king of Mari was at Musulan; on the 17<sup>th</sup> of the same month, he was at Kallaḥabri and on the 20<sup>th</sup> at Kaḥat; and finally from the 23<sup>rd</sup> to the 29<sup>th</sup>, at Nagar. Apparently this section of his itinerary was oriented North-South; it is in fact known that Nagar is located on the route between Kaḥat and Mari.<sup>6</sup> J.-M. Durand even advocates – using other sources – locating Nagar at Tell Brak.<sup>7</sup> The sequence Kaḥat to Nagar is thus North to South.

<sup>3</sup> See: D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140.

<sup>4</sup> See: P.E. Pecorella, The Italian Excavations at Tell Barri (Kaḥat), 1980-1985, above pp. 47-66.

<sup>5</sup> The journey of the King of Mari was reconstructed from a series of tablets inscribed *ina bāb NG*, the subject of a preliminary commentary by: J.-R. Kupper, Notes relatives à la chronologie et à la ménologie d'après ARM XXII, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 181-184, esp. p. 183; taken up once again (with unpublished material) in my contribution to: Problèmes concernant les Hurrites II/2, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> See the letter ARM II: 57, commentary below. The proximity of Kaḥat and Nagar is also clear from the unpublished letter A.3130, cited by: G. Dossin, Les inscriptions des temples de Ninni-zaza et de (G)ištarat, in: A. Parrot, Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-zaza, MAM 3, Paris 1967, pp. 307-331, esp. p. 319; Aškur-Addu and Kabiya of Kaḥat have gone out and pillaged the land between Nagar and Šabiša (the town mentioned is Šabiša and not Dabiša; for this correction, see: J.-M. Durand, Villes fantômes de Syrie et autres lieux, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 199-234, esp. p. 221).

<sup>7</sup> One of his principal arguments is the remarkably important role played by Nagar in the Ebla sources, comparable to that of Mari or Kiš; cf. A. Archi, The personal Names in the individual Cities, in: P. Fronzaroli (ed.), Studies on the Language of Ebla, Qaderni di Semitistica 13, Florence 1984, pp. 225-251, esp. pp. 239, 250; it is clearly a major tell of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium, and Tell Brak is obviously the best candidate in this respect, in the region to the South of Tell Barri, although Tell el-Aswad could also be drawn into consideration. D. Oates has shown the reasons for which he prefers identifying Tell Brak with Tādum, in: D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173, esp. pp. 169-172. See also, below: notes 32 and 42.

But, what was the point of Yaḥdun-Lim's journey? One of the tablets in this group is dated to the 'Year when Yaḥdun-Lim wrought the destruction of the troops of Šamšī-Addu before the gates of Nagar'.<sup>8</sup> According to the custom by which year-names were awarded, this event must have taken place in the preceding year. And there are additional variations of this year-name: 'Year when Yaḥdun-Lim seized Nagar'<sup>9</sup> and 'Year when Yaḥdun-Lim wrought the destruction of Šamšī-Addu and seized Nagar'<sup>10</sup>. The conclusion is thus obvious: Nagar lay at a point of contact – and thus conflict – between the two empire-builders: Yaḥdun-Lim extending his from Mari on the Euphrates, and Šamšī-Addu expanding his from Ekallātum on the Tigris.<sup>11</sup> The year following his victory over Šamšī-Addu, Yaḥdun-Lim returned to the newly conquered regions and successively visited Musulan, Kallaḥubra<sup>12</sup>, Kaḥat and Nagar. This was evidently in order to consolidate his domination of these recently defeated cities.<sup>13</sup>

## THE PASTURES OF THE LAND OF KAḤAT

The strategic control of this region by the king of Mari was guided by a well defined economic policy: concern for providing a secure region for summer pasturage. In two unpublished texts in Damascus dating to the epoch of Yaḥdun-Lim, Kaḥat (var. Gaḥat) appears as the place of pasturage sought by the flocks of Mari.<sup>14</sup> That this movement is by no means exceptional,<sup>15</sup> but rather a regularly recurring phenomenon, is confirmed by the letter ARM II: 59, written by Kabiya to his 'father' Zimri-Lim. The king of Kaḥat reassures the king of

<sup>8</sup> ARM XXII: 138 (coll.): mu *ia-aḥ-du-li-im* / *da-am<sub>7</sub>-da-a[m]* / *ša ṣa-ab sa\*-a[m\*-si]-* / <sup>d</sup>IM / *i\*-na\* ká\* n[a\*-ga-ar<sup>ki</sup>]* / *i-du-ku*. J.-R. Kupper discussed this year-name, in: J.-R. Kupper, Notes relatives à la chronologie et à la ménologie d'après ARM XXII, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 181-184, esp. p. 181; referring to the apparent parallel in: G. Dossin, Les noms d'années et d'éponymes dans les 'Archives de Mari', in: A. Parrot (ed.), *Studia Mariana*, Leiden 1950, pp. 51-61, esp. p. 52, no. 5. In fact, I am almost certain that the tablet with G. Dossin's formula no. 5 is none other than ARM XXII: 138.

<sup>9</sup> mu *ia-aḥ-du-li-im* / *na-ga-ar<sup>ki</sup>* / *iṣ-ba-tu* (eight unpublished references).

<sup>10</sup> This year-name figures in the unpublished contract T. 211: mu *ia-aḥ-du-li-im da-am<sub>7</sub>-da-a[m]* / [*š*]a *sa-am-si-*<sup>d</sup>IM / *i-[du-]k[u]* / *ù na-ga-ar iṣ-b[a-tu]*.

<sup>11</sup> See: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 293-343, esp. p. 295.

<sup>12</sup> For Kallaḥubra = Kallaḥabri, see below note 34.

<sup>13</sup> The administrative text T. 188, dating to the period of Yaḥdun-Lim, mentioning a young girl as part of the booty from Šabiša (*ša ṣa-la-at ṣa-bi-ša-a<sup>ki</sup>*), evidently refers to the military campaign of Yaḥdun-Lim in the region of Nagar. There were thus deportations as a consequence of this victory of the king of Mari; the same occurred later when Zimri-Lim took the region of Kaḥat.

<sup>14</sup> T. 254: 40 (sheep led *a-na ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*) with the semi-duplicate T. 256 (sheep led *a-na ga-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*); see also T. 358: 7': sheep *ḥa-la-tum i-na ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>* (for *ḥallātum* with the meaning of 'transhumant', see: J.-M. Durand, Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie I, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 155-198, esp. p. 171).

<sup>15</sup> As was, e.g., sending Mari's flocks into the region of Qatna in an unusually arid year; see the letter of the king of Qatna Išhi-Addu to Yasmah-Addu published in ARM V: 15 (with J.-M. Durand's corrections, in: J.-M. Durand, Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie I, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 155-198, esp. p. 189).

Mari about the state of the Khanaeans pasturing in the region: there is sufficient water in the pastures. What is more, the Bannum letter A. 1098<sup>16</sup> explicitly emphasizes the importance of these pastoral movements. The manager of the pastures of the 'High Country' (*merḥum*) wrote about it to the king of Mari:

A. 1098

20 *i-na ma-at mu-sí-la-an*<sup>ki</sup> *qa-du-um ki-[bi-it]-ti-ka lu wa-aš-*  
*b[a-a]t*  
 21 *ù a-na a[b]-bé-e i-da-ma-ra-aš*<sup>ki</sup> *ù [a-du-na]-*<sup>dIM</sup> *šu-pu-ur-ma*  
 22 *a-na še-ri-ka li-[i]l-li-ku-nim-ma*  
 23 *ḥa-a-ra-am ša sa-li-mi-im qú-tu-ul-ma it-ti-šu-nu i-ša-ri-iš*  
*du-b[u]-ub*  
 24 *lú-meš šu-nu-ti i-na qa-ti-ka sa-ba-at*  
 25 *na-wu-ú-ka i-na ḥa-al-ší-šu-nu sa-ak-na-at*  
 26 *dumu-meš ši-ip-ri-ka a-na še-er a-du-na-*<sup>dIM</sup> *lu ka-ia-an*  
 27 *pa-na-nu-um ia-aḥ-du-li-im i-nu-ma a-na ma-tim ša-a-ti i-la-ku*  
 28 *a-na ab-bé-é i-da-ma-ra-aš qí-ša-tim i-qí-eš-ma*  
 29 *na-wu-šu ša-al-ma-at mi-im-ma sà-ar-tum ù gu-lu-ul-tum ú-ul*  
*ib-ba-ši*  
 30 *i-na-an-na at-ta qa-tam ša a-bi-ka-ma e-pu-úš*

20 Stay in the land of Musilan<sup>17</sup> with your well-equipped forces!  
 21 And send to the 'fathers' of Ida-Maraš and to Aduna-Addu,  
 22 that they come to you:  
 23 kill the foal of peace and converse with them frankly.  
 24 Take these people in your hand:  
 25 your flocks in their summer pastures<sup>18</sup> stay<sup>19</sup> in their district.  
 26 Let your messengers continue on to Aduna-Addu.  
 27 Earlier, when Yaḥdun-Lim went into this country,  
 28 he offered presents to the 'fathers' of Ida-Maraš,

<sup>16</sup> Cited by: G. Dossin, *Les archives épistolaires du palais de Mari*, Syria 19, 1938, pp. 105-126, esp. p. 109; re-published in: *Recueil Georges Dossin: Mélanges d'Assyriologie (1934-1959)*, Akkadica: Supplementum 1, Leuven 1983, pp. 102-132, esp. p. 106.

<sup>17</sup> This is probably a variation of the toponym Musulan encountered in Yaḥdun-Lim's itinerary.

<sup>18</sup> For the term *nawûm*, see: F.R. Kraus, *Akkadische Wörter und Ausdrücke*, X-XI, RA 70, 1976, pp. 165-179; esp. pp. 172-179.

<sup>19</sup> For the verb *sakānum*, meaning 'to live or stay in' (to be distinguished from *šakānum*), see: J.-M. Durand, *Le culte des bétyles en Syrie*, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 79-84, esp. p. 82, note 10.

- 29 and his flocks in summer pastures were safe and sound: there was  
neither villainy nor want.
- 30 Now, you: do the same as your father!

It is evident that Yaḥdun-Lim's stay in Ida-Maraṣ - to which Bannum alludes in this letter - is that documented by the tablets of Yaḥdun-Lim's reign itself, and where there are in fact several references to 'gifts' among the registered expenses. The king of Mari having thus removed the menacing threat of Šamšī-Addu's military hegemony in this region, sought the favour of the local potentates in order to permit his flocks access to peaceful summer pasturage in a region with abundant pastureland.

One thus perceives the degree to which the political domination of the kings of Mari over the region of Kaḥat (and, more generally, over the entire Ida-Maraṣ) responded to a vital economic interest: enabling the shepherds of the Middle Euphrates to move into the summer pastures of the 'High Country'.

#### . REIGN OF ŠAMŠĪ-ADDU

Yaḥdun-Lim's domination of the Upper Khabur did not last very long, and in the end Šamšī-Addu even conquered the Middle Euphrates, installing his son Yasmaḥ-Addu at Mari. For twenty years Kaḥat was no longer in a zone of conflict between two major rival kingdoms, but at the heart of a vast empire, a mere thirty km from one of its major cities, Šubat-Enlil.

Our only precise description of the land of Kaḥat comes from this period. This is the tablet A. 315, edited by G. Dossin 15 years ago<sup>20</sup>, of which the missing beginning was recently identified by J.-M. Durand (M. 8103); the join enables us to confirm the letter's attribution to Šamšī-Addu, as G. Dossin suggested. The principal interest of this text which in our opinion lies in lines 11'-15' was transcribed and translated by G. Dossin as follows:

#### A. 315

- 11' *a-la-nu ša i-na ma-a-at Ka-ḥa-at*<sup>ki</sup>
- 12' *Ša-ki-in-ni*<sup>ki</sup> *E-dan-nu-ni-li-ib-ši-in-nu*<sup>ki</sup>
- 13' *Ka-al-la-ḥu-ub-ra*<sup>ki</sup> *ú Ka-bi-it-tu*<sup>ki</sup>
- 14' *Ša-ki-in-ni*<sup>ki</sup> *E-dan-nu-ul-li - iš*
- 15' *a-la-nu ka-lu-šu-nu pa-as-sú*

<sup>20</sup> G. Dossin, *Adaššum et Kirḫum* dans les textes de Mari, RA 66, 1972, pp. 111-130, esp. pp. 122-124.

- 11' Les villes qui sont au pays de Kaḥat,  
 12' Šakinni, Edannulišinnu (*sic*),  
 13' Kallaḥubra et Kabittu,  
 14' Šakinni, Edannulliš,  
 15' toutes les villes sont de son ressort.

This passage recently attracted K. Kessler's attention, due to his interest in the toponym Nilibšinnu.<sup>21</sup> Examining this text, he concluded that during the Old Babylonian period Edannu-Nilibšinnu was a military post at which, as at many places, a garrison of a hundred men was installed, all serving for the defense of Kaḥat. According to Kessler, *māt Kaḥat*, 'the land of Kaḥat', should be understood as a very small territorial unit consisting of the land (within about 15–18 km) immediately surrounding Tell Barri. On the west, this territory bordered on that of Ašnakkum, which he localises at Chagar Bazar; to the South lay that of Kurda, which he identifies with Middle Assyrian Gurete and sets at Tell el-Aswad.<sup>22</sup> The southern frontier of the land of Kaḥat, according to K. Kessler, could not have been beyond Tell Brak, situated nine km from Tell Barri. To the North, the land of Kaḥat bordered on Sunā = Tell Hamidi. To the East, the situation is less clear. Based on these assumptions, Kessler attempted to justify the form 'Edannu-Nilibšinnu' as it appears in A. 315, a toponym which is incidentally known elsewhere simply as 'Nilibšinnu'. *Edannu* would signify "befestigte 'Meilen'-Station o. ä." from Sumerian é-danna. This serves later as a supplementary argument for locating Nilibšinnu at Tell Brak,<sup>23</sup> as this lies nine km from Tell Barri, or approximately one danna (= ca. 10'800 m).

Even a superficial examination of A. 315 cannot but result in a disconcerting impression. G. Dossin evidently felt this, noting: "L. 14'. La mention des villes de Šakinni<sup>ki</sup> et de Edannulliš<sup>ki</sup> paraît être une répétition erronée de Šakinni<sup>ki</sup> et Edannunilibšinnu<sup>ki</sup>." <sup>24</sup> This explanation is not very satisfactory, supposing as it does three simultaneous mistakes: not only that the scribe took up the first two names at the end of the list, but also that he savaged the second (Edannunilibšinnu becoming Edannulliš) and finally that he omitted the necessary determinative <sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> K. Kessler, Nilibšinnu und der altorientalische Name des Tell Brak, SMEA 24, 1984, pp. 21–31.

<sup>22</sup> It should be immediately pointed out that this localisation at Tell el-Aswad is absolutely impossible: a letter from Ḥabdu-Malik, in: Archives épistolaires de Mari 1, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming), shows that one could go in a single day from Karanā to Kurda. For a more precise localisation of Kurda to the South of Jebel Sinjar, see the contribution by F. Joannès in: Problèmes concernant les Hurrites II/2, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>23</sup> K. Kessler, Nilibšinnu und der altorientalische Name des Tell Brak, SMEA 24, 1984, pp. 21–31, esp. p. 30.

<sup>24</sup> G. Dossin, Adaššum et Kirḫum dans les textes de Mari, RA 66, 1972, pp. 111–130, esp. p. 124.



A new interpretation of this passage can in any case be proposed. The simplest is to read the adverb *ulliš* at the end of l. 14': the city of Edannulliš, Edannunilibšinnu's double, thus disappears. It is then no longer possible to regard l. 12' *e-dan-nu* as the start of a city name of which the usual form was Nilibšinnu, as Kessler has shown. There is thus a list of three cities: Nilibšinnu, Kallaḥubra and Kabittum. This conclusion is irrefutably confirmed by the close of the same letter, since Mašum should divide the 300 men sent by Išmē-Dagān with 100 men for each city. The sequence *ša ki in ni ki e dan nu* appears twice, at the start of lines 12' and 14'. Reading *kē dannu* suggests itself. And what is to be done with the start? J.-M. Durand suggested the word *\*gennum*, a variation of Middle Assyrian *qannum*, meaning 'border'. Finally, in line 20, *pa-as-sú* cannot be derived from *pāṭum*, as G. Dossin thought; it is the stative of *pasāsum*, meaning 'to be delapidated, in bad condition'.<sup>25</sup>

With these various observations, a new translation of this text can be proposed:

A. 315 + M. 8103 (Plate 6)

- 1 *a-na ia-ás-[ma-aḥ-<sup>d</sup>IM]*
- 2 *qí-bí-[ma]*
- 3 *um-ma <sup>d</sup>utu-[ši-<sup>d</sup>IM a-bu-ka-a-ma]*
- 4 *ṭup-pa-am an-né-e-em [...]*
- 5 *ù [m]a-[š]um š[u]-ú[š]-m[e ...]*
- 6 *[                           ḥa-ad-ni]-sa-ma-ás [...]*
- 7 *[                           iš-t]u lú me[š šu-nu-ti]*
- 8 *[                           ki-a-am] iq-bé-e-em*
- 9 *[                           lú meš ma]-a-at ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*
- 10 *[aš-šum tu]-uk-ki i-di iš-pu-ru-nim um-ma-mi*
- 11 *[am-mi-nim ta-a]ḥ\*-mu-ṭà-ma ta-ás-l[i]-ma*
- 12 *[la ta-sa-a]l-li-ma*
- 13 *[an-ni-tam] iq-bé-e-em*
- 14 *m[a-an-nu-u]m an-nu-ú-um ša i-na ma-at ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*
- 15 *an-[n]i-tam i-ip-pé-šu*
- 16 *a-la-nu ša i-na ma-a-at ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*
- 17 *ša qí-in-ni ke-e dan-nu ni-li-ib-ši-in-nu<sup>ki</sup>*
- 18 *ka-al-la-ḥu-ub-ra<sup>ki</sup> ù ka-bi-it-tu<sup>ki</sup>*
- 19 *ša qí-in-ni ke-e dan-nu ul-li-iš*
- 20 *a-la-nu ka-lu-šu-nu pa-as-sú*

<sup>25</sup> See: AHW III, p. 1582; and recently: V. Hurowitz, Literary Structures in Samsuiluna A, JCS 36, 1984, pp. 191-205, esp. p. 197, note 10; cf. ARM XIV: 18, 8' *ù er-re-e-tim (sic) ka-lu-ši-na pu-us-sú-sà-ma*, "and further, all the dams are delapidated".

21 *i-na-an-na a-nu-um-ma a-na iš-me-<sup>d</sup>da-gan*  
 22 *áš-ta-pa-ar 3 me ša-ba-am i-ṭà-ar-ra-da-kum*  
 23 *<sup>l</sup>ma-šum li-il-li-ik-ma ša-ba-am 1 me àm a-na a-la-ni šu-nu-ti*  
 24 *a-na bi-ra-a-tim li-ra-ad-di-ma li-še-ri-ib*  
 25 *dumu-meš a-lim<sup>ki</sup> iš-tu ki-ir-ḥi-im li-še-šú-ma*  
 26 *i-na a-da-aš-ši-im<sup>ki</sup> li-iš-bu*  
 27 *ù ša-bu-um bi-ir-tum i-na e-mu-qí-im*  
 28 *ki-ir-ḥa-am li-ki-il*  
 29 *ù nu-uh-ḥi-id-ma i-na dumu-meš a-lim<sup>ki</sup>*  
 30 *1 lú a-na ki-ir-ḥi-im a-na e-re-bi-im*  
 31 *la i-na-ad-di-nu*  
 32 *ù te-re-e-tim iš-te-et qa-tam a-na šu-lum ma-a-tim*  
 33 *a-na še-eh-ti-im i-na qa-at lú kúr*  
 34 *iš-te-et qa-tam a-na la na-ba-al-ku-ut ma-a-tim*  
 35 *i-na ep-ši-im ù ba-ar-tim*  
 36 *'iš-te'-et qa-tam a-na šu-lu[m] a-l[im] ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*  
 37 *a-na uzu {x} iz<sup>l</sup>-bi iš-[te-et qa-tam a-na uzu giš-m]i-i[m]*  
 38 *te-re-e-tim ši-na-ti l[ú dumu ši-ip-ri-ka]*  
 39 *li-il-qé-em-ma a-na še[-ri-ia li-ib-la-am x]*  
 40 *iti ma-am-mi-t[im u<sub>4</sub>x-kam]*  
 41 *ṭup-pa-am an-n[é-e-em ú-ša-bi-lam]*

1 To Yasmah-Addu  
 2 speak:  
 3 thus (says) your father Šamšī-Addu  
 4-5 Let this tablet be read before [PN] and Mašum. [...]  
 6 [... Ḥadni]-Samas [...]  
 7 [...] among these men  
 8 has said to me this:  
 9 "the men of the land of Kaḥat  
 10 have sent me reproaches concerning the attacks in this manner:  
 11 'why are you so desperate for peace?  
 12 Do not make peace!' ".  
 13 This is what he has said to me.  
 14-15 Who is it that would do such a thing in the land of Kaḥat?  
 16 The cities which are in the land of Kaḥat,  
 17 at the border, how can they resist? Nilibšinnu,  
 18 Kallahubra and Kabittum,  
 19 which are at the border, how can they resist?  
 20 In addition, all of these cities are in bad shape.

- 21-22 Now, I have just written to Išmē-Dagān. He will send you 300 men.  
 23 Mašum should get going, and add 100 men to the garrisons of each  
 of these cities,  
 24 and he must get them in.  
 25 He should make the residents of the city leave the citadel,  
 26 and they should remain in the lower city.  
 27-28 And the troops of the garrison should hold the citadel by force.  
 29-31 Take care that not a single inhabitant of the city is allowed to enter  
 the citadel.  
 32 And the omens, a 'deal'<sup>26</sup> concerning the welfare of the land,  
 33 regarding the pillage by the enemy's hand  
 34 (and) a 'deal' regarding the non-rebellion of the land  
 35 by revolt and protest,  
 36 a 'deal' concerning the welfare of the city of Kaḥat  
 37 by birth divination (and) a 'deal' by astrological divination<sup>27</sup>,  
 38 these omens, [your messenger]  
 39 should take and bring them to me. [x]  
 40 of the Month of Mammitum,  
 41 I let this tablet be taken.

It is clear that, at the time, a serious danger haunted the land of Kaḥat, being threatened with invasion by an unnamed enemy, whom it was evidently feared that the local population would support, revolting against Šamšī-Addu. Countering these risks, Išmē-Dagān is to send 300 men as reinforcements: 100 to Nilibšinnu, 100 to Kallaḥubra and 100 to Kabittum, the three fortified cities protecting the frontiers of the land of Kaḥat. A situation of this sort fits only into the last years of the reign of Šamšī-Addu, since a military threat to the region of Kaḥat, so close to Šubat-Enlil, is difficult to imagine at any point in his reign following the conquest of Mari. Noteworthy is the fact that the fortifications of the three fortified cities mentioned are in bad condition, which is understandable after three decades of peace at the heart of Šamšī-Addu's empire. It is indeed known that at the end of Šamšī-Addu's reign, an invasion of Turukkians<sup>28</sup> in the region of Kaḥat did occur, against whom Išmē-Dagān fought.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For this translation of *qātum* (literally 'hand') as 'deal (of cards)', cf. the contribution by J.-M. Durand in: *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1*, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>27</sup> The reading of line 37 is that of J.-M. Durand, who comments on the technical aspects of taking omens in his contribution to: *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1*, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>28</sup> For the Turukkian invasion, at the instigation of the king of Aleppo, Sumu-epuḫ, see the letter ARM V: 17+, republished in: J.-M. Durand, *Documents pour l'histoire du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie I*, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 155-198, esp. pp. 167-170.

<sup>29</sup> The letter A. 863 belongs to this group, cited by G. Bardet in: G. Bardet *et al.*, *Archives Administratives de*

The three fortified cities, Nilibšinnu, Kallaḥubra and Kabittum remain to be located. The initial difficulty is that of estimating the extent of the region which the ancients designated as *māt Kaḥat*, 'the land of Kaḥat'. Among other things, reasonably large tells must be examined, as each of these cities has a lower town (*adaššum*) and a citadel (*kirḫum*). Observing that the most important tell has a good chance of being Nilibšinnu, a city which is known from the Akkad period (as it is referred to on two tablets from Tell Brak<sup>30</sup>) until the Mitannian period, where it is mentioned in the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza<sup>31</sup>, it would appear that Tell Hamidi would be a good candidate.<sup>32</sup> Kallaḥubra and Kabittum however are not presently recorded except during the Old Babylonian period, and the references to these two cities in the Mari archives are not very numerous: Kallaḥubra is known from only a single additional reference, and Kabittum from only two others. That Kallaḥubra lay close to Kaḥat is confirmed by the previously mentioned itinerary of king Yaḥdun-Lim<sup>33</sup> in this region: a halt at Kallaḥabri<sup>34</sup> on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Month II, is followed by a halt at Kaḥat on the 20<sup>th</sup> of the same month: there are thus - at the most - two days march separating them. Aside from this, Kallaḥubra apparently lay to the North of Kaḥat, as the itinerary followed by Yaḥdun-Lim proceeds from North to South. Kabittum appears in a list of presents to messengers, which does not enable it to be precisely identified,<sup>35</sup> as well as in an unpublished fragment of more interest, apparently belonging to a letter from Ibāl-Ei<sup>36</sup>, who, having learnt of the murder of the king of Kaḥat<sup>37</sup>, arrived with the sheiks (*sugāgū*) and

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Mari 1, ARMT XXIII, Paris 1984, pp. 68-69. It is advisable to modify the text in several respects: "Another matter. A tablet from Išmē-Dagān has reached me (edited) in the following terms: 'the enemy has left Amurzakkum in force and established himself at a tell on the route from Kaḥat with the intention of raiding the land of Tillā, taking the grain.' Išmē-Dagān, having heard this, went to the rescue with ten thousand men, and installed himself at Marētum." Marētum is the contracted form of the toponym otherwise known under the form Mariyatūm, located in the region between Kaḥat and Tillā (see below).

<sup>30</sup> In the form *li-la-ab-ši-nūmki* (C. J. Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38, Iraq 7, 1940, pp. 22-66, esp. plate 5, F. 1159: 8, 11; and O. Loretz, Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak, Teil 1, AOAT 3/1, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, no. 69: 6; see: K. Kessler, Nilibšinnu und der altorientalische Name des Tell Brak, SMEA 24, 1984, pp. 21-31); for the mutation l/n, see: J.-M. Durand, Trois études sur Mari, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 127-180, esp. p. 176.

<sup>31</sup> See: G. del Monte, J. Tischler, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte, RGTC 6, TAVO B/7, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 282, s.v. Nilibšini.

<sup>32</sup> This is, of course, no more than a suggestion. Using other criteria, V. Haas and M. Wäfler have equated Tell Hamidi with Ta'idi, see: S. Eichler et al., Tall al-Ḥamīdiya 1, Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985, p. 69. D. Oates' impression that Tādum was at Tell Brak has been cited above (note 7).

<sup>33</sup> See above, pp. 68-69.

<sup>34</sup> A mere variant of Kallaḥubra, as J.-R. Kupper suggests; see J.-R. Kupper, Notes relatives à la chronologie et à la ménologie d'après ARM XXII, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 181-184, esp. p. 183.

<sup>35</sup> ARM XXIV: 271: (7') 1 ḫar kù-babbar 5 gín? (8') *ia-ad-ni-ia\** (9') *lu ka-bi-it-ti-im\** "1 silver ring of five shekels (for) Yadniya, man of Kabittum" (coll. J.-M. Durand). The only other toponym preserved in this text is Qirdaḥat l. 6'.

<sup>36</sup> M. 9175

<sup>37</sup> For this event, see below pp. 78-80.

Khanaeans at Kabittum, confirming the proximity of the two cities, without enlightening us about the precise relationship between them. At Tell Mohammed Kebir, about ten km to the North of Tell Hamidi on the Upper Jaghjagh (or about 20 km North of Kaḥat), there is a significant occupation dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium followed by a period with 'Khabur ware' and a citadel: it is possible that Kabittum or Kallahubra could be found here.

## REIGN OF ZIMRI-LIM

### CONQUEST OF KAḤAT BY ZIMRI-LIM

The events at Kaḥat following the fall of the kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia are not known, but it is evident that the old capital reestablished its independence. Zimri-Lim resorted to armed conquest and the event was judged to be sufficiently important that a year-name was accordingly assigned to it: it is thus certain that the year of the 'taking of Kaḥat' must be placed at the beginning of the reign of Zimri-Lim, more precisely in the year ZL 1', or the third year of the reign, the event itself having taken place in the preceding year.<sup>38</sup> The identity of the conquered king is not known, but his harem was, following contemporary custom, added to that of the victorious Zimri-Lim.<sup>39</sup> Zimri-Lim's successful conquest of Kaḥat at the start of his reign, after the king of Mari had asserted his strength in the Euphrates Valley, was most certainly interpreted as a significant event by the other contemporary powers. It cannot have been a coincidence that shortly after this victory, Yarim-Lim, the powerful king of Aleppo, gave Zimri-Lim his daughter Šiptu in marriage.<sup>40</sup>

### REIGN OF KABIYA

What followed? Kabiya is the only king of Kaḥat known to us today. It is known that he went to Mari, accompanied by his neighbour, the king of Isqa<sup>41</sup>, Yumraṣ-El and that rain

<sup>38</sup> See: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, *La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 293-343, esp. pp. 305, 329-330; and the contribution by J.-M. Durand in: *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1*, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> See until the appearance of Durand's forthcoming study of Zimri-Lim's harem: J.-M. Durand, *Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute Mésopotamie*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 385-436, esp. p. 421.

<sup>40</sup> For the date of Zimri-Lim's marriage with Šiptu, see: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, *La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 293-343, esp. p. 334; and the contribution by J.-M. Durand in: *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1*, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>41</sup> For the city of Isqa, near Qa'um, cf. J.-M. Durand, *Villes fantômes de Syrie et autres lieux*, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 199-234, esp. p. 228.

and snow impeded their progress between Nagar and Tabātum.<sup>42</sup> Kabiya's journey to Mari can now be dated, thanks to an economic text hinting at the stay of Kabiya, king of Kaḥat, and Yumraṣ-El, at the occasion of the sacrifice of Eštar:<sup>43</sup> it is known that the 'Eštar sacrifice' was the occasion at which the king of Mari brought all his 'vassals' together in his capital. All of the references to Kabiya in the *dated* economic texts are given in the following table:

ref.	date	contents
M. 11359+	5/9/ZL 7'	wine expenditures "when Kabiya, king of Kaḥat, and Yamraṣ-El, 'man' of Abi-ili came"
M. 10647	8/9/ZL 7'	50 jars of wine, brought by Kabiya, king of Kaḥat
ARM VII: 117	30/6/ZL 7'	silver for the redemption of slaves from Kabiya; silver paid to Napsi-Eraḥ, as he stayed by Kabiya
ARM VII: 91	x/9/ZL 8'	delivery of two head of cattle by Kabiya, king of Kaḥat

Kabiya is thus recorded as king of Kaḥat in only two years: ZL 7' and 8'. It will be more convenient to examine first the circumstances of his disappearance, and then those of his appearance.

#### THE SUCCESSORS OF KABIYA

It is known that the first half of the year ZL 9' was marked by serious trouble in the Ida-Maraṣ: Elamites had installed themselves in Šubat-Enlil, while Atamrum besieged Razamā.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> They informed the King of Mari of the delay in the letter ARM II: 57, written from Qattunān. In the course of a conversation during the symposium, my colleague David Oates remarked that from his own experience in the region, Tell el-Aswad was the only place which could be blocked by snow, as the passage skirting Kaukab to the East is extremely narrow. Tell el-Aswad is dominated by a very important occupation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium, the type that would be expected for the tell at which Nagar would be located (see above, notes 7 and 32). In any case, Joan Oates observed quite correctly that there is nothing in ARM II: 57 demonstrating that either of these two kings departed from his own capital.

<sup>43</sup> M. 11359 + 11593: wine expenditures *i-nu-ma*, *ka-bi-ia*, lugal *ka-ḥa-at*<sup>ki</sup>, *ia-am-ra-aš-AN*, lú *a-pí-ì-li*, *i-li-ku*, *i-nu-ma eš<sub>4</sub>-târ*, *i-na é dnin-é-kâl-lim*, *úš-bu* (the 5/Lilliyatum/Hatta). The month of Lilliyatum (9) corresponds to November/December (in the system when the official year was not out of joint with the solar year), explaining the meteorological situation described in the letter, which was evidently regarded as nevertheless exceptional.

<sup>44</sup> See: D. Charpin, Les Elamites à Šubat-Enlil, in: L. De Meyer, H. Gasche, F. Vallat (eds.), *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve*, Paris 1986, pp. 129-137; as well as my contribution in: *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1*, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming), the introduction to part 2, chapter 2.

Until then, the king of Ilaṣurā, Ḫaya-sūmū was Zimri-Lim's most reliable support in the region, but his loyalty to the king of Mari weakened: not content to join the Elamite Kunnam, he started to topple various kings enthroned by Zimri-Lim. He tried - unsuccessfully - to have a certain Ibni-Addu, king of Tādum, assassinated. His action against Kaḫat was more successful. A letter (A. 2112) written by Yamsum who was commanding Mari's garrison in Ilaṣurā tells us that "on the day when Abum-El rejoined me, that same night the troops headed for Kaḫat. On arrival, they took the city of Kaḫat, further, they took Kabiya. In the early morning, Attā, who lives with Ḫaya-sūmū, ascended the throne." This episode supplies a very important geographic detail: Ilaṣurā lay close to Kaḫat, as a single night is sufficient for the soldiers to move from one city to the other. Another letter, the unpublished M. 9623, describes Kabiya's fate:

M. 9623 (Plate 7.1)

1	[a-na be-lí-ia]	1	[To my Lord]
2	[qí-bí-ma]	2	[speak]
3	[um-ma . . .]-im-AN	3	[thus (says) . . .]im-El
4	[ìr]-ka-a-ma	4	your [servant].
5	[ <sup>I</sup> h]a-ià-su-mu-ú	5	[Ḫ]aya-sūmū
6	ša-ba-am a-na at-ti-ia	6-7	gave soldiers to Attiya
7	id-di-in-ma		
8	ka-ḫa-at <sup>ki</sup> iṣ-ba-at	8	and he seized Kaḫat.
9	ù ka-bi-ia id-du-ku	9	And they have killed Kabiya:
10	an-ni-tam be-lí lu-ú i-de	10	my Lord should know this.
11	ša-ni-tam bi-ri-it lú-meš ḫa-na	11	Another matter: between the Khanaeans
12	ù i-da-ma-ra-aš	12	and the Ida-Maraš
13	[s]a-li-mu-um a-di za-ra	13-14	there is peace; [...] grazing as far as
14	[xx] i-re-i		(Mount) Zara.

Kabiya thus perished, assassinated at the instigation of Ḫaya-sūmū: at the same time, the king of Apum, Ḫaya-abum, was also killed, but by Lawila-Addu, Atamrum's general, and the king of Ašnakkum, Sammētar, likewise disappeared, meeting a tragic end. The new king of Kaḫat, Attā, could hardly have profited from his crime, as he subsequently disappears from our sources completely. He was not however the last king of Kaḫat: a certain Asdi-Lim is also known, attested as 'Man of Kaḫat'<sup>45</sup> at the end of the reign of Zimri-Lim. It is

<sup>45</sup> M. 11646: 5 gu<sub>4</sub>-há, 20 udu-nita<sub>2</sub>-há, mu-tù às-di-li-im, lù ka-ḫa-at<sup>ki</sup> etc., dated 5/5/ZL 11'; and M. 7363: [x t]úg si-sá às-di-li-im, [ ] lú ka-ḫa-at<sup>ki</sup>. I am obliged to J.-M. Durand for bringing these two references to my attention. There is also a reference to às-di-li-im lú ka-ḫa-at<sup>ki</sup> in the fragmentary unpublished letter M. 6212: "I said this and a good many other things to Ḫaya-sūmū, but he did not hear my words and did

known that this designation can refer with equal probability to a private person from Kaḥat, or to the ruler of that city. But a reference to a *king* named Asdi-Lim does actually exist:<sup>46</sup> it is thus probable that these two are in fact only one person.<sup>47</sup> The circumstances under which Asdi-Lim ascended the throne of Kaḥat are not known at present.

#### AKIN-AMAR, KABIYA'S PREDECESSOR

We have seen that Kabiya does not appear in the Mari texts prior to the year ZL 7', and the identity of his predecessor on the throne of Kaḥat remains to be found. It can be shown that this was a certain Akin-Amar. He is known thanks to a letter of denunciation sent to Zimri-Lim:

##### A. 221

- 34    *ù ša-ni-tam am-mi-n[im] be-lí a-na ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup>*  
 35    *aš-šum<sup>l</sup> a-ki-in-a-mar la-a i-ša-ap-pa-ra-am*  
 36    *lú a-ki-in-a-mar na-ak-ri-[m]a-a*  
 37    *ú-ul na-ka-ar be-lí-ia-a š[ú]-ú am-mi-nim*  
 38    *i-na sa-li-ma-a[t] be-lí-ia w[a-ši]-ib*  
 39    *1-šu lú šu-ú ma-ḥa-ar be-[lí]-ia ú-ši-ib-ma*  
 40    *ù ka-sa-am iš,-ti ù iš-ši-šu-ma be-lí*  
 41    *it-ti lú-meš im-nu-šu túg ú-la-ab-bi-šu*  
 42    *ù<sup>túg</sup> hu-bu-ur-tam iš-ku-un-šu ù i-tu-ur-ma*  
 43    *i-na ka-si-im ša iš,-tu-ú ze-e-šu iz-zi*  
 44    *[ù i]t-ti be-lí-ia ik-ki-ir*

---

not give me the soldiers which I demanded. Furthermore, I spoke in the same way to Asdi-Lim, the 'man' of Kaḥat, [...], but he did not answer; I have no soldiers." (*an-né-e-tim ù ma-da-tim-ma a-na ḥa-ià-su-ú-mu ad-bu-ub mi-im-ma a-wa-ti ú-ul [iš-me], ù ša-ba-am ša e-ri-šu-šu ú-ul id-di-nam ù a-na às-di-li-im lú ka-ḥa-at<sup>ki</sup> [...], qa-tam-ma ad-bu-ub ú-ul i-pu-la-an-ni ša-bu-um i-na qa-ti-ia ú-ul i-ba-[aš-ši].*) The parallel between Ḥaya-sūmū, King of Ilanšurā, and Asdi-Lim does not leave any doubt about the royal status of the latter.

<sup>46</sup> A. 3209, published by F. Joannès: (20-22) "au sujet de l'affaire des Numhéens qui ont pillé mon pays, [lorsque] j'ai écrit aux (autres) rois, ils ne m'ont pas en[voyé] leurs troupes, exceptés! [Iba]l-Addu et Asdi-Lim", see: F. Joannès, Nouveaux mémoires, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 97-113, esp. p. 109, no. 7. I thank F. Joannès for reminding me of this reference.

<sup>47</sup> The statement "Asdi-Lim apparaît dans des textes inédits comme roi de Talhaya" made by D. Soubeyran, in: G. Bardet et al., *Archives administratives de Mari 1*, ARMT XXIII, Paris 1984, p. 379, no. 434, a), must be corrected. This confused Asdi-Lim with Asdi-neḥim, referred to as king of Talhayum in the unpublished administrative text M. 12040+: 4 (of 10/1/ZL 12'); Asdi-neḥim is also mentioned as 'man of Talhayūm' (lú Talḥayū<sup>ki</sup>) in the unpublished letter A. 4030.



- 34-35 Another matter. Why does my Lord not write to Kaḥat concerning Akin-Amar?
- 36 Is Master<sup>48</sup> Akin-Amar my enemy?
- 37 Is he not the enemy of my Lord? Why
- 38 does he continue to be favoured by my Lord?
- 39 Once, this man stayed at my Lord's
- 40 where he drank the goblet and raised it; and my Lord
- 41 counted him among his men, he dressed him
- 42 and gave him a *huburtum* head dress.<sup>49</sup> And he went back (on his word)
- 43 and into the goblet from which he had drunk, he defecated.<sup>50</sup>
- 44 He is hostile to my Lord.

This passage is very instructive for the study of symbolic gestures. First of all, one learns that when a vassal visited his sovereign, the latter gave him a goblet from which he was invited to drink.<sup>51</sup> Returning to his residence, the vassal took this goblet and retained it as a testimony of the favours which his 'father' had shown him. One also sees the use which could be made of it should one wish to signify the intention of revolting ...

The period of Akin-Amar's rebellion was certainly one of the most complicated in the history of the reign of Zimri-Lim. In fact, these years were marked by the political disintegration of the Upper Khabur region: there were then kings, not only in the large cities like Ilanšurā, Kaḥat and Šeḥnā/Šubat-Enlil, but also in smaller ones such as Ḥazikkannum and Tādum. The following events are known to us from a letter from Yanūḥ-samar, an acolyte of king Ḥaya-abum at Šeḥnā/Šubat-Enlil,<sup>52</sup> where we learn of the unsavoury dealings of the kings Akin-Amar of Kaḥat and Ḥuzirum of Ḥazikkannum. The latter, faithful to Zimri-Lim,

<sup>48</sup> (French 'messire'); for this translation of *awīlum* [PN], cf. J.M. Durand's contribution in: Archives épistolaires de Mari 1, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>49</sup> The *huburtum* is thus a simple garment, and not a kind of vase as suggested by: J.-M. Durand, Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute Mésopotamie, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 385-436, esp. p. 396, note 63.

<sup>50</sup> It is to be noted that this is the oldest known use of the verb *nezûm*; the expression *zêšu izzi* was hitherto known only from the *omina* of the Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian periods; see: CAD N, II, p. 200 b.

<sup>51</sup> The expression *ina kasim ša ištu*, "in the goblet from which he had drunk", documents the direct construction of *šatûm*, dispersing the doubts expressed by: J.-M. Durand, Sumérien et Akkadien en pays amorite, I. un document juridique archaïque de Mari, MARI 1, 1982, pp. 79-89, esp. p. 86. To this can be added the testimony of the broken unpublished letter A. 648: *ninda ta-bi-iš ū-ul i-ku-lu ū ka-sa-am ta-bi-iš ū-ul iš-tu-ū* "they did not agreeably eat the bread, nor did they drink the cup amiably" (alluding to the well known ritual of the contracts).

<sup>52</sup> A. 2586 + A. 4622, to be published in: Archives épistolaires de Mari 1, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming), with all of Yanūḥ-samar's letters. The start of this letter is actually missing, but it is reasonably certain that it can be assigned to Yanūḥ-samar from the final phrase: "[Ḥaya]-abum is well. The city of Šeḥnā, Azamḥul and the servants [of my Lord are well]". This is almost exactly the formula at the end of A. 3553, a letter from Yanūḥ-samar to Zimri-Lim the start of which is preserved.

was driven from his throne and his city, which was then governed by Kabidum, a subject of Akin-Amar. When Kabidum went to visit Akin-Amar, Huzirum (informed by a spy) attempted to assassinate him at the gates of Tādum on his return; we thus incidentally learn that Tādum lay on the route between Kaḥat and Ḥazikkannum. Akin-Amar then told Bunu-Eštar, the king of Kurda,<sup>53</sup> to assist him in sending soldiers to occupy the city of Ḥazikkannum. Initially, the situation is favourable for the rebels: Ḥaya-sūmū, king of Ilaṣurā and loyal to Zimri-Lim fell when ambushed by Bunu-Eštar's troops. Later however, Bunu-Eštar's soldiers were besieged in the city of Mariyatum. The Mari general Išḫi-Addu arrived with 900 men to reinforce this siege. The besieged also received reinforcements when Šamšī-Eraḥ, the king of Tillā, came with his soldiers,<sup>54</sup> along with 700 soldiers from Kaḥat who successfully caused Bunu-Eštar's troops to withdraw from Mariyatum, and return to Ḥazikkannum. As the soldiers of Kaḥat were returning to their city, 200 soldiers from Mari then took a short-cut following Išḫi-Addu and waylaid the 700 soldiers from Kaḥat at Pardu, who were surprised and defeated, in spite of their considerable numerical superiority. Yanūḥ-samar's letter enthusiastically relates this victory, but we also note that the vanquished company suffered only six dead. At the same time, another bit of geographic information is acquired: Pardu must have lain between Mariyatum and Kaḥat. The text does not relate Akin-Amar's fate; but this was doubtless sealed when the rebels were defeated and the throne of Kaḥat surrendered to Kabiya.

This episode is exemplary insofar as it reveals the extraordinary complexity of the politico-military relations between the potentates of these more or less important cities. It is thus simpler to comprehend the difficulties which the king of Mari had in maintaining his authority in a region which was of vital economic importance for him, as has been shown.

At the close of this contribution, I would like to add a few remarks on the ethnic composition of the regional population. We now have the names of four successive kings of Kaḥat during the reign of Zimri-Lim, *viz.* Akin-Amar, Kabiya, Attā, and Asdi-Lim, none of which is Hurrian. Contrary to the belief held by certain scholars, the name Kabiya cannot possibly

<sup>53</sup> For the identification of Bunu-Eštar as king of Kurda, see: J.-M. Durand, Notes brèves: Tēmītum, MARI 5, 1987, pp.671-672, until the appearance of: Archives épistolaires de Mari 1, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>54</sup> This intervention is clarified by the geographic proximity of Tillā and Mariyatum, already seen earlier concerning A. 863 (above, note 29), where Mariyatum is cited in the contract form Marētum. It is thus certain that K. Kessler's suggestion, locating Tillā in the region of Rumailan, puts it too far to the East, see: K. Kessler, Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr., TAVO B/26, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 9-15; *cf.* the fact that Tillā is - according to ARM I: 26 - the first halt on the direct route from Šubat-Enlil (= Tell Leilan) to Sagaratum.

be Hurrian,<sup>55</sup> and the same is true of Attā.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, it is clear that Asdi-Lim is a Khanaean name, because of the theophoric 'Lim' characteristic of the Khanaean onomasticon. Akin-Amar is also a Khanaean name.<sup>57</sup> The first element of his name is also found in Akin-Urubam, who is referred to as a Khanaean in the text A. 2671+<sup>58</sup>; the second element, Amar, is none other than the Amorite form of the divine name Amurru.<sup>59</sup> The ruling race might be opposed to that of the ruled, but this is out of question, since the local population in the region of Kaḥat, as in that of the neighbouring land of Apum, consisted for the most part of Amorite speaking Khanaeans. This part of the Khabur region was not evidently 'hurrianised' until later. Under Zimri-Lim, the Hurrians do not appear in large numbers, except further north, in the region of Urkiš, or further to the East, in the Upper Tigris basin.

#### RECAPITULATORY TABLE

Hammurabi	Zimri-Lim	Event at Kaḥat
19	2	Zimri-Lim's seizure of Kaḥat (year name 1' = 3)
21-25	2' (?) - 6' (?)	Reign of A k i n - A m a r
26-27	7' - 8'	Reign of K a b i y a
28	9'	Assassination of Kabiya, briefly replaced by A t t ā
30	11'	Reign of A s d i - L i m

<sup>55</sup> Despite its registration in the list of Hurrian elements by: A. Draffkorn(-Kilmer), Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1959, p. 82; see also: M. Salvini, I dati storici, in: P.E. Pecorella, M. Salvini, Tell Barri/Kahat 1: Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 1980 e 1981 a Tell Barri/Kahat, nel bacino del Habur, Roma 1982, pp. 13-28, esp. p. 18: "Kabiya, che è quasi certamente un nome hurrico"; and V. Haas: "[...] dem Prinzen mit dem wohl hurritischen Namen Kabiya", in: S. Eichler et al., Tell al-Ḥamīdiya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985, p. 38; on the other hand, I. Gelb correctly included Kabiya in his list of Amorite names, in: I. Gelb et al., Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite, AS 21, Chicago 1980, p. 612.

<sup>56</sup> Here again, A. Draffkorn(-Kilmer), who identifies the element at(t)- as Hurrian, is set against I. Gelb, who reads the attā- element as Amorite; see: A. Draffkorn(-Kilmer), Hurrians and Hurrian at Alalah: An Ethno-Linguistic Analysis, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1959, p. 70; I. Gelb et al., Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite, AS 21, Chicago 1980, p. 567.

<sup>57</sup> It is quite possible that the Yakūn-Amar appearing in the list of 'vassals' (*madārū*), in ARM XVIII: 58. 59. 60, is a variant of this name. If Yakūn-Amar is indeed the same individual as Akin-Amar, this would allow us to date his installation in Kaḥat to at least the year ZL 2', the date of the three texts. From there, it would be quite possible that Akin-Amar was placed on the throne of Kaḥat by Zimri-Lim after he had conquered the city.

<sup>58</sup> Archives épistolaires de Mari 1, ARMT XXVI, Paris (forthcoming).

<sup>59</sup> On this point, see: J.-M. Durand, Questions de chiffres, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 605-610, esp. p. 607, note 7.

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**"RIVER BANK", "HIGH COUNTRY", AND "PASTURE LAND":  
THE GROWTH OF NOMADISM ON THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES AND THE KHABUR<sup>1</sup>**

Giorgio Buccellati - Los Angeles

Ancient Syria has clearly emerged as a pivotal point in the early development of civilization; and the Khabur region is rapidly acquiring unique prominence within these newly opened vistas. That such dramatic changes may occur at so fast a pace we owe to the extremely enlightened policies of the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, whom it is a pleasure to recognize here in the person of our common friend and colleague, Dr. Adnan Bounni. And that the rethinking of the early history of the Khabur region may keep pace with the avalanche of new data we owe, today, to the kindness and the foresight of our host, Dr. Markus Wäfler.

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<sup>1</sup> I reproduce here the text of my oral presentation at the Berne Symposium 'Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region' in December 1986, with some changes and a minimum of documentation which is only indicative in nature. Earlier versions of this paper had been presented at the Symposium on Multi-culturalism in Mesopotamia (Toronto 1983) and at the meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Atlanta in November 1986. This is the first in a series of six articles currently in press or in preparation which deal with the history and geography of ancient Hana. The sequence of articles is as follows:

- (1) "Salt at the Dawn of History: The Case of the Bevelled Rim Bowls" (to appear in a volume edited by M. van Loon, P. Matthiae and H. Weiss);
- (2) "'River Bank', 'High Country', and 'Pasture Land': The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur" (published here);
- (3) "The Rural Landscape of the Ancient Zor: The Terqa Evidence" (to appear in B. Geyer (ed.), *Les techniques et les pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, BAH, Paris);
- (4) "The Kingdom and Period of Khana" (to appear in BASOR);
- (5) "The People of Terqa and Their Names (in preparation);
- (6) "From Khana to Laqê: The End of Syro-Mesopotamia" (to appear in a volume edited by O. Tunca).

I plan to eventually integrate these articles into a full-size monograph and at that time I will include a fuller documentation than is possible here, and will include in particular photographic illustrations of the geographical phenomena described.

The goal of my presentation is to reflect on some of the presuppositions which may help us focus more sharply on the data we are excavating. If there is something of a general research design that we all broadly share as we wield our tools on the rich mounds of the Khabur plains it is the expectation that we are dealing with major and distinctive political and ethnic configurations. We know that the natural environment sets this region apart from the mountains in the north and the alluvium in the south, and we also know enough already about the material culture to recognize its many original traits vis-à-vis the other great Syro-Mesopotamian cultures. We attribute, further, a certain ethnic and geo-political identity to the various human groups in the region, as when we speak of Amorite kingdoms or of Hurrian consolidation. In my paper I would like to look at the question of the socio-ethnic configuration of the populations of the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur<sup>2</sup> from the point of view of the ancient geographical perception of the landscape as documented in the texts.

I will deal with the Khabur plains (which are the proper scope of this Symposium) largely from the vantage point of the Middle Euphrates, inasmuch as

- the major phenomena which I am reconstructing here originated, in my view, on the Middle Euphrates, and
- the pertinent written documentation is especially rich for the Middle Euphrates.

But the larger picture which emerges from my analysis fully involves the Khabur plains and thus justifies, I believe, this presentation within the framework of our Symposium.

The chronological scope of the research is the third and early second millennium B.C. It should be noted that the pertinent written evidence is dated primarily to the early second millennium, coming as it does from the archives of Mari and to a more limited extent from Shemshara, Rimah, Chagar Bazar, and Terqa. Yet, inferentially at least, the processes described here can be projected back into the third millennium B.C.: this is done on the basis of a comparison with earlier texts from other regions, the evidence of non-textual sources, and the structural presuppositions inherent in the phenomena here described for the later periods.

#### REMARKS ON METHOD

I wish to clarify at the onset the two basic concepts which underly the research presented here. The first is the concept of ethnicity, which is generally not defined but is nevertheless in common use and as a result is loaded with a variety of implications and presuppositions which, if not clarified, may obscure a proper understanding of the concept itself. The second is the concept of 'perceptual geography', which is hardly present in the literature and thus requires some explanation. Since the focus of our Symposium is substantive rather than methodological, I will keep my remarks to a minimum.

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<sup>2</sup> To some extent, these considerations are also applicable to the Balikh basin, although references to it will not be explicitly introduced here.



The concept of ethnicity<sup>3</sup> is on the one hand so pervasive that from reading the literature one would conclude it represents a major reality of ancient Near Eastern history; and yet it is, on the other hand, so vague in its normal acceptation that one wonders at times if it is not simply introduced as a catch-all explanatory mechanism, which loses its power precisely through the diffuseness of its use. At times, for instance, a human group is defined as ethnic simply because it is known to make use of a specific cultural trait, or to exhibit a certain linguistic affiliation, or to be identified by a given proper name. But linguistic affiliation in and of itself can only be ground for linguistic, not ethnic, identification; use of a proper name may have a purely political connotation; specific cultural traits such as material assemblages may reflect functional preferences. To assume ethnicity as a correlative for any one of the above is a form of nominalism which may serve a useful purpose in labeling items of analysis but should not otherwise be taken to necessarily reflect historical reality. Yet, such a nominalistic understanding may be carried to harmful extremes when one hears, for instance, of such presumed historical realities as 'Hittite hieroglyphic blood', whereby a philological concept is raised to the status of biological identifier or, concretely, it is assumed that a human group was racially integrated just because it used a specific type of writing. Quasi-ethnic labeling should remain at most a form of mental stenography, whether for philologists or archaeologists (the latter might find it expedient, for instance, to speak of 'bevelled rim bowl people'), but we must stop at that, and beware of making the next step, which is to assume social integration for the 'people' so labeled (and which then would lead one to speak of 'bevelled rim bowl blood'!).

While I cannot develop here a description of my theoretical understanding of ethnicity, and while I will not be able to show in any detail how these concepts can be applied to our data, I will at least provide the definitions with which I am operating. I understand an ethnic group to be a large and cohesive human group with a long-term and marked sense of identity which derives from an ascribed set of non-organizational factors. 'Large' implies that the solidarity bonds are not based on face-to-face association, and 'long-term' is understood as spanning several generations. 'Identity' is 'marked' in the sense that it has to be explicit (generally through use of a proper name referring to the group), and is perceived both within the group (self-identity) and without. The relevant 'factors' form a 'set', *i.e.* a distributional class of elements which are found to co-occur in a patterned way, and they are both 'ascribed' (they are acquired at birth or through a birth-like process of assimilation) and they are 'non-organizational', *i.e.* they do not in and of themselves motivate the group into a special kind of coordinate and systematic action, and are generally symbolic in

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<sup>3</sup> On the subject of ethnic identification derived from the analysis of archaeological data see the recent discussion (with which I am in partial disagreement) in: K.A. Kamp, N. Yoffee, Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives, *BASOR* 237, 1980, pp. 85-104. I will not be able to deal in this context with the concept of ethno-archaeology, for which see *e.g.*: C. Kramer (ed.), *Ethnoarchaeology: Implications of Ethnography for Archaeology*, New York 1979, O. Aurenche (ed.), *Nomades et sédentaires: Perspectives ethnoarchéologiques*, Paris 1984.

nature. On the basis of archaeological and textual sources, I identify a group as 'ethnic' when such a distributional patterning can be found recurrently over a large area and long period of time.

Starting from this definition of ethnic group, I further understand the tribe as an organizational subset of an ethnic group, *i.e.* a full ethnic group or a portion thereof which is also held together through some form of actual or potential organizational mechanism (political, religious, *etc.*). Similarly, I use the term nation to refer to an organizational subset of an ethnic group which has additionally achieved full political autonomy as an independent state.

A specific approach that I will use in my presentation is the one that may be considered under the rubric of 'perceptual geography'. By this is meant the cultural understanding of land forms, and as such it can be contrasted with physical geography proper: while the latter tells us (in an *-etic*<sup>4</sup> fashion) about objective measurements, the former (*i.e.*, perceptual geography) tells us (in an *-emic* fashion) about the impact that these observable phenomena have on human culture and the way in which they condition the human response. It is natural that such perceptions should be reflected in the language, in fact more so, one might expect, than the 'objective' data of physical geography. But we can only begin to appreciate the full range of information which is being so conveyed in language if we look not for *ad hoc* and seemingly transparent translations (a river is a river is a river), but rather for structural wholes within which individual words, and the perceptions they represent, acquire new meanings (so that, as we shall see, a river may, after all, be more than just a river). The approach which is normally referred to as *-emic* implies a systemic overlap of two symbolic systems, so that for instance graphemics is the systemic correlation between writing and linguistic sound, phonemics the systemic correlation between sound and meaning, and so on. Analogously, perceptual geography, viewed '*-emically*', is the systemic correlation between physical geography and the symbolic categorization of the landscape. This is in line with work done by some historians (first and foremost the French school of the '*paysage*'<sup>5</sup>) and geographers.<sup>6</sup> The special approach that I will follow here is an attempt to provide a four-way

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<sup>4</sup> While I consider the terms '*-etic*' and '*-emic*' inappropriate in the acceptance in which they are commonly employed, and this for reasons which I cannot discuss here, their use is so widespread that I retain them here for the sake of simplicity.

<sup>5</sup> See especially: M. Bloch, *French Rural History: An Essay on its Basic Characteristics*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1966; G. Duby, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval: Essai de synthèse et perspectives de recherches*, 2 vols., Paris 1962. For some significant applications in the Syrian and Mesopotamian fields see: C. Zaccagnini, *The Rural Landscape of the Land of Arraphe*, *Quaderni di Geografia Storica* 1, Roma 1979, and the important earlier studies by M. Liverani cited there.

<sup>6</sup> See for instance: K.W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology*, Chicago 1976; K.W. Butzer (ed.), *Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes*, Chicago 1978; K.W. Butzer, *Archaeology as Human Ecology: Method and Theory for a Contextual Approach*, Cambridge 1982. See also: T. Jacobsen, *Salinity and Irrigation Agriculture in Antiquity: Diyala Basin Archaeological Projects: Report on Essential Results, 1957-58*, BM 14, Malibu 1982, which represents an excellent prototype for ancient Mesopotamia of the method advocated here.

A special perceptual imaging of the landscape is also an important part of religious, and particularly mytho-

match between: the modern perception (as observed in my own field work), the ancient perception (as evidenced in the cuneiform texts), the reality of physical geography, and the evidence of archaeology.

### THE "BANK OF THE EUPHRATES"

The major dimension of the urban landscape along the Middle Euphrates is the river. This is obvious enough. What is not obvious instead in the literature is that the river has cut for itself a deep valley which places the irrigable area quite a bit below the surface of the surrounding steppe. The net result is that the area available for agricultural purposes is very limited, since no work of hydraulic engineering could ever have raised the water of the river to an elevation of 200 feet or more. There is a sharp boundary between the two, marked by what is often a steep escarpment at the edge of the irrigated agricultural area. It is, as it is called in modern geographical terms, a 'river oasis'. The local Arabic dialect refers to it today as the *zor*, a distinctive term that is found for instance in the name of the capital of the modern province of Syria, Der ez-Zor. Most maps of the area highlight this phenomenon by including the 200 m. contour line even when the normal interval for the higher elevations is in increments of 500 m. Satellite views of the same region also show well the configuration of the terrain and especially the narrowness of the valley.

One can appreciate such narrowness from a site like Terqa: the distance to the escarpment is about 10 kms. to the west, a mere ten minutes by car – and even less to the east, no more than five minutes by car. It is readily apparent that the agricultural hinterland available to Terqa (or Mari for that matter) is extremely limited.

This fact, quite obviously, could not have escaped the attention of the ancient inhabitants. So, how did they refer to this narrow canyon? We find occasionally the term *'amqum*, a West-Semitic noun which means valley: it occurs in the texts of Mari as the "valley of Dūr-Yahdun-Lim"<sup>7</sup> or the "valley of Terqa"<sup>8</sup>. But the technical term used in Akkadian to refer to

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logical, aetiology: the most imaginative scholarly rendering of this theme is to be found in the work of T. Jacobsen, from the early formulation in 1946 to the more recent one in 1976; see: T. Jacobsen, *Mesopotamia*, in: H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago, London 1946, pp. 123–219; T. Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion*, New Haven, London 1976. For different approaches see for instance: J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Rebel Lands: An Investigation into the Origins of Early Mesopotamian Mythology*, Cambridge 1979; W. Heimpel, *The Natural History of the Tigris According to the Sumerian Literary Composition Lugal*, JNES 46, 1987, pp. 309–317. For the 'organization of space' among modern nomads see for instance: A. Bourgeot, *Structure de classe, pouvoir politique et organisation de l'espace en pays touareg*, in: *Pastoral Production and Society – Production pastorale et société: Proceedings of the international meeting on nomadic pastoralism*, Paris 1–3 Déc. 1976, Cambridge, Paris 1979, pp. 141–153.

The role of perception has of course been stressed in other disciplines as well, such as aesthetics, see especially: J. Albers, *Interaction of Color*, New Haven 1963; R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye: The New Version*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1974.

<sup>7</sup> ARM II: 107, 22–23.

<sup>8</sup> ARM III: 30, 16.

the *zor* was, I propose, the term *aḥ Purattim*.<sup>9</sup> Literally, this means the "Bank of the Euphrates", but it is used often in ways that seem to transcend the physical connotation of "edge of the water".<sup>10</sup> A simple reference to the river name (e.g. *ina Purattim*) may also refer to the *zor*.<sup>11</sup> When the meaning intended is "edge of the water", then the term *aḥ nārīm* "bank of the river" is used instead.<sup>12</sup>

Generally, the concept of 'river banks' plays, I think, a major role in the ancient perception of the landscape, as it does today. Along similar lines of reasoning, I think that the Akkadian expression *šar kibrātim arba'im* which is normally translated as "king of the four quarters of the world"<sup>13</sup> may in fact have meant "king of the four river banks", this being after all the common meaning of the term *kibrum*; specifically, the four river banks would include the left and right banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris respectively. If so, then the term 'four river banks' would in effect be the ancient equivalent of 'Mesopotamia'<sup>14</sup> (Fig. 1), in terms of the semantic substance conveyed if not in terms of the etymology of the word; the title *šar Akkade u kibrātim arba'im*<sup>15</sup> could then be taken to mean "king of Akkad and of Mesopotamia", i.e. king of the civilized Mesopotamian regions and especially its (current)

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<sup>9</sup> This is often understood as a proper name, and as such it is often capitalized: this implies that the term is taken with a connotation wider than that of 'edge of the river' – thus for instance in: M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique* (2<sup>e</sup> volume): Tomes I–XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-collection, première partie: noms propres, ARMT XVI/1, Paris 1979, pp. 3–4. However, the specific understanding of the term as *zor* and its contrast with the steppe above the surrounding escarpment has not, to my knowledge, been noted in the literature.

<sup>10</sup> Thus the frequent expression *šāb aḥ Purattim* (ARM I: 60, 17 and *passim*) or *šābum ša aḥ Purattim* (ARM I: 23, 10 and *passim*) "the crew/troop of the Bank of Euphrates" does not imply physical proximity to the water edge, but rather refers to people of the *zor* as opposed to people of the steppe.

<sup>11</sup> ARM III: 12, 10–11: "The Suteans are located in the *zor* (*ina Purattim*) some 30 kms. upstream of Terqa".

<sup>12</sup> E.g. ARM VI: 43, 8; see: M.L. Burke, *Textes administratifs de la salle 111 du palais*, ARMT XI, Paris 1963, p. 132.

<sup>13</sup> For a recent discussion of the term see: J.J. Glassner, *La division quinaire de la terre*, Akkadica 40, 1984, pp. 17–34, esp. pp. 18, 26–29. Glassner interprets the term as referring to four parts of the world such as Elam, Meluḥḥa, Mardu and Subartu, which are viewed as the peripheral regions, outside civilization proper, so that a royal title such as *šar Akkade u kibrātim arba'im* would then refer to Akkad and these four regions. Glassner's article is very informative, and the documentation he provides seems to me to indirectly support the interpretation I am proposing here, since his presentation leaves two important questions unanswered. First, how could the term 'river bank' (which is generally recognized as the literal translation of the term) be applicable to Mardu (which refers to the Syrian steppe) or Subartu (which refers to the mountainous area in the north)? Second, why would a title such as this include only one part of the 'civilized world' (e.g. Akkad), and then add to it the regions which are admittedly viewed as the barbarian periphery? (Note how a late text refers specifically to the empire of Sargon as extending to the border of Meluḥḥa, excluding it therefore from his control, see Glassner, p. 25.) Quite obviously, it would not have been politically acceptable for a king such as Narām-Sîn to call himself "king of Akkad and of the 'uncivilized, unknown, strange, savage countries which are not a part of the socialized world'" (!) – which would follow inescapably if we were to use the characterization that Glassner, p. 26, gives for the four parts of the world allegedly corresponding to the four *kibrātim*.

<sup>14</sup> The terms discussed by J.J. Finkelstein, 'Mesopotamia', JNES 21, 1962, pp. 73–92, as antecedents of Greek 'Mesopotamia' do not, as the author stresses, refer to the area "between the two rivers", but rather to the area flanked in a semi-circular way by the bank of one and the same river – in its major acceptation, *māt birītim* refers to the big bend of the Euphrates, and *māt ebertim* to the Trans-Euphratian area toward the Amanus range. Note how in this terminology too it is the concept of river bank that is in evidence.

<sup>15</sup> See: J.J. Glassner, *La division quinaire de la terre*, Akkadica 40, 1984, pp. 17–34, esp. p. 18.

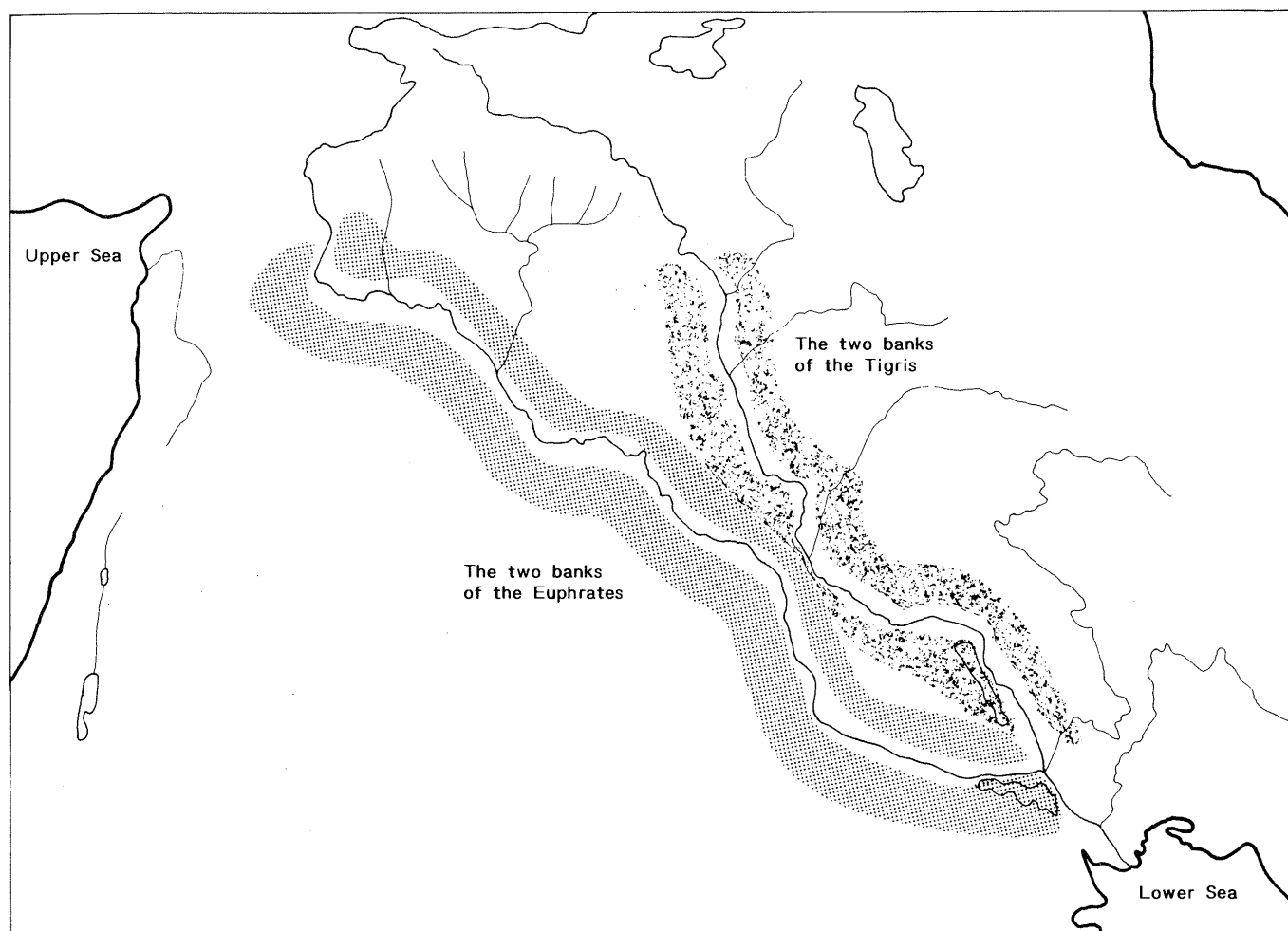


Fig. 1: "The Four River Banks", *i.e.* the Syro-Mesopotamian World

political center. In this light, the royal title acquires a stronger connotation than it would have if it referred to an abstract symmetrical quadripartite sectoring of the world. A similar perception, if different in scope because limited to one river, is reflected in the inscription of Yaḥdun-Lim who boasts control of the "bank of the Euphrates" (*kišād Purattim*).<sup>16</sup>

At any rate, the two banks of the river represent two very major points of reference in the geographical perspective of today's inhabitants of the region: for the people on the Terqa side of the river the 'Jezire', which corresponds to the east bank, is quite literally a different world.

There are two well known terms in the Mari texts which clearly apply to the two banks, the *aqdamātum* and the *aḥarātum*, terms which may be considered West-Semitic because of their phonology. The precise meaning of these two terms remains uncertain. The traditional interpretation places the two in positions exactly opposite of what I am proposing here, and assumes that *aqdamātum* refers to the East. The reason for the location I am suggesting here

<sup>16</sup> RA 33, p. 50, l 8; Syria 32, p. 8, IV 4. The use of the singular form may be due to the fact that in the *zor* the two banks of the river represent a narrow and well defined strip of land.

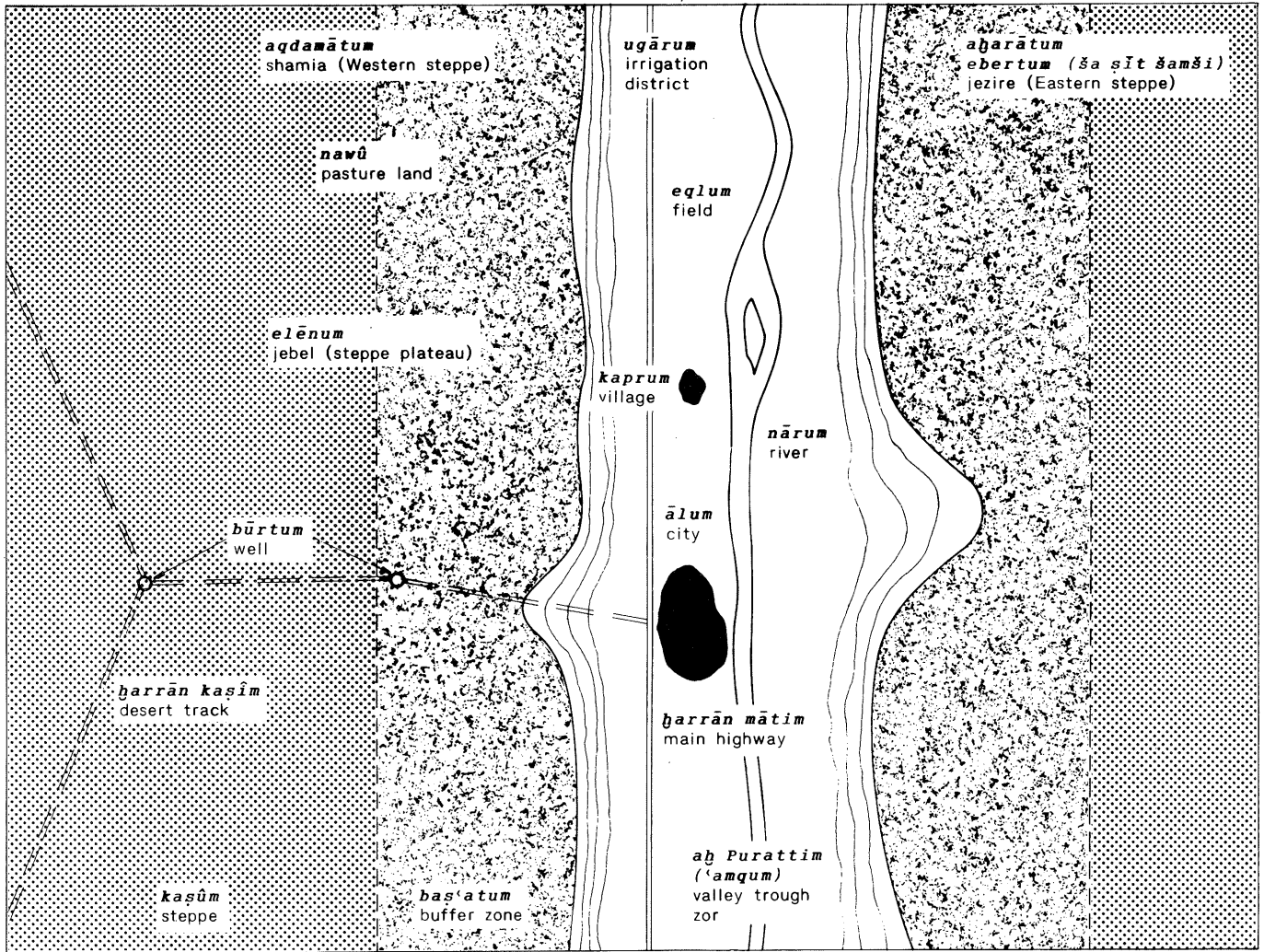


Fig. 2: The Middle Euphrates Landscape

(Fig. 2<sup>17</sup>) is derived from the tentative consideration that the two terms may represent the geographical perspective from the vantage point of the two major cities that were situated on the Middle Euphrates, Mari and Terqa. Since both cities are on the west bank, *aqdamātum* would be the 'frontal bank' or the bank where the main cities are found and *aḥarātum* the 'farther bank' or the bank on the other side of the river. The term *ebertum* occurs a few times in the texts of Mari and Terqa with the meaning 'the other bank' or 'the other side'<sup>18</sup>; this seems to be semantically the Akkadian equivalent of *aḥarātum*, and since on one occasion it is qualified by the addition *šīt šamši*, "of the rising of the Sun"<sup>19</sup>, it would seem to support the interpretation of *aḥarātum* as the left or east bank.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Please refer to the schematic map on this Figure for a representation of the various features discussed in the rest of my text.

<sup>18</sup> J. Bottéro, A. Finet, Répertoire analytique des tomes I à V, ARMT XV, Paris 1954, p. 184.

<sup>19</sup> ARM II: 67, 4.

<sup>20</sup> See also: TFR 1: 2, 1: *mūšarum ša ebertim*, "the garden of the other side". Today, in the area of Terqa, to which this text refers, the gardens are mostly located on the eastern bank of the river.

A term which is occasionally associated with the banks of the river is the one transliterated as *ba-za-ḥa-tum*.<sup>21</sup> I interpret it as referring to the buffer zone at the edge of the steppe overlooking the valley, a stretch running parallel to the river and extending some 30 or 50 kms. inland from the river banks without any natural boundaries but extending perhaps to the line of the first wells in the steppe.<sup>22</sup> I suggest that it may be read *baṣa'ātum*, and that it may be a plural form (normally the texts speak of the two buffer zones on either side of the river) from a singular *baṣ'atum* attested only once.<sup>23</sup> Knowing what to expect, one never fails finding a corroborating etymology, so here is the one that can be marshalled for the case in point: in Hebrew, *beṣā'* stands for "break, cut" – in a moral sense in Biblical Hebrew, and in a geographical sense in Mishnaic Hebrew: "fissures produced by an earthquake".<sup>24</sup> Be that as it may, the textual occurrences in Mari make very good sense if the terms are taken in the proposed meaning. The troops "of the *baṣa'ātum*" appear in this light as the border patrol – not the border of the kingdom as a whole, which includes nominally at least the outer steppe as well, but the border of the urban area which is situated in the "valley", the *aḥ Purattim*.

One reason why the notion of a buffer zone along the edge of the valley makes good sense is because of the general geographical situation. The valley cannot easily be defended from below: the sides of the valley can be very steep, and would give any attacker coming from above the ridge a definite military advantage. Interestingly, and a good example of what is meant by 'perceptual geography', the contemporary inhabitants of the *zor* refer to this ridge and the steppe beyond it as the *jebel*, the "mountain". While not very high, being on the average some 200 feet, the demarcation line is so sharp and the discontinuity in land use so substantial that it does in fact appear, perceptually, as an altogether different land form, a real mountain in its psychological impact even if it cannot be so mapped in terms of contour lines. If the same perception was operative in ancient times, what terms were used to express it?

<sup>21</sup> See: M. Anbar, *Les sakbū et les bazahātum à Mari*, UF 6, 1974, pp. 439-441; M. Anbar, "Les sakbū et les bazahātum à Mari" – une mise au point, UF 7, 1975, p. 592.

<sup>22</sup> See e.g.: ARM II: 98, 4'-9': "Let the desert rangers (*sakbū*) remain on the other side of the river from Appan [a town in the *zor*] up until our well (*adi niātīm būrtīm*): anybody who attempts to go beyond into the central steppe, let them be apprehended and brought over to the Khanaean headmen"; ARM III: 17, 21-24: "The troops of the buffer zone are in full control: they have gone out on inspection some 50 or 60 kilometers and they bring back (reports that all is) at peace".

<sup>23</sup> ARM X: 155, 4 (*ba-az-ḥa-ti-ia*); see also: ARM VI: 64, 3.7 (*ba-za-ḥa-tam*).

<sup>24</sup> Šebu'ot, fol. 16a, see: A.E. Silverstone, *Shebu'oth*, London 1935, p. 78. I owe this reference to the courtesy of Robert D. Wexler.

# "HIGH COUNTRY" AND "PASTURE LAND"

I suggest that the various words that mean 'high' and 'low' in the Akkadian texts apply in many cases to just this distinction. The terms *elû*, *elītum*, *elēnum*, *eliš* on the one hand (for 'high') and *šaplû*, *šaplītum*, *šaplānum*, *šapliš* on the other hand (for 'low'), as well as the verbs *elû*, 'to go up', and *arādu*, 'to go down', would refer then in many instances to the geographical differentiation between the valley floor and the higher steppe that surrounds it.<sup>25</sup> If true, this understanding of the terms has far-reaching implications. In the literature, the polarity 'high/low' is generally understood as referring to a north/south orientation, whereby the *mātum elītum* would then refer regularly to the northern Khabur plains. Now in some instances this is indeed the case, and it may be explained, perceptually, in terms of the flow of the river. On several occasions, *elēnum* and related terms for 'high' mean 'upstream'<sup>26</sup>, while the corresponding terms for 'low' mean 'downstream'. The northern and southern orientation, I think, derived indirectly from this primary perception, the north being, in some cases, upstream, for instance along the Euphrates from Mari to Terqa and along the full stretch of the Khabur. On the other hand, the Upper Sea (*tāmtum elītum*) is in fact not directly north, but rather to the west. Also note that in the description of fields contained in contracts, the 'upper side' means upstream along the feeder canal, which is the most advantageous side in terms of irrigation.

There are, however, many instances where the term 'high country' refers not to the north but rather to the steppe east and west of the Euphrates<sup>27</sup> and if so we must redefine the geographical horizon of many among the Mari texts. It is also clear that Fall and Winter transhumance could not have taken the herds to the north (no more than they could have to the *zor*) because both would have been under cultivation at that time.

The separation between the valley floor and the steppe is also marked by the presence of cemeteries on the edge of the escarpment, Baghuz in the area of Mari and possibly a site called Kishme in the area of Terqa. Here too we can see an interesting perceptual nuance. The steppe is the 'high country' from the point of view of the valley floor, a wilderness that

<sup>25</sup> M. Weippert suggests that *mātum elītum* may refer to "'mountains' or 'hills' in contrast with the Euphrates valley", and not just the Khabur plains; by this he thinks in particular of the Jebel Bishri; cf. M. Weippert, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine: A Critical Survey of Recent Scholarly Debate*, *Studies in Biblical Theology*, Second Series 21, London 1971, p. 113. My suggestion, on the other hand, is that the *mātum elītum* refers to the steppe beginning immediately at the escarpment that flanks the *zor*.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g.: ARM III: 12, 10-11 (quoted above, note 11); ARM VI: 47, 7; ARM XIII: 46, 9.20 (the verb *illīem* refers to Qatna from the point of view of Ešnunna, and the verb *urrad* refers to Mari from the point of view of Karkamiš - along an east-west/northwest transect, corresponding to the course of the river).

<sup>27</sup> See e.g.: ARM II: 102, 18-21: "My troops of the buffer zone are strong and will catch any Yaminite trying to go from low to high ground" (*ištu šaplānum ana eliš*); ARM III: 12, 17-20: "... the Yaminites are all hostile and they come and go from the high ground to their cities" (*ištu elēnum ana ālānēšunu illakūnimma u iturrū*: it would hardly be possible to "come and go" from the Khabur plains to Terqa! rather, this is a situation similar to that envisaged in ARM III: 16, where the "enemies" come at night to visit their wives in the valley towns, and go back in the day time - obviously to the steppe); ARM V: 81, 5-12, referring to sheep that have crossed (the river) and are grazing in the lower grounds near a certain city (GN *u šapliš ire*); ARM XIII: 102, 20-22: "... a vanguard of 1500 Khanaeans has gone down (*urdam*) to the river".



is known to be above and beyond, but is generally beyond the ken of the city people in the valley floor. One wonders whether kings or scribes ever visited this high beyond. Certainly there are very few explicit references in the texts.<sup>28</sup> The term *kašû* refers to the inner steppe on either side of the river (much as the term *badia* does in Arabic); and it is possible that the troops qualified as *sakbû* were in charge of patrolling this territory, albeit on a rather sporadic and occasional basis.

The only term which occurs frequently in connection with the steppe is *nawû*, which I think refers properly to the concept of pasture lands. Since the largest extent of such pasture lands is found in the steppe or high ground, the *nawû* is practically synonymous with 'steppe' (in the specific sense of 'steppe with water holes', for which see presently) but in fact *nawû* lands can also be found in the valley. Other acceptations of the term are found in the texts, as already suggested by various authors, e.g. 'camp' or 'herd',<sup>29</sup> but in my estimation the meaning of pasture land or (by extension) steppe is the most common meaning of the term in the Mari texts.

Hardly any specific reference can be found in the texts about the landscape of the steppe, or about events that take place in the steppe, or about the nature of human presence in the steppe. It is largely a *terra incognita* for the scribes and their clientele in the river valley. Perceptually, Mari was much farther from the Jebel Bishri than from Ebla or Kiš. This is in sharp contrast with the picture we can reconstruct of the valley floor, the *aḫ Purattim*, for which we can reconstruct a very detailed map, which I have in fact drawn up on the basis of the texts of Terqa. While this is not the place to go into the details of the Terqa rural landscape in the valley floor,<sup>30</sup> the simple fact that such map can be established will make one point clear: no picture even remotely resembling such a map of the valley floor could be drawn up for the steppe from all the texts of Mari or other texts from the same period.

One important feature of the steppe landscape that we can, I believe, project back into those time periods from the modern situation is the development of wells. Wells are mentioned seldom in the texts,<sup>31</sup> but they were an essential precondition to the large scale utilization of the steppe that was taking place. These wells dot today the steppe, and make it possible to have an effective utilization of the pasture lands which extended at great distances from nat-

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<sup>28</sup> See e.g.: ARM II: 78, 31-35; ARM II: 120, 19-24; ARM VI: 42, 5. New evidence dealing with the steppe landscape is announced, and briefly described, in: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al': les origines tribales des rois de Mari, RA 80, 1986, pp. 141-183, esp. pp. 147-148 with note 34, p. 156 with note 76; hereafter cited as 'Fils de Sim'al'.

<sup>29</sup> D.O Edzard, Altbabylonisch *nawûm*, ZA 53, 1959, pp. 158-173; V.H. Matthews, Pastoral Nomadism in the Mari Kingdom (ca. 1830-1760 B.C.), ASOR Dissertation Series 3, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, pp. 59-63.

<sup>30</sup> I have done so in my article "The Rural Landscape in the Ancient Zor: The Terqa Evidence" mentioned above in note 1.

<sup>31</sup> See e.g.: ARM II: 98, Rv 4-5: "The eastern buffer zone (*aḫarātum*) from Appan until our well" - which seems to suggest that the first line of wells was controlled by the state, while the others were by default under direct tribal control.

ural water resources, such as rivers or oases. While oases were certainly used in prehistoric times, and there are occasional indications that wells too were used, we are generally at a loss in determining the 'occupational period' of wells. On the basis of circumstantial evidence I am assuming that they came into use primarily in historic times, *i.e.* during the third millennium, as herders from the river valleys sought out new territories beyond the restricted limits of irrigable lands. This development may be called the *i n d u s t r i a l i z a t i o n* of the *s t e p p e*, in the sense that through the systematic development of a large scale network of wells, herding became possible on a massive scale, certainly such as the limited river valley could never have supported. It is significant by way of contrast with the south that wells are not found there in the way they are found in the Syrian steppe: this was observed by David and Joan Oates in a perceptive article on Mesopotamian geography,<sup>32</sup> and can be noted by looking, for instance, at the toponymy which shows that geographical names with the word *bīr* (that is, 'well' in Arabic) abound in Syria but not in Iraq. This dual nature of a steppe landscape is reflected, I think, in the important dichotomy between the Akkadian words *ṣēru* on the one hand for 'arid steppe outside the limits of irrigation land' (common in the south and practically unknown in Mari or Terqa) and the word *nawû* on the other for 'steppe with water holes' which is common in Mari and which occurs less frequently in the south in the meaning of 'non-cultivated pasture land with access to canals'.

#### THE AGRO-PASTORALISTS

With this new awareness of the landscape we are in a better position to understand the people who utilized the steppe and their relationship to the people who utilized exclusively the valley. To begin with, there is no reason to believe that there existed in prehistory nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists who would have undergone in the steppe a social and demographic development comparable to that of the populations settled in the river valleys.<sup>33</sup> Historic nomadism is not an offshoot of prehistoric wandering bands: there is neither evidence for such a development, nor reason to assume it.<sup>34</sup> Instead, large scale nomadism, I suggest, developed as a form of *l a n d r e c l a m a t i o n*: the peasants of the Middle Euphrates outgrew the boundaries of the valley and while they could not bring agriculture to the steppe,

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<sup>32</sup> D. Oates, J. Oates, Early Irrigation Agriculture in Mesopotamia, in: G. de G. Sieveking, I.H. Longworth, K.E. Wilson (eds.), *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*, London 1976, pp. 109-135, esp. p. 114.

<sup>33</sup> This point was first made, with general reference to the southern alluvium, by: S.H. Lees, D.G. Bates, *The Origins of Specialized Nomadic Pastoralism: A Systemic Model*, *American Antiquity* 39, 1974, pp. 187-193.

<sup>34</sup> On the topic of early domestication and its relation to settled villages in late prehistoric times, see: A.M.T. Moore, A Pre-Neolithic Farmer's Village on the Euphrates, *Scientific American* 241, 1979, pp. 62-70; A.M.T. Moore, North Syria in Neolithic 2, in: *Préhistoire du Levant: Chronologie et organisation de l'espace depuis les origines jusqu'au VI<sup>e</sup> millénaire*, Lyon 10-14 juin 1980, *Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, N° 598, Paris 1981, pp. 445-456; A.M.T. Moore, Agricultural origins in the Near East: A model for the 1980s, *World Archaeology* 14, 1982, pp. 224-236; A.M.T. Moore, A Four-Stage Sequence for the Levantine Neolithic, ca. 8500-3750 B.C., *BASOR* 246, 1982, pp. 1-34.

they discovered that they could bring their herds to it, once they had learned to drill wells. I call them agro-pastoralists. This is quite in line with the Mendenhall/Luke<sup>35</sup> line of reasoning, and with Rowton's dimorphic society.<sup>36</sup> If there is a difference, it is because I stress on the one hand the agrarian component, while on the other I view the trend towards nomadism as in course of development. Let me dwell briefly on these two points.

The so-called 'nomads' may in fact be viewed as the rural class, or peasants, who were primarily at home in the valley and by necessity came to 'settle', as it were, the steppe. Such a situation was most likely to develop first, at least on a major scale, along the Middle Euphrates, because of the narrowness of the valley floor available for agriculture. From the beginning of the publication of the Mari evidence, the texts clearly showed that the so-called 'nomads' had, in fact, a very strong sedentary component.<sup>37</sup> What is becoming clearer is that they were in fact primarily sedentary, but in the process of taking up, partially and selectively, pastoral nomadism. The important work by Kathleen Galvin on the faunal remains from Terqa<sup>38</sup> has shown that culling practices as known from that site in the Old Babylonian period do not correspond to the standards one would expect from fully developed or 'professional' pastoralists: this matches well with the suggestion advanced here that pastoralism as such was just then being developed.

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<sup>35</sup> G.E. Mendenhall, *The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine*, BiAr 25, 1962, pp. 66-87; G.E. Mendenhall, Review of "M. Weippert, *Die Landnahme der israelitischen Stämme in der neuen wissenschaftlichen Diskussion: Ein kritischer Bericht, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 92, Göttingen 1967", *Biblica* 50, 1969, pp. 432-436; G.E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition*, Baltimore, London 1973, esp. chapter V: 'The *'Apiru* Movements in the Late Bronze Age' (pp. 122-141), chapter VII: 'Tribe and State in the Ancient World: The Nature of the Biblical Community' (pp. 174-197); J.T. Luke, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: A Reexamination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups on the Middle Euphrates, ca. 1828-1758 B.C.*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, Michigan 1965; J.T. Luke, *Your Father was an Amorite*, in: H.B. Huffmon, F.A. Spina, A.R.W. Green (eds.), *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, Winona Lake 1983, pp. 221-237. - To some extent, there are similarities also with the position of Gottwald pertaining to the pre-monarchic period in ancient Israel, cf. N.K. Gottwald, *The Hypothesis of the Revolutionary Origins of Ancient Israel: A Response to Hauser and Thompson*, JSOT 7, 1978, pp. 37-52; N.K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.*, Maryknoll, N.Y. 1979; N.K. Gottwald, *The Participation of Free Agrarians in the Introduction of Monarchy to Ancient Israel: An Application of H.A. Landsberger's Framework for the Analysis of Peasant Movements*, *Semeia* 37, 1986, pp. 77-106; but see the 'appraisal' of Gottwald's theory by: G.E. Mendenhall, *Ancient Israel's Hyphenated History*, in: D.N. Freedman, D.F. Graf (eds.), *Palestine in Transition: The Emergence of Ancient Israel*, Sheffield 1983, pp. 91-103.

<sup>36</sup> See the fifteen articles on this topic by M.B. Rowton listed in the bibliography at the end of this article.

<sup>37</sup> Remember for instance the 'grain tribute of the Yaminites' or the many references to farming on the part of groups which are otherwise generally identified as 'nomadic' on the basis of their name. The 'cities' of the nomads were explained as tents; but whenever these cities are named and can be tracked down geographically, they appear to have been situated in the valley, and certainly there is no archaeological trace whatsoever of them in the steppe - nor does, as already mentioned, the horizon of the scribes extend to the steppe, which is hardly ever described whether in connection with the nomads or otherwise. A military muster tablet of Baḥdi-Lim (ARM XXIII: 428, 429) lists some 354 Yaminites divided in groups, each of them assigned to a town - i.e., they were susceptible to state control inasmuch as they were registered in conjunction with a settlement.

<sup>38</sup> K.F. Galvin, *Early State Economic Organization and the Role of Specialized Pastoralism: Terqa in the Middle Euphrates Region, Syria*, Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles 1981 (forthcoming in the series *Terqa Final Reports*); K.F. Galvin, *Forms of Finance and Forms of Production: The Evolution of Specialized Livestock Production in the Ancient Near East*, in: E.M. Brumfiel, T.K. Earle (eds.), *Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 119-129. - I am happy to acknowledge that it was as a result of Galvin's research that I began to rethink the role of pastoralism in Terqa and its region, out of which the present study has developed.

The situation depicted in the texts is in fact quite fluid: on the one hand there is evidence for movements and institutions similar to those for 'nomads' from other periods, and yet the same types of groups and individuals are also represented as sedentary. This may be explained, I submit, by assuming that we are dealing with an evolving nomadization trend: as I read it, the steppe is the place whereto one hides from the valley, rather than the irrepressible gene pool from which nomadic waves originate. Rather than seeing only occasional evidence for a sedentary life, I see in the texts pervasive evidence for a peasant settled population that takes to the steppe for economic and to some extent for political reasons. Instead of sedentarization of nomads, I think we must speak of *nomadization of the peasants*.<sup>39</sup>

A series of schematic maps (Figs. 3.1-4) will summarize this graphically, bringing out a comparison of my interpretation with the three major previous theories about the origin of nomadism in the Syro-Mesopotamian area:<sup>40</sup>

- The invasion model (Fig. 3.1) is the one with which we all grew up: large waves from a desert viewed as a major source of demographic pressure (the 'Völkerkammer' of Winckler<sup>41</sup>).
- The more subtle view of infiltration (Fig. 3.2) is the one made classic by Kupper's great work<sup>42</sup>: the change of perspective was reflected in the metaphor of a river replacing that of sea waves.
- Luke (building on Mendenhall) and Rowton brought out the systemic interaction of nomadic and sedentary populations (Fig. 3.3), in a symbiotic relationship where both poles

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<sup>39</sup> Many of the texts that deal with the 'hostilities of the nomads' may be so interpreted. For instance, ARM III: 16 speaks of 'enemies' who come surreptitiously at night to visit their wives in the valley towns (!), but spend the daytime in the steppe with their comrades to whom they bring news of the valley floor. Also notice how often hostility is described as a change in attitude or temporary state, rather than a permanent disposition (e.g. ARM IV: 80, 4-5). Also interesting is the fact that the victory of Zimri-Lim on the Yaminites is said to have taken place not in the steppe, but in Sagaratum (see already: G. Dossin, *Les noms d'années et d'éponymes dans les 'Archives de Mari'*, in: A. Parrot (ed.), *Studia Mariana*, Leiden 1950, pp. 51-61, esp. p. 55). ARM XXII: 262 and ARM XXIII: 76, 77, 421 (see the discussion in: G. Bardet *et al.*, *Archives administratives de Mari 1*, ARMT XXIII, Paris 1984, pp. 476-503) relate the restoration to freedom of individuals who had been taken captive during a campaign against the Yaminites: they are handed over to close relatives (in ARM XXIII: 76 without payment of ransom!), who are apparently known to the central administration; this too implies that the 'campaign' had taken place very close to home. Finally it may be noticed that the Yaminites who had been registered on a military roll recorded in ARM XXIII: 428, 429 (already quoted) did not in fact show up for the muster (428, 38-40 and 429, 39-41: *ša ... ina Dīr lā itiqū ...*) - a high incidence of desertion (the total being 354 individuals), which points to the general unreliability of the Yaminite troops. - For a similar concept applied to southern Mesopotamia, see: H.J. Nissen, *The Mobility between Settled and Non-Settled in Early Mesopotamia: Theory and Evidence*, in: *L'archéologie de l'Iraq du début de l'époque néolithique à 333 avant notre ère: Perspectives et limites de l'interprétation anthropologique des documents*, Paris 13-15 juin 1978, *Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, N° 580, Paris 1980, pp. 285-290.

<sup>40</sup> For a very good review of the pertinent literature, see: J.T. Luke, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: A Reexamination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups on the Middle Euphrates, ca. 1828-1758 B.C.*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, Michigan 1965, pp. 1-50.

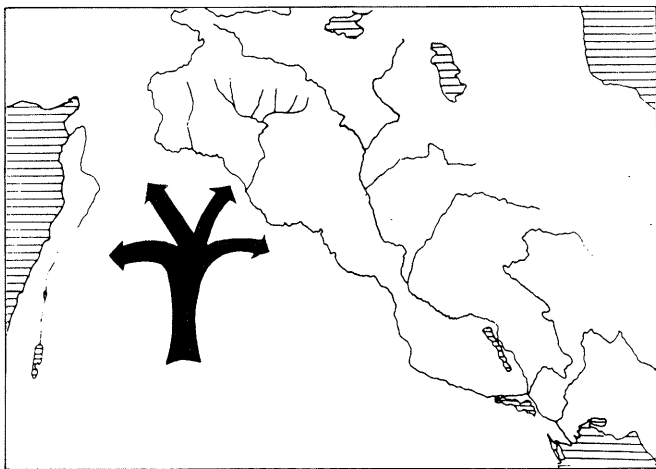
<sup>41</sup> See e.g.: H. Winckler, *Auszug aus der Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1905, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957.

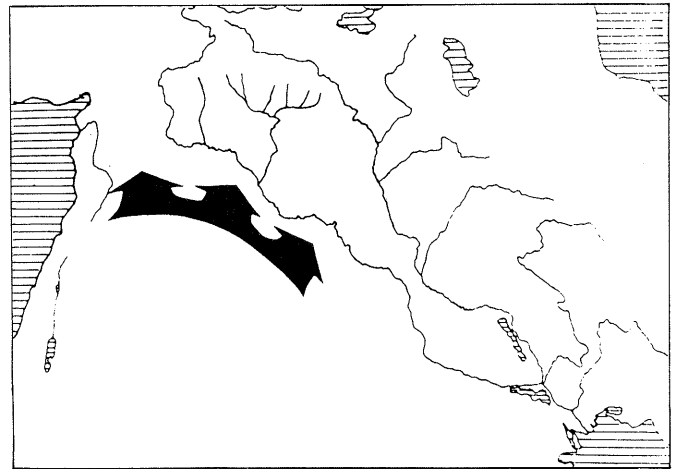
were just as much in need of each other and were subsumed under a unified socio-political system, symbolized on my schematic map by the elliptical frames that enclose both the arrows and the settlements.

- My point of view (Fig. 3.4), on the other hand, is that we are dealing with the transitional stage when the peasants have taken so systematically to the steppe that they are in fact becoming nomadic.

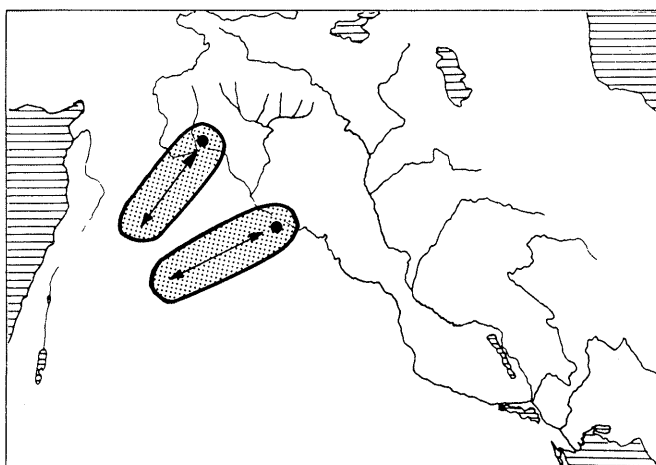
By developing a systematic exploitation of the immense range-land of the steppe, made newly possible as a result of the network of wells they had established, they had discovered a new socio-political base which made them much less dependent on the urban state power of the *zor*. They could come back to the *zor*, and beyond that they could go as far as the southern alluvium, the northern Khabur plains and even the Orontes and the Jordan valleys with a newly developed sense of power and autonomy. In a sense, we can repropose the wave and invasion theory - but, very significantly, not from the core of the desert, but rather from the *zor* via the desert. This is why we can indeed see in the record evidence for both nomads and peasants: they were two poles of a development that was still in its developmental stages.



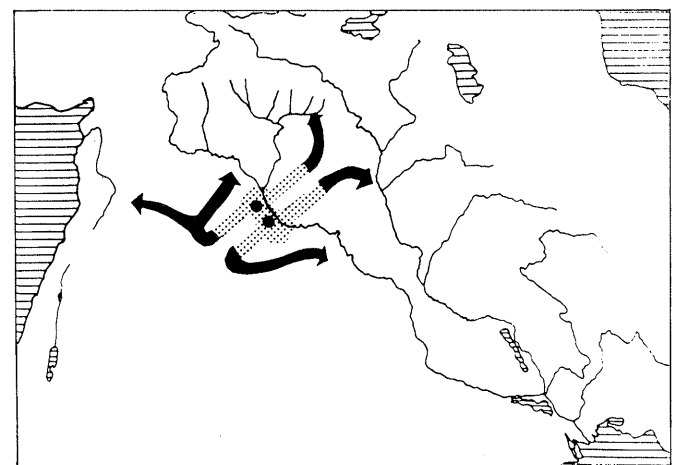
.1: Invasions (traditional)



.2: Infiltration (Kupper '57)



.3: Dimorphic State & Enclosed Nomadism (Rowton '67, '73-76)



.4: Nomadization (proposed)

Figs. 3.1-4:

Alternative Interpretations of the Interaction between the Middle Euphrates Basin and the Steppe

At what point did this process of nomadization begin? If demographic pressure was a reason behind it, then it would have had to start some time after the beginning of urbanization, that is some time into the third millennium. The texts of Ebla<sup>43</sup> and the pre-Sargonic or Sargonic texts from the south do not show evidence of major 'Amorite' (and consequently, in the sense suggested here, of 'nomadic') presence. A major change is reflected, for the south, at the time of the third dynasty of Ur:<sup>44</sup> this would imply that the process had already evolved to a point where the thrust away from the *zor* had reached its fullest momentum. The establishment of the 'Amorite' dynasties<sup>45</sup> in the early part of the second millennium would be the result of this thrust. Now the texts of Mari, which give us the most information about the agro-pastoralists, date precisely from this period, *i.e.* from a period when the process of 'nomadization' would seem to have peaked already. Such a dichotomy, whereby we seem to have continued evidence of a formative stage at a time when a climax had already been reached, is only apparent. The 'climax' does not necessarily mean that the process of nomadization had resulted in the complete dislocation of tribal groups from the *zor* to the steppe; rather, tribal groups remained fully anchored to their agrarian base, but under certain circumstances they shifted the location of such base. In other words, if they started out, as I am assuming, to use the steppe from their base in the *zor*, they may at some point have taken up as their new base the urban areas at the other end of the steppe, practically in all directions. It is probably only in the latter part of the second millennium that the steppe develops into a full-fledged home base, with such entities as the kingdom of Amurru.<sup>46</sup>

#### TRIBAL-URBAN INTERACTION

One fundamental corollary of this interpretation has to do with our understanding of tribal relations. The process whereby large social groups came to maintain and in fact nurture an effective group solidarity not directly tied to territorial contiguity fostered the sense of group self-identity. The organizational imperatives of herding in the steppe were a significant part of this process, but ideological factors seem to have played a role as well. At any rate, these groups, or 'tribes', interjected a new social order in the fabric of urban society as it had developed in the valley. The potential for tribal autonomy within the state was enormous. Not only was there the dimension of ideological self-identity, signaled especially

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<sup>43</sup> See: A. Archi, *Mardu in the Ebla Texts*, OrNS 54, 1985, pp. 7-13.

<sup>44</sup> G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica, Ricerche 1, Naples 1966; C. Wilcke, *Zur Geschichte der Amurriter in der Ur-III-Zeit*, WO 5, 1969-1970, pp. 1-31.

<sup>45</sup> Whose strong sense of tribal affinity has been emphatically illustrated by: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', section III, pp. 157-174. The deep roots of these traditions would also argue for a process which would have taken place over a relatively long period of time. Differently: P. Michalowski, *History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List*, in: J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East*, dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer, AOS 65, New Haven 1984, pp. 237-248.

<sup>46</sup> On this, see the last of the articles quoted in note 1.

by the use of tribal proper names and of a distinctive group of dialects (*i.e.* Amorite, which I understand as the rural counterpart of urban Akkadian/Eblaite<sup>47</sup>), but also the real possibility of evading the control of the state by taking to the steppe for indefinite periods of time, *i.e.* without returning, if so desired, to the home base in the valley.

The provisions taken against this trend by the central power of the state were limited to the valley and the buffer zones: a tribal commissioner (thus I understand the office of the *mer'ū*), tribal headmen (the *sugāgū*, residing in valley towns and appointed by the palace upon payment of an appropriate fee), the census<sup>48</sup>, the control of the herds at the time of shearing and when they had to cross the river, the border patrol (*bazaḥatum*) and (only minimally) the desert rangers (*sakbū*). The political and administrative apparatus of the state effectively controlled the steppe only insofar as it could intercept in the river valley the people who did use the steppe but who were ultimately still based in the valley: there was apparently no direct effort on the part of the state to control the steppe itself, precisely because there were no people associated exclusively with the steppe. This made it easier for the tribal population to maintain and develop its strong sense of cohesion and political power. It is no accident that we hear so much about this rural population, while we hear so little about their counterparts in the south.

There is another major difference between the Middle Euphrates and the south that needs stressing. In the south the state exercised direct control over the herds, or at least over some herds. There are enough texts that attest to the fact that the state bureaucracy accounted for herds numbering 1000 or more animals down to the minutest details of newborn lambs or dead animals.<sup>49</sup> No texts of this type have been found in Mari or Terqa, and while this may of course be disproven at any time, it seems to be in fact the pattern that we would expect: on the Middle Euphrates, the herds were not handled by the state but by the tribal elements who alone knew how to exploit the farther recesses of the steppe. I would not expect, therefore, to find in the *zor* a site that might be the equivalent of Puzriš-Dagan in the south.

Let us review the relationships between the tribal and the non-tribal populations in the valley, which one will also find sketched diagrammatically in chart form (Fig. 4). The

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<sup>47</sup> We may consider in this light the views of Garbini about the chronological priority of Amorite, see *e.g.*: G. Garbini, *Sulle origini della lingua araba*, in: A. Francesco Gabrieli: *Studi orientalistici offerti nel sessantesimo compleanno dai suoi colleghi a discepoli*, *Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale* 5, Roma 1964, pp. 123-134. - I present my views on the socio-linguistic aspect of Amorite vs. Akkadian/Eblaite in the fifth of the articles quoted above in note 1.

<sup>48</sup> Which is carried out regularly in the *zor*, *e.g.* ARM II: 130, 33 (*tēbibtam ina aḥ Purattim*).

<sup>49</sup> Besides the vast amounts of animals recorded in the public archives of the Ur III period, especially at Puzriš-Dagan, and besides individual texts dealing either with herding contracts (for a recently published example, see: M. Stol, *Fragment of a Herding Contract*, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 273-275) or special topics (see *e.g.*: I.J. Gelb, *Growth of a Herd of Cattle in Ten Years*, JCS 21, 1967, pp. 64-69), see especially: F.R. Kraus, *Staatliche Viehhaltung im altbabylonischen Lande Larsa*, *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. 29/5, Amsterdam 1966, on the public administration of herds in Old Babylonian Larsa.

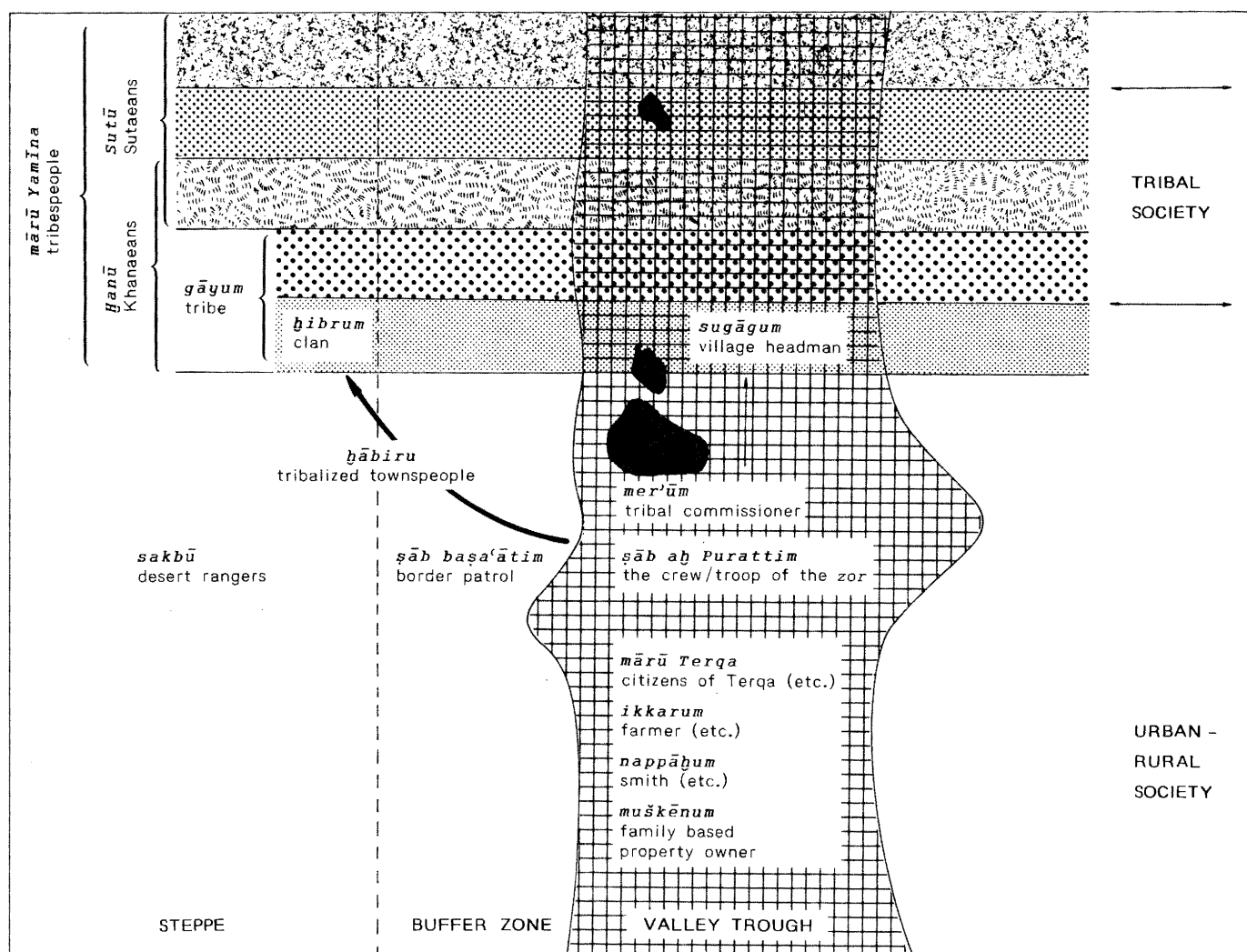


Fig. 4: The Setting of Urban, Rural and Tribal Societies

non-tribal urban population is referred in many different ways in the texts – for instance as the "sons of a given city" (e.g. *mārū Terqa*<sup>50</sup>) or as the "crew" or "troop of the bank of the Euphrates" (*ṣāb aḫ Purattim*<sup>51</sup>). While these were presumably city people, there seem to have been also non-tribal peasants: the term *muškēnum*<sup>52</sup> may well

<sup>50</sup> E.g. ARM III: 6, 5.

<sup>51</sup> See above, note 10.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. ARM V: 81, 5 (*muškēnum ṣa aḫ Purattim*: their sheep are mentioned together with those of the Khanaeans); ARM VI: 2, 7-8; ARM VI: 3, 10-11; ARM X: 151, 19; ARM XIV: 81, 37 (*eglum ṣa muškēnim* or the like); ARM XIV: 48 (*alpī ṣa muškēnim*); ARM XIV: 121, 39-47 (connections with the steppe). See: W. von Soden, *muškēnum* und die Mawālī des frühen Islam, ZA 56, 1964, pp. 133-141; R. McC. Adams, Property Rights and Functional Tenure in Mesopotamian Rural Communities, in: M.A. Dandamayev et al. (eds.), *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff*, Warminster 1982, pp. 1-14, esp. p. 12.



have this meaning on a number of occasions. Conversely, there was certainly a phenomenon of urbanization of tribal peasants: leaving aside the witness of onomastics (which is applicable even to the royal family<sup>53</sup>), there are several cases of Khanaeans or Sutaean, for example, who are listed with various dignitaries as receiving garments or animals from the central administration,<sup>54</sup> or are attested with very urban titles such as *suk-kallu* (a high court functionary)<sup>55</sup> or professions such as smith.<sup>56</sup> The opposite was also possible: the tribalization of urban people. What this might have meant concretely was that individuals or small groups that had no tribal self-identity could attach themselves to tribes: this may have been the value of the term *ḥa-pí-ru* in Mari, to judge from the few occurrences where it is found.<sup>57</sup>

If the tribal dimension was so pervasive that it colored directly or indirectly the value of several terms referring to social groupings, it would seem logical that there should be a correlative ancient term used to express the concept of 'tribal people'.<sup>58</sup> As a tentative candidate for a term describing such a social category we may consider the ubiquitous *mārū Yamīna* and related terms, the 'Yaminites'. They are generally considered to constitute a specific tribe.<sup>59</sup> But there are curious distributional anomalies, which are summarized here briefly in chart form (Fig. 5). There seems to be no individual mentioned by a profession or title (*i.e.* no urban individual) who is qualified as Yaminite, as is instead true for Khanaeans;<sup>60</sup> also, there seems to be no Yaminite listed as either bringing animals to, or receiv-

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<sup>53</sup> Charpin and Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', develop at length the issue of the tribal origins of the dynasty of Zimri-Lim and of Amorite dynasties in general.

<sup>54</sup> ARM XXIII: 243. 446. 448.

<sup>55</sup> ARM XXIII: 235, iii 34.

<sup>56</sup> ARM XXIII: 235, iii 33. 36; see also ARM XIII: 30, 5, which refers to the Khanaeans "of Mari and of Suprum".

<sup>57</sup> See perhaps ARM II: 131, 10-15. On the *ḥapiru* see recently: O. Loretz, *Habiru-Hebräer: Eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums 'ibrī vom Appellativum ḥabiru*, Berlin, New York 1984; N. Na'aman, *Ḥabiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere*, JNES 45, 1986, pp. 271-288.

<sup>58</sup> For a recent discussion of the term *gā'um*, translated as "clan", see: P. Talon, *Quelques réflexions sur les clans Hanéens*, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 277-284, esp. pp. 278-280.

<sup>59</sup> See recently: M. Anbar, *La distribution géographique des Bini-Yamina d'après les archives royales de Mari*, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, pp. 17-24. - The fundamental article by Charpin and Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', of which I have been able to see the galley proofs through the courtesy of the authors (after the text of my own article had been completed), deals at great length with the issue of the Yaminites and the concept of tribal identity. On the basis of a wealth of new information, they consider the Yaminites and the Sim'alites as major tribal subdivisions of the Khanaeans - *i.e.* as groups that retain true tribal status even though they belong at the same time to a larger tribal entity. My impression, after a quick initial reading of their article, is that my interpretation (whereby the Yaminites do not constitute a real tribe) may still be maintained, and that in fact the nuances of their own interpretation are not wholly at variance with mine. A few remarks are added below; but their impressive documentation and brilliant interpretation requires more reflection than I have been able to accord them at this stage.

<sup>60</sup> See above, notes 55 and 56.

		LÚ(.MEŠ)	DUMU(.MEŠ)	KUR	profession or activity	PN
city	(e.g. Mari)	■	■	□	■	■
country	(e.g. Yamḥad)	□	■	■	■	■
tribe	(e.g. Sutū)	■	□	□	■	■
region	(e.g. Yamina)	□	■	□	□	□
type:		■	attested	□	non-attested	

Fig. 5: Distributional Patterns for Human Groups Nomenclature

ing gifts from, the central administration, as is also the case with Khanaeans.<sup>61</sup> In fact, it is rare that single individuals be qualified as Yaminites,<sup>62</sup> whereas normally the term is applied to groups of people. The appellative that is common with other tribal names, in particular the term LÚ(.MEŠ), "man (men)", is not used with Yamina: the term *mārū*, "sons", is used instead,<sup>63</sup> which is conversely not otherwise used with tribal names. And, it seems, there are Khanaeans qualified as Yaminites<sup>64</sup> but no Khanaeans, for instance, qualified as Sutaeans. The expression "sons of Yamina" seems thus to correspond structurally to expressions such as "sons of the city" (*mārū ālim*) or even better "sons of the plain" (*mārū ugārim*)<sup>65</sup> - of a type which might recommend, as it were, a rendering with lower case, *i.e.* *mārū yamīna* or "yaminites". In any case, there seems to be no human group that is qualified, in and of itself, as *Yamīn(a)*, so that for instance an expression such as BALA *Yamīn(a)*, parallel to BALA *Ḥana*<sup>66</sup>, does not seem possible. Whether Yamina/yamina refers to the south as in the later West-Semitic orientation system, or possibly to the right bank of the Euphrates, meaning the steppe as it extends to the right of the river course (and hence also south if one considers the stretch from the Big Bend to the confluence with the Khabur), in either case the term might be understood in a socio-geographical nuance.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. ARM VII: 203; see also above, note 54.

<sup>62</sup> To the extent that *mār Sim'al* is parallel to *mār Yamīna*, the most notable occurrence of this type is the one discussed at some length in D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', pp. 150-152 with note 47, where the term DUMU *Sim'al* is used as a qualification of king Zimri-Lim.

<sup>63</sup> For *Ḥana* (LÚ(.MEŠ)) and Yamina (*mārū*) respectively, see: M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, Répertoire analytique (2<sup>e</sup> volume): Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-collection, première partie: noms propres, ARMT XVI/1, Paris 1979, pp. 13-14 and 39 respectively.

<sup>64</sup> See: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', pp. 153-156 with note 77.

<sup>65</sup> See: F.R. Kraus, Vom mesopotamischen Menschen der altbabylonischen Zeit und seiner Welt: Eine Reihe Vorlesungen, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 36/6, Amsterdam, London 1973, pp. 67-68.

<sup>66</sup> For which see the very insightful suggestions by: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', pp. 166-170. - The (semantically parallel) name of the Aramaic kingdom, Sam'al (B. Landsberger, Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstätte Karatepe, Erste Lieferung, Veröffentlichungen der Türkischen Historischen Gesellschaft, VII. Serie, Nr. 16, Ankara 1948), seems to represent a special case, and is at any rate later.

In much the same way as the 'sons of the city' are the urban classes, so the 'sons of the right (or steppe)' are the tribal-peasant classes. And just as the term 'men of Terqa' entails greater specificity vis-à-vis the term 'sons of the city', so does the term 'men of Ḫana' vis-à-vis the term 'sons of the right'.<sup>67</sup> In this light it stands to reason that no Yaminite should normally appear with titles or professions which are suited for urban individuals: there is in fact at times a derogatory nuance in the use of the term, such as city people traditionally reserve for the rural classes. The formation of a new noun *marmû*, which is generally assumed to be derived from *mārû Yamīna*,<sup>68</sup> is one more distributional phenomenon which seems to be unique for this type of expression,<sup>69</sup> and it may be taken, in the light of my interpretation, as a nominalization of the generic value of 'tribal individual(s)'.

### PATTERNS OF RURAL-URBAN INTERACTION

The agro-pastoralists of the Middle Euphrates and the lower Khabur represent the major rural class for that region, and what is especially distinctive about them from a socio-political point of view is, as I have pointed out, their ability to escape the controls of the central government and thus develop their own power base within or, as the case may be, against the state. It is useful to compare and contrast this situation with two other regions, to the south (or south-east, and perhaps also the west) and to the north.<sup>70</sup>

In the south we have a rural class that seems to have no distinctiveness of its own, and to be wholly under the control of the urban class. I call them urban A and rural A, and have represented them on the sketch map (Fig. 6) as being wholly overlapping. An argument *ex silentio* is that we hardly ever hear in texts from the south about any type of political initiative on the part of the local rural classes.<sup>71</sup> And more positively, we know that the state exercised a very close control not only on agriculture but also on herding.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> While D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al', pp. 152-156, are certainly right in saying that Yaminites and Sim'alites are two subdivisions of the Khanaeans, I do not think we can exclude the possibility that the same subdivision may have applied to other tribal groups as well. In other words, there may have been 'southern' and 'northern' portions for several, if not all, major tribes.

<sup>68</sup> See: M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, Répertoire analytique (2<sup>e</sup> volume): Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-collection, première partie: noms propres, ARMT 16/1, Paris 1979, p. 23.

<sup>69</sup> I.e. we do not have, and do not expect to find, a term such as \**marnû* from \**mārû Ḫana*.

<sup>70</sup> Studies on villages, and excavations of pertinent sites, for Mesopotamia proper and for the *zor* would help considerably in clarifying the overall picture. For an excellent study, dealing especially with the latter part of the second millennium, see: M. Liverani, Communautés rurales dans la Syrie du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire A.C., in: Les communautés rurales - Rural communities, II: Antiquité - Antiquity, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions 41, Paris 1983, pp. 147-185. See also: J.M. Sasson, The ENGAR/*ikkarum* at Mari, in: B.L. Eichler (ed.), Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer, AOAT 25, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, pp. 401-410; R.McC. Adams, Property Rights and Functional Tenure in Mesopotamian Rural Communities, in: M.A. Dandamayev et al. (eds.), Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I.M. Diakonoff, Warminster 1982, pp. 1-14.

<sup>71</sup> See for instance the articles dealing with Mesopotamia proper in: A. Finet (ed.), La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie: Colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes de Belgique, 19 et 20 mars 1973, Bruxelles 1973.

<sup>72</sup> See above, note 49.

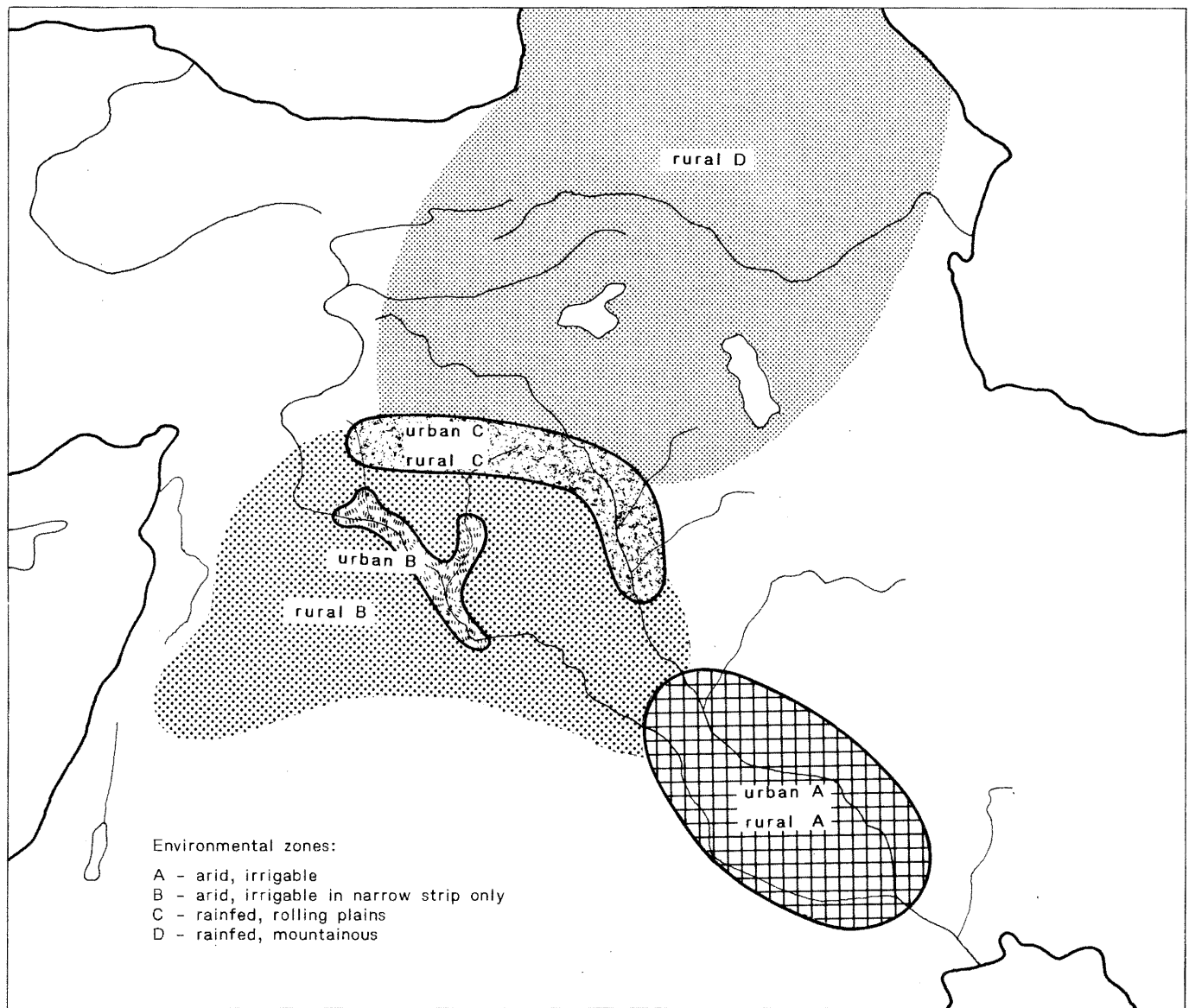


Fig. 6: Rural and Urban Zones in Syro-Mesopotamia (3<sup>rd</sup> - Early 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium)

I have labeled as region B the mid-Euphrates and Khabur basins plus the 'high country', *i.e.* the steppe in the sense proposed above. The marked differentiation between the urban and the rural components is shown on the map by indicating the territory accessible to the rural population (the agro-pastoralists) as being much larger than the territory under urban control. This differentiation results in the strengthening of ethnic (and also tribal) group identity and in growing nomadization.<sup>73</sup> It results further in the fact that the agro-pastoralists of the *zor* go out first from the narrow urban strip of the river valley to exploit the resources of the steppe, and then from the steppe to other neighbouring regions, thereby establishing eventually for themselves separate power bases away from their original home base.

<sup>73</sup> See above, section 'The Agro-Pastoralists'.

The situation in the west (the region of Ebla) seems closer to that of the south than to that on the Middle Euphrates. We see there a state control on the herds which is much more like that of southern Mesopotamia than that of the Middle Euphrates.<sup>74</sup> The incidence of autonomous pastoralism is correspondingly much more limited and in fact practically non-existent; if any, it would presumably have to come from the outside (*i.e.* the Middle Euphrates) rather than as the result of an internal development as at Mari. The Ebla references to the Amorites (in the spelling MAR.TU and MAR.DU) are on the whole rather scanty and inconclusive.<sup>75</sup> They seem to refer, in any case, to a marginal phenomenon, by no means as significant as that represented by the later Amorite presence in the south, or as central as the Khanaeans are in the Mari texts. Whether there are other ways of identifying a distinct rural class in the region of Ebla remains to be seen.

A distinct urban sphere in the north (urban C) is suggested hypothetically on the basis of widespread assumptions about the Khabur plains, to which I will return in the next section. Alongside it, I am postulating a rural sphere C, similar to rural A if we assume full state control over the rural population of the dry-farming zone, and also a rural sphere D, similar to rural B in that it extends much beyond the territorial boundaries of its related urban sphere, but quite different in other respects. Given the geographical situation in the mountains, from the Tur-Abdin to the Taurus and perhaps all the way to the Caucasus, there was no stimulus here for the development of an agro-pastoralist rural class. The archaeological evidence points to the existence of towns which did not develop into full urban centers but which represent a type of settlement completely different from what we know about the steppe.<sup>76</sup> In other words, the rural populations of the north had a vast hinterland where the control of the urban state did not reach – except that the populations that were actually settled in this hinterland, unlike the agro-pastoralists in the steppe, had no 'agricultural' or 'pastoral' reasons to retain any ties with the urban sphere: their ties, we may presume, were commercial in that they were the suppliers of metals, timber and stone. Ethnically, one may consider the possibility that the term 'Subarian' refers to the populations settled in the mountain towns (rural D) and the term 'Hurrian' to the related populations settled in the piedmont cities (urban and rural C). But this is purely hypothetical.

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<sup>74</sup> A. Archi, *Allevamento e distribuzione del bestiame ad Ebla* (forthcoming).

<sup>75</sup> See: A. Archi, *Mardu in the Ebla Texts*, OrNS 54, 1985, pp. 7–13. – James H. Platt has called to my attention the interesting passage in ARET 1: 5 xi 9 which refers to an individual as LÚ.EDIN<sup>ki</sup>, in a context that includes reference to an EN MAR.TU<sup>ki</sup> (ARET 1: 5 xi 3–4).

<sup>76</sup> See: M. Kelly-Buccellati, *The Outer Fertile Crescent Culture: North Eastern Connections of Syria and Palestine in the Third Millennium B.C.*, UF 11, 1979, pp. 413–430; M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Trade in Metals in the Third Millennium: Northeastern Syria and Eastern Anatolia* (forthcoming).

## ETHNO-HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KHABUR PLAINS

The considerations about the presumed origin and early development of agro-pastoralists along the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur suggest an early spread on their part in the Khabur plains, as much as to the west (Ebla) and the south. Since all evidence points consistently in the direction of a Semitic linguistic affiliation for these agro-pastoralists, we may assume the presence of Semitic speaking people in the Khabur plains at least as early as we can date the beginning of the process of nomadization. The kind of massive 'Khanaean' presence in this area described by Charpin and Durand for the early second millennium<sup>77</sup> implies a protracted developmental period during the third millennium. We have as yet no third millennium Semitic texts from the Khabur plains,<sup>78</sup> so we do not know whether we can assume the presence of an urban Semitic scribal tradition in the area, as we find in Ebla and presumably in Mari. But that we have at least a rural Semitic presence seems quite certain. It is interesting in this respect to consider the linguistic reconstruction recently put forth by two Soviet scholars.<sup>79</sup> Starting from the point of view of Indo-European linguistics, they posit early contacts (as early as the fourth millennium) between Indo-European, Semitic and Hurrian. While such contacts had been suggested before, this theory has gained acceptance with some Indo-Europeanists because it is based on a thorough structural linguistic analysis. It is obviously of interest to us because it supports the idea of a Semitic presence this far north at an early date.

It is a general assumption that we have in the Khabur plains the potential to identify an early urban tradition which may possibly be linked with a Hurrian ethnic group.<sup>80</sup> In this respect, we have for now only the most limited number of texts for the third millennium, but one stands out in a very special way: the inscription preserved on the lion of Urkiš.<sup>81</sup> The significance of this inscription lies in the incidence of Hurrian words, which is without comparison higher than the ratio between Semitic and Sumerian words at Ebla. From a comparison of the relative degree of Sumerian *vs.* indigenous graphemic conventions, it appears that the Urkiš scribal tradition was more independent than the corresponding Ebla tradition. While this may of course depend in part on the fact that the Urkiš text is somewhat later than

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<sup>77</sup> D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, 'Fils de Sim'al'.

<sup>78</sup> The Chuera sherd which has been interpreted as inscribed with Semitic alphabetic signs (W. Röllig in: A. Moortgat, U. Moortgat-Correns, Tell Chüera in Nordost-Syrien: Vorläufiger Bericht über die siebente Grabungskampagne 1974, SMOS 9, Berlin 1976, pp. 31-33) is extremely problematic; the interpretation of the Byblos script given recently by Mendenhall as being a syllabic script of the third millennium (G.E. Mendenhall, *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos*, Beirut 1985) would add credibility to such an interpretation, but needs itself to be studied carefully.

<sup>79</sup> T.V. Gamkrelidze, V.V. Ivanov, *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans*, 2 Vols., Tbilisi 1984 (in Russian).

<sup>80</sup> On the Hurrians, see recently: B. Hrouda, *Zum Problem der Hurriter*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 595-613.

<sup>81</sup> For a publication of the Urkiš lion from the Metropolitan Museum, see: O.W. Muscarella, *Comments on the Urkish Lion Peds*, in: G. Buccellati, M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons*, BM 20, Malibu 1988, Appendix 1, pp. 93-100; chapter 1 includes a brief review of the pertinent literature by Buccellati.

the Ebla texts, still the chronological difference would not seem to be sufficient to explain such a great disparity.

It is for this reason that the existence of Hurrian archives in the Khabur plains seems like a real probability; and that monumental structures of the third millennium in the region are good potential candidates for housing such archives. A sobering thought in this respect comes from the recollection of how many legitimate hopes the Amarna cuneiform archive had raised, exactly a century ago, that one would find the archives of all the various correspondents from Syria and Palestine; yet, Ugarit is the only site that has amply rewarded our expectations, in spite of the enormous number of perfectly good potential sites excavated. Another sobering thought is that sites like Brak and Chuera have in fact been excavated extensively,<sup>82</sup> and have not yielded traces of such a Hurrian scribal repertory. That we shall continue, collectively and undauntedly, to search for a postulated Urkiš or Urkiš-like archive goes without saying. It is a legitimate research design, and we are finding plenty in any case, even if the Hurrian archives were to elude us indefinitely.

Yet another set of observations relating to the early historic periods is of interest in underscoring the unique ethno-historical characteristic of the Khabur plains and the Middle Euphrates. This is derived in part from my conclusions about the origin of nomadism and in part from an observation of settlement distribution in the Euphrates valley. A summary map of major sites with Protoliterate material shows that the Euphrates did not have Protoliterate sites south of Qraya<sup>83</sup> and Ramadi in the *zor*. It seems a safe assumption that the Euphrates was not used as a communication road south of Mari in prehistoric periods.<sup>84</sup> If so, then it follows that this particular riverine road was in fact opened and developed fully only with the Amorites.<sup>85</sup> And this stands to reason: the river valley becomes extremely narrow below Mari, so that there is no room for an agriculturally exploitable valley floor (as in the *zor*); there is, in other words, no sizeable resource base for urban life along this stretch of the Euphrates. It was of course a different story with the pastoralists, who could use at will the rangeland on either side of the river and could find all the water they needed by going down to the river banks. A site like Qraya, then, was presumably arrived at from the north (the

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<sup>82</sup> After my presentation in Berne, David Oates found exception to this statement on the grounds that in fact the amount of total exposure at Brak is extremely limited in comparison to the total extent of the tell. While this is certainly true, I do think it remarkable that, in comparison for instance with the exposure of a site such as Terqa (even more limited than Brak), so little epigraphic evidence should have been found at Brak. I am thus playing here the role of the devil's advocate against my own fond hopes for the discovery of Hurrian archives in the great third millennium sites of the Khabur.

<sup>83</sup> On our excavations at this site in the vicinity of Terqa, see: K. Simpson, *Qraya Modular Reports*, No. 1: *The Early Soundings*, SMS 4/4, Malibu, forthcoming.

<sup>84</sup> For a different suggestion, see a forthcoming article by J.-C. Margueron to appear in *La Recherche* (personal communication).

<sup>85</sup> Besides the many references in Mari to this region (see: M. Anbar, *La région au Sud du district de Mari*, IOS 5, 1975, pp. 1-17; see especially the very interesting text ARM V:14), see also the recent excavations at Harādum: F. Joannès, C. Kepinski, O. Lecomte, *Présence babylonienne dans le pays du Suhu au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.: l'exemple de Khirbet ed Diniye (Irak)*, RA 77, 1983, pp. 119-142; C. Kepinski, O. Lecomte, *Mari et Haradum*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 615-621.

reason possibly being, as I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>86</sup> the procurement of salt from the near-by playas of Buara). If so, then the Khabur plains appear not just as one of the traditional roads linking the west with the south, but in fact as the only major avenue, at least in late prehistoric times. The significance of such privileged status can hardly be underestimated. Since the Khabur plains were at the same time the border zone with the north and the direct link between it and the south, they were the fundamental crossroads in the early period of urban development.

Clearly, in this light the Khabur plains appear rather central than peripheral. Almost symbolic for this reassessment of the region is what can be called epigrammatically the search for three capitals. In reverse chronological order, they are as follows.

- As one of those rare and welcome coincidences in the world of scholarship, a reassessment of the philological sources is proposing that the capital of Mitanni is to be identified not as Waššukanni, but as Ta'idi<sup>87</sup> - and at the same time circumstantial evidence and new discoveries suggest that Ta'idi is to be found either at Brak or at Hamidi.<sup>88</sup>
- The great capital of Šamši-Adad, Šubāt-Enlil, which has the potential of rivaling Mari, has been conclusively identified with Tell Leilan, owing to another exemplary convergence of archaeological and philological arguments.<sup>89</sup>
- What is presumed to be the major third millennium Hurrian center, the capital of Tišatal and the seat of the main Hurrian god Kumarbi, i.e. the city of Urkiš, is also in all probability to be found in the Khabur plains, although no conclusive evidence has as yet been discovered to link it with certainty to any specific site in the Khabur plains.<sup>90</sup>

It was only a few years ago that we could still think of Mari as an outpost of Mesopotamian civilization. It was difficult to imagine how radically our outlook would shift. Given the pace of current discoveries in the field we can expect even more radical revisions in the near future. And I am sure we all share the conviction that a new Khabur Symposium will be needed soon, and the hope that the initiative taken by M. Wäfler here in Berne may be the start of a recurrent opportunity for us all.

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<sup>86</sup> In the first of the articles quoted above, note 1.

<sup>87</sup> See: W. Mayer, Taide oder Waššukanni?: Name und Lage der Hauptstadt Mitannis, UF 18, 1986, pp. 231-236; I owe to the kindness of the editors of UF, M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, to have shown me the proofs of this article before publication, for which I am most grateful.

<sup>88</sup> See Haas and Wäfler in: S. Eichler et al., Tall al-Ḥamīdiya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985, pp. 53-76; and the contributions by D. Charpin, D. Oates and M. Wäfler in this volume.

<sup>89</sup> See: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 269-292; D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140; and the contributions by H. Weiss and R. Whiting in this volume.

<sup>90</sup> For a case against the traditional identification with the tell in Amuda (called Tell Shermola), see: G. Bunnens, A. Roobaert-Bunnens, Tell Shermola (Amouda): Reconnaissance préliminaire, in: G. Buccellati, M. Kelly-Buccellati, Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons, BM 20, Malibu 1988, pp. 78-80; for a case in favor of Tell Mozan see my contribution in the same volume (pp. 19-28).



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## THREE SEASONS OF EXCAVATION AT TELL MOZAN

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati - Los Angeles

### INTRODUCTION

Excavations at Mozan, located in the central section of the northern Khabur triangle near the Wadi Dara, have been conducted by an international team since the fall of 1984; during the first two seasons we concentrated on making soundings in the High Mound with the first regular season occurring in the spring of 1986.<sup>1</sup> During these three seasons we concentrated in three main areas of the site: the wall around the High Mound (in Area K), a building on the top of the High Mound (in Area B), and the Outer City. As a part of the preliminary work at the site a contour map was produced for the site (Fig. 1) and a surface ceramic survey was completed for the High Mound.<sup>2</sup>

Mozan is located in the well watered plains of the upper Khabur triangle. (Fig. 2) This area is important because of its position on the trade routes both east-west and north-south. Its position in the Wadi Dara, the central portion of the Khabur triangle, means that it is situated just below the Mardin pass which serves as the outlet into the Syrian plains from the road leading to the mineral rich Ergani area. In the late third millennium this area was

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<sup>1</sup> This article is essentially the paper I gave at the Symposium 'Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region', Berne, Switzerland, December 1986, with some references and illustrations added. The Mozan excavations were generously supported by a grant from the Ambassador International Cultural Foundation.

<sup>2</sup> For the first preliminary report on Mozan, see: G. Buccellati, M. Kelly-Buccellati, Mozan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons, BM 20, Malibu 1988, hereafter cited as 'Mozan 1'.

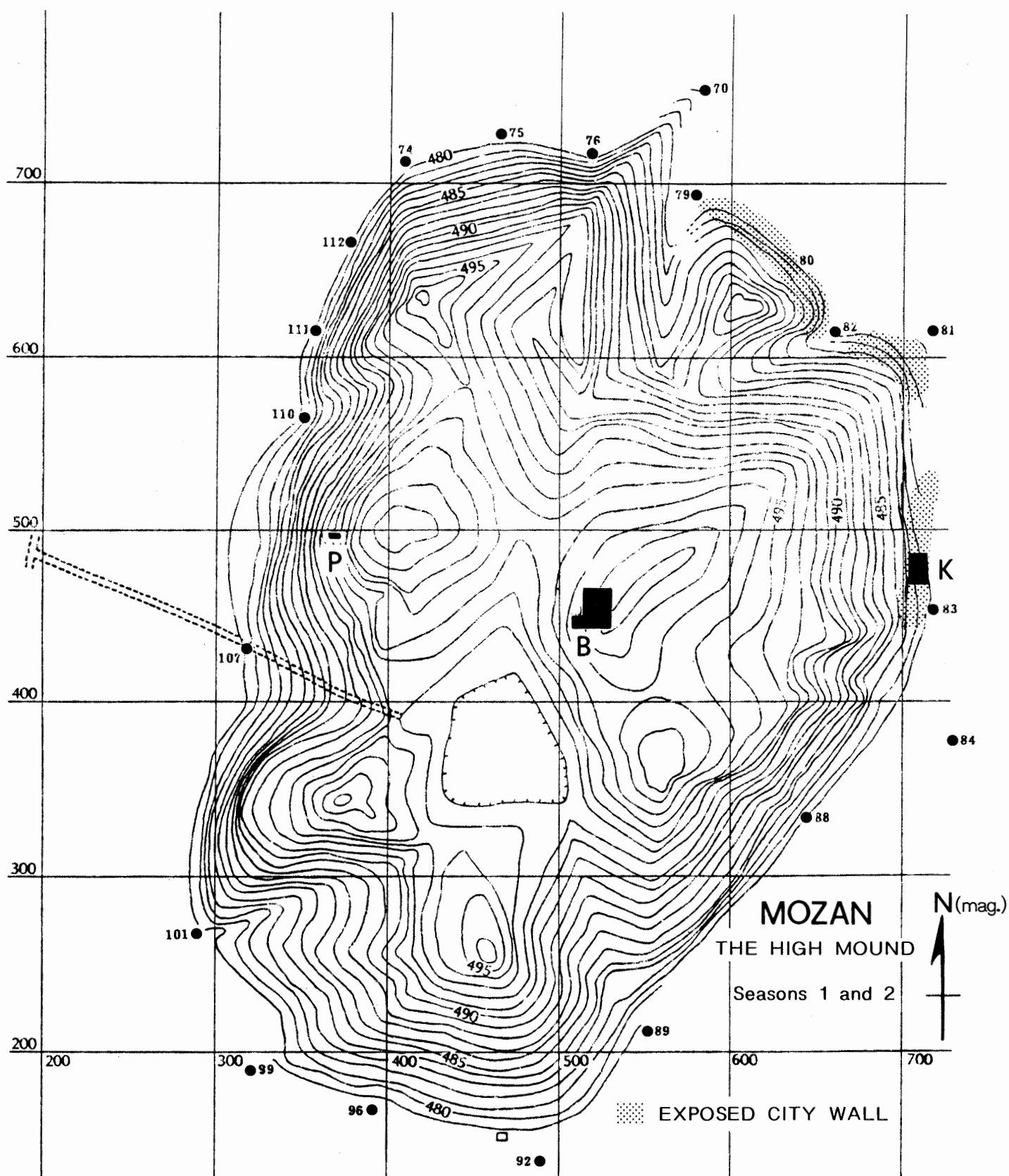


Fig. 1: Topographic Plan of the High Mound



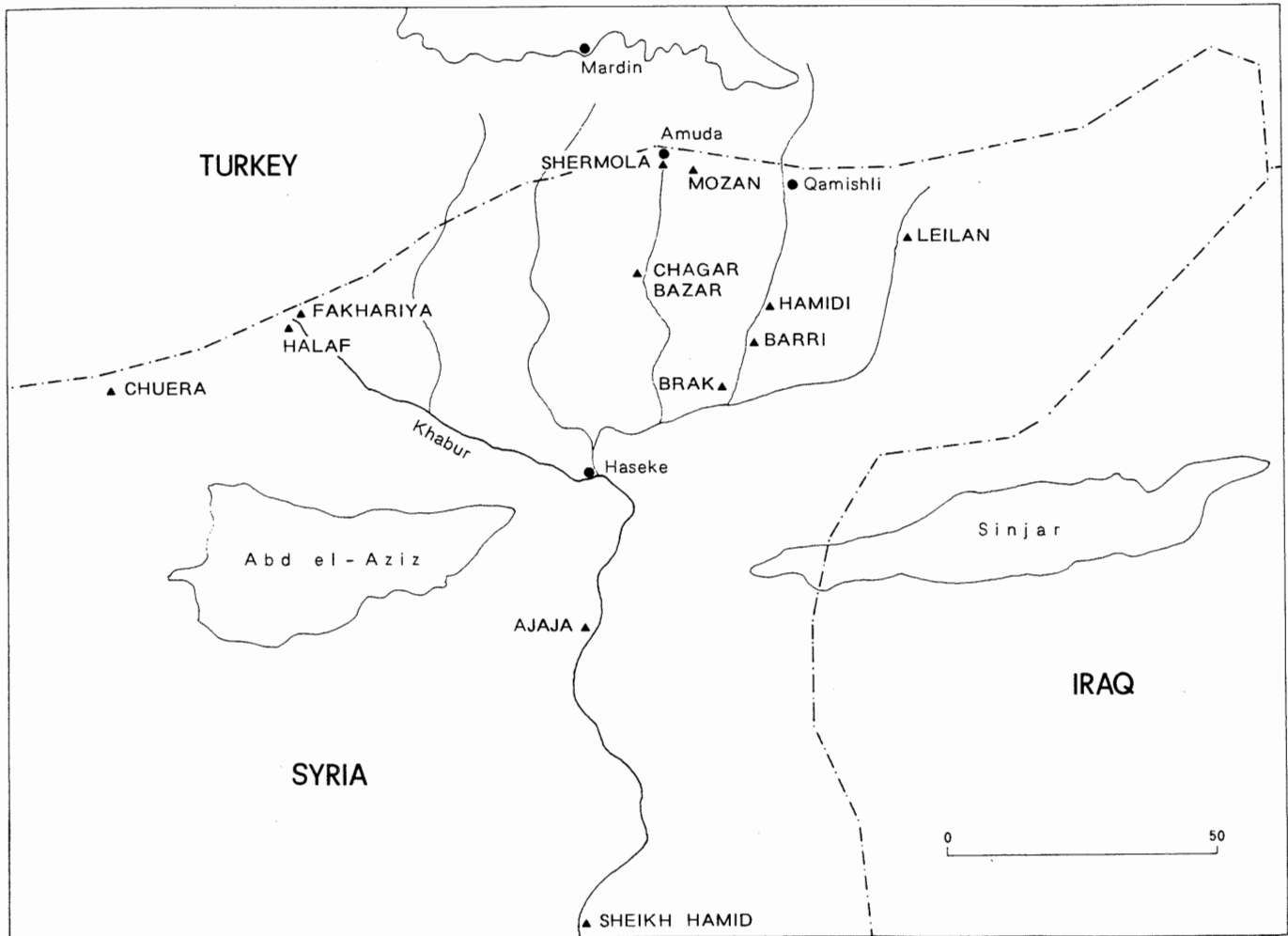


Fig. 2: Position of Mozan in the Upper Khabur Triangle

the center of Hurrian activity as can be seen from Ur III documents and from the famous lions of Urkiš which concern the founding of a temple dedicated to Nerigal by the Hurrian king Tišatal. These two lions with nearly identical inscriptions were found presumably in the area of the central Khabur triangle and sold on the antiquities market in 1948; they are now in the Louvre and Metropolitan Museum of Art respectively.<sup>3</sup> In the second millennium Old Babylonian itineraries give an indication of a trade route from the Tigris basin across the Khabur plains.<sup>4</sup> Urkiš is mentioned in these texts as a stop only on the inbound portion of the trip and then only as a side trip. This seems to indicate that Urkiš was no longer a principal urban settlement in this area and no longer a focal point for the long distance trade network in the Old Babylonian period. Whether or not Mozan may have been ancient Urkiš (a hypothesis for which there is only circumstantial evidence at best), it is certain that

<sup>3</sup> A. Parrot, J. Nougayrol, Un document de fondation hurrite, RA 42, 1948, pp. 1-20; see also: O.W. Muscarella, Comments on the Urkish Lion Pegs, in: 'Mozan 1', Appendix 1, pp. 93-100.

<sup>4</sup> A. Goetze, An Old Babylonian Itinerary, JCS 7, 1953, pp. 51-72; W.W. Hallo, The Road to Emar, JCS 18, 1964, pp. 57-88.

the general area of Mozan was an area of major Hurrian influence, and Mozan is the major ancient center in this area.

Our excavations at Mozan were not the first at the site. Previous to his work at Chagar Bazar, Max Mallowan made a survey of sites in this area and chose Mozan as one of the mounds to conduct soundings at. This is never mentioned in his scientific publications but is alluded to by Agatha Christie in her autobiography about her three years in the Khabur.<sup>5</sup> It is only in his unpublished journal, now in the British Museum, that Mallowan talks about three soundings at Mozan.<sup>6</sup> He concluded that the site was Roman with earlier material below; this apparently was the main reason why Mozan was discarded in favor of Chagar Bazar. Since there is no Roman pottery at all on the site I can only conclude that the red Metallic ware, present in large amounts on the surface, must have been identified by him as Roman. It must be remembered that at the time of his survey the ceramic chronology of the Khabur plains was unknown; it was his subsequent work at Chagar Bazar and Brak which laid the basis for all further research on the pottery in the region.

We chose Mozan because we were interested in the problem of the Hurrians in the third millennium in the Khabur region and specifically the Hurrian capital of Urkiš. Our interest had been sparked by our excavations at Terqa, a city just south of the confluence of the Khabur and the Euphrates rivers. At Terqa, a city was established in the first centuries of the third millennium, characterized most prominently in our excavations by the construction of a large city wall.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the limited amount of material associated with the city wall, third millennium material is not easily accessible at Terqa because there is an extensive second millennium city as well as a modern town covering a large portion of the site. Hence we decided to turn to Mozan as the place at which to concentrate our interests in third millennium material.

## THE CITY WALL

One of the first areas of concentration on the site was at the city wall surrounding the High Mound. Extensive brick work at the base of the tell was apparent even from casual observation of the site; this was due in part to the activities of some local farmers who had been removing dirt next to the wall for their fields. Also the large number of third millennium sherds near these mud bricks appeared to give a date for its construction. An area on

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<sup>5</sup> A. Christie-Mallowan, *Come, Tell Me How You Live*, London 1983 (first published 1946), pp. 63-64.

<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank Dominique Collon and David and Joan Oates for help in locating and sending me copies of the pertinent pages on Mozan from Mallowan's field book and reports. Mentioned with permission of Terence Mitchell, Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum.

<sup>7</sup> G. Buccellati, *Terqa Preliminary Reports 10: The Fourth Season: Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record*, BM 10, Malibu 1979.

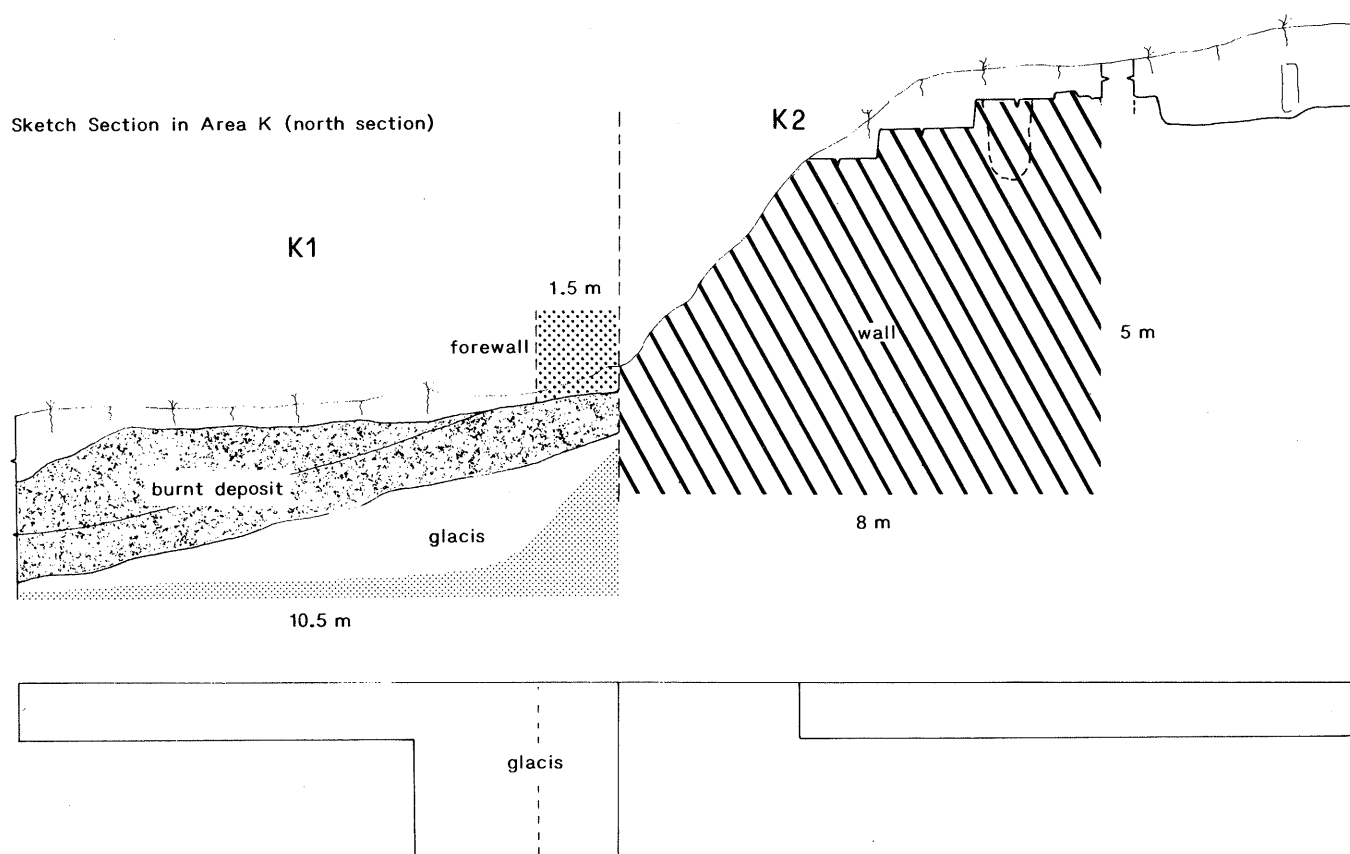


Fig. 3: Sketch section of the Wall around the High Mound in Area K

the eastern portion of the site was chosen to excavate. (Fig. 3) This was carried out by Guy Bunnens and Arlette Roobaert-Bunnens during the 1984 and 1985 seasons.<sup>8</sup> After the exposed face of the wall was cleaned, a trench was dug at the base of the wall perpendicular to it; later this trench was extended to the top of the wall in order to ascertain its preserved height and thickness. However, the stratigraphy at the top of the wall was too complex to allow us to determine its thickness in the time available. Present indications are that it is at least 6 meters thick and its height at this point is more than 5 meters. At the base of this wall, against the plastered face, a sloping glacis was constructed. Thus far the glacis has been followed from the wall out into the surrounding lower city for 10.5 meters; at this point the glacis is 3.5 meters deep, and its bottom has not yet been reached.

The deposit on top of the glacis is unusually homogeneous in character considering its emplacement, *i.e.* which we presume to be the result of external dumping associated with the city wall. Just under the surface of the tell next to the wall there are some mud bricks laid on top of a burnt deposit which becomes thicker as the glacis slopes away from the bottom of the wall. Within this burnt deposit were a large number of sherds from large storage

<sup>8</sup> G.L. Bunnens, A. Roobaert-Bunnens, Le mur d'enceinte, in: 'Mozaan 1', pp.61-64

jars, many of them flat. These vessels appear to have been plastered inside; some have a dark red stain which dripped down the exterior of the vessel. In addition, this deposit contained a number of small whole spouted jars (Plate 7.2) and drinking cups made in Simple ware. The only other pottery in this deposit were a few jar sherds of the thicker variety of Simple ware, one of which had a cylinder seal rolled on its shoulder. A number of door sealings were interspersed in the deposit. These show traces of three elements: a flat portion with wood grain impressions which went against the door, a rope impression showing usually three strands of rope, and a peg impression. These door sealings were not intended to prevent the entry of robbers, but rather served the bureaucratic function of controlling access to storage rooms. A few small metal objects and a very small equid head (Plate 7.3) are the only other objects found in this burnt deposit.

The circumstances which led to the deposition of this burnt material on top of the carefully constructed glacis are intriguing. On the basis of the contents of this burnt deposit it appears now that it is the remains of a storage room which principally was used to store large jars and their contents, perhaps a liquid in some cases, as well as very fragile Simple ware spouted jars and cups. These Simple ware jars and cups may have been used in conjunction with the liquid in the storage jars. We assume that the contents of a given room had burnt in a fire and were subsequently transported outside the city wall for disposal. What is intriguing is that the dumping of this material on top of the glacis would seem to negate the function of the glacis itself, since it leveled off an area which was otherwise sloping to the outside. We may infer that at the time of the dumping (sometime after the period of the seal impressions, *i.e.* in late ED III or thereafter) the city wall had lost its defensive character, perhaps because the city perimeter had widened to include a much larger portion of the outer city.

#### CYLINDER SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON DOOR SEALINGS

The majority of the themes on the door sealings (Plate 8.1) from the burnt deposit are those of animal combat, often with a hero. This is a common theme on ED III seals in the south but the Mozan sealings have characteristics which differ from that area. The Mozan impressions indicate a stress on the individual figure and do not emphasize the patterning of the intertwined animals in the design as can be seen in ED III seals from the south. This is indicated by the fact that many of the animals are standing on all four legs rather than being rampant (Plate 8.2), thus giving them a solid physical presence which is distinct from any part they play in the overall design of the seal. The Mozan seals show some iconographic differences too from the south which are interesting. A hero with upstanding tufted hair is found in the south on ED III seals, but rarely (Plate 8.3). In another sealing, a figure with a slit skirt holds a pole with what appears to be a bag hanging from it; he holds the pole over a standing animal with its back to him. This scene is so far unique. In one Mozan seal design we have a dramatic confrontation between a snake coil and a horned animal (Plate 8.4). The

snake coil, while found in the south, does not appear in dramatic confrontation with an animal. That this was certainly intentional on the Mozan seal can be seen by the fact that the horned animal had to be turned in an awkward position in relation to the snake in order to be facing him. There are three impressions of this design on the door sealings; it is the only design to have more than one rolling in the corpus.

## TEMPLE BA<sup>9</sup>

### Phase A1

A monumental building in Area B (see Fig. 1), assumed to be a temple, was excavated during each of the three seasons. The lowest phase excavated thus far contains a stone ramp, and steps leading to an entrance on the south. On the western side a double stone founded wall is reinforced in one area by a semicircular stone buttress or tower. Since the walls of the temple, even for this early phase, were for the most part directly under the surface of the mound, only a few courses of the mud bricks on top of the stone foundations are preserved. On the exterior of the building were two floors which respected the stone buttress and the base of the stone walls. These floors contained large ribbed and plain storage jars dating to the Ur III period on the basis of comparative evidence from Brak and Tāya. The exact phase of the building in use along with these floors is not clear since they are only connected with the outer walls and not as yet with any floor found inside the building.

The main room of the temple, entered by means of the ramp and steps, is 10.5 meters by 9.0 meters. This room is covered with a thick white plastered floor which is connected with the freestanding stone altar, measuring 1 meter by 1.5 meters, placed near the center of the room. To the north of this room but not so far connected with it by a doorway, is a walkway paved with sherds as well as an unbaked brick pavement located against the north wall of the main room. On top of this pavement were traces of burned roofing materials consisting of impressions of light poles or sticks set in a mud matrix. Therefore we can reconstruct the presence of a use area adjacent to the temple (possibly connected with it but not necessarily so) which consisted in a roofed veranda along the north wall with a sherd paved walkway just to the north of it. That this area was heavily used is shown by the presence of many small metal objects, much pottery, and a portion of a small stone stele (see below). A series of sherd pavings and mud brick pavings in this area indicate that it continued to be used for similar purposes. Since we do not have a direct connection with the interior of the temple we cannot stratigraphically link the two.

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<sup>9</sup> Phases are numbered from the bottom up. The letter A which precedes the phase number refers to the current sequential order of phases. If and when this sequence is revised in the future, different letters will identify the respective sequences.

The closest parallels to the Mozan temple are the stone buildings at Tell Chuera, located about 120 km to the west of Mozan. 'Steinbau III' is similar with its monumental stone steps and 'Steinbau I' with its altar.<sup>10</sup> While neither of these buildings is exactly like the Mozan temple, we can see in both Chuera and Mozan the elements of a distinctive corpus of North Syrian third millennium architectural types.

#### Phase A2

In this phase a new positioning of the entrance and interior walls was made. Two walls forming a narrow corridor blocked the Phase A1 entrance. In this corridor in association with these walls were very well preserved burnt floors. On one of these floors and against the northern corridor wall a mud brick shelf was constructed; a number of heavily burnt storage vessels were still sitting on it. At the eastern end of the corridor steps led up to a stone threshold. The higher room behind the threshold is no longer preserved. Since there is also no altar preserved for this phase, and since the general circulation patterns had changed considerably, it is possible that in this second phase the building may not have functioned as a temple. However, the repositioning of the walls could simply indicate a change in functional spaces with the altar being placed elsewhere.

#### Phase A3

During this phase a large platform was constructed as a substructure for a higher building which we no longer have. The platform has very regular dimensions and was constructed of red clay bricks, and utilized for part of its perimeter the wall stumps of Phase A2. Next to it was a very fine and hard gray packing, which we also understand as being part of the substructure of the building which we no longer have. The platform contained a number of sherds and a free standing lion sculpture (see below).

#### Phase A4

The latest phase in this area just under the modern sod layer consisted in a series of laminations within which was an intact Khabur ware jar and a series of three whole human adult skulls placed near each other. No architecture is associated with this phase. It may have been that no buildings occupied this area in the early part of the second millennium or alternatively that the buildings were completely constructed of mud brick and that the laminations represent all we have of their eroded remains.

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<sup>10</sup> A. Moorgat, Tell Chuëra in Nordost-Syrien: Vorläufiger Bericht über die zweite Grabungskampagne 1959, SMOS 4, Wiesbaden 1960; A. Moortgat, U. Moortgat-Correns, Tell Chuëra in Nordost-Syrien: Vorläufiger Bericht über die sechste Grabungskampagne 1973, SMOS 8, Berlin 1975.

## STONE SCULPTURE

From the red clay platform in Phase A3 of the temple came a small stone free standing sculpture of a lion (Plate 9.1). While its face and part of its hind quarters are partially destroyed, the rest of the piece shows deeply cut eyes, an attempt at naturalism in the incised hair pattern and the impression of a solid presence in the conveying of all its features, including the lower legs carved on the bottom.

Lions are a popular theme in Mesopotamian art from the Uruk period on.<sup>11</sup> During Early Dynastic times, highly stylized lions appear on the Mesilim mace from Tello.<sup>12</sup> These are characterized by deeply cut round eyes which are not at all cat-like. The hair pattern too of the lions' ruff and head is carved in an unrealistic rendering. Later the Gudea lion mace head also is highly stylized.<sup>13</sup> Two lions said to come from the area of Mozan and also dating to the latter half of the third millennium are the Urkiš lions.<sup>14</sup> The modeled hair pattern and the naturalistic poses of the Urkiš lions are far superior to the Mozan lion. However, while the Mozan lion is certainly not as sophisticated as the Urkiš lions, it does give the impression of being the work of a less skilled artist who was trying to represent a lion he had actually seen in person. None of the earlier Early Dynastic lions give the impression that a lion was actually part of the visual experience of the artist.

Since we have not yet completed the study of the deposit in which the lion was found, we cannot as yet clearly date this sculpture on the basis of the associated pottery and finds. However, we can see generally that it is to be dated towards the end of the third millennium.

The second piece of sculpture connected with the temple (more precisely, the area adjacent to it) is a small stele carved in relief on both sides (Plates 9.2-3). This stele came from under one of a series of superimposed sherd pavements located to the north of the main room of the temple. It is free standing, flat on the bottom and triangular in section. One side, carved in low relief, contains one pair of crossed animals with the head of a third animal, possibly part of a second pair can be seen behind one of this pair (Plate 9.2). The artist carved this third head in such low relief that it does not interfere with the pattern of the first pair. A border has been left blank around all preserved sides of the relief; this can be seen on the right where the design logically terminates. In this border area the artist has not cut away the background (as can be seen on the opposite side); this may have been intentional or may indicate that the piece is unfinished. In either case the artist meant to leave

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<sup>11</sup> M.R. Behm-Blancke, *Das Tierbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik: Eine Untersuchung zum Stilwandel des frühsumerischen Rundbildes*, BaF 1, Mainz 1979; see also: E.A. Braun-Holinger, *Löwe*. B: Archäologisch, RIA 7 (1/2), Berlin, New York 1987, pp. 88-94.

<sup>12</sup> A. Parrot, *Sumer: L'univers des formes*, Paris 1960, figs. 160a+b.

<sup>13</sup> A. Parrot, *Sumer: L'univers des formes*, Paris 1960, fig. 291.

<sup>14</sup> A. Parrot, J. Nougayrol, *Un document de fondation hurrite*, RA 42, 1948, pp. 1-20.

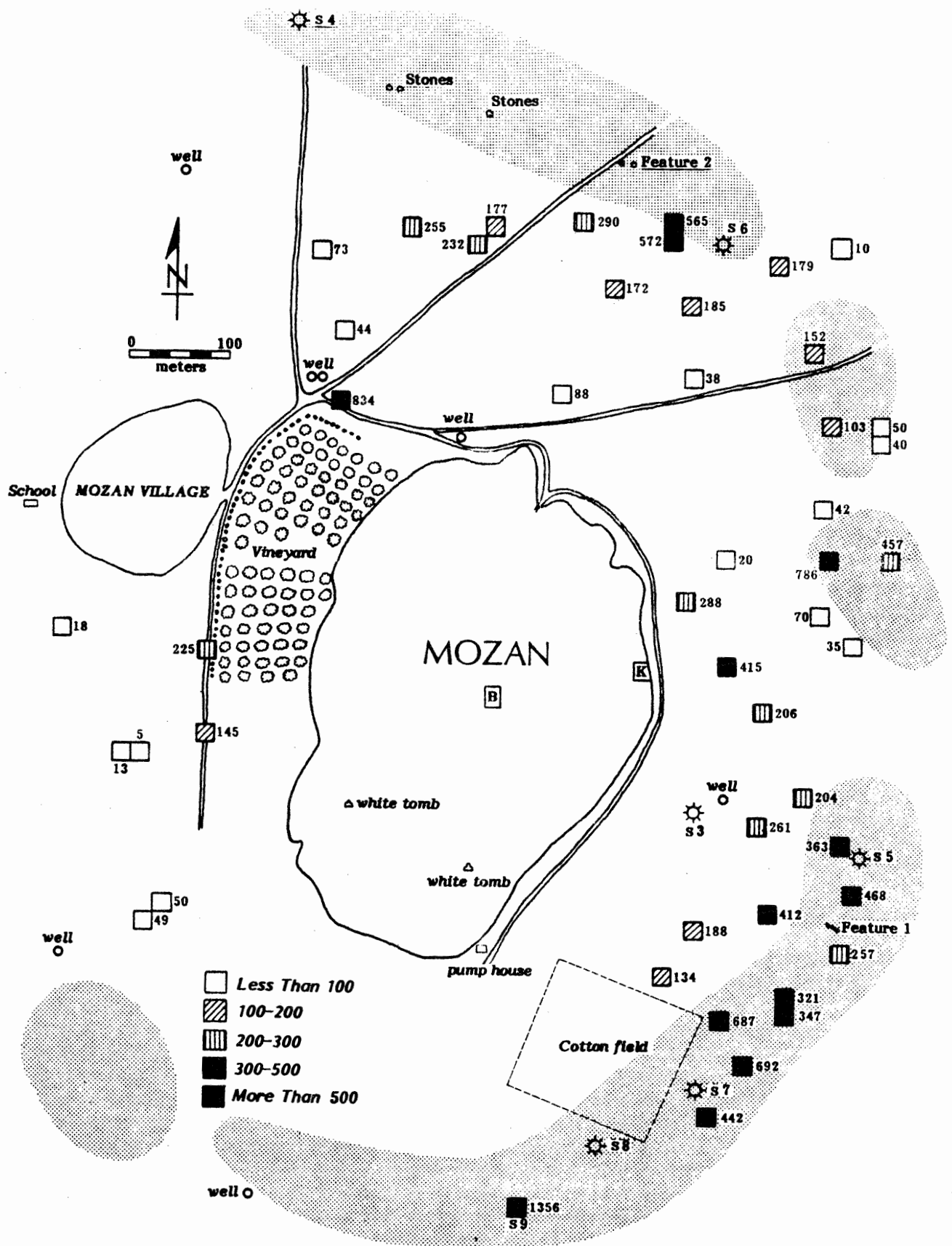


Fig. 4: Pottery Distribution in the Outer City by Number of Sherds Found



this border since the design is complete as it is. In addition to this stress on the border, the artist has portrayed the two crossed animals in movement. This is very different from the static feeling given by the usual Mesopotamian crossed animals.

On the other side of the stele is a plowman with his plow and the hind quarters of his drought animal preserved (Plate 9.3). Here too it can be seen that the artist placed the design in the center of the field to be decorated leaving a border all around the scene as we have it preserved. In this case the stone of the background has been carved away. So much care was taken in positioning the design in the center of the stone that the dog above the plowman appears to be crowding his movements. Even more interesting is the diagonal frame of the composition against which the plowman places his foot. His bent leg and foot against this diagonal gives him a very natural forward thrust to his plowing motion. Plowing scenes are found in Akkadian art but not thus far in the Early Dynastic period, except for one possible one at Halawa. Even those we do find on cylinder seals in the Akkadian period are stiff and lack the dynamism of the Mozan relief. The composition of the Mozan plowman with its emphasis on the diagonal as the conveyor of the forward thrust of his movement is not a Mesopotamian element until late in the Akkadian period and even then does not match its subtlety. The Narām-Sîn stele does have a number of diagonals in the composition which emphasize the movement upward of Narām-Sîn and his soldiers, but these diagonals do not give the dynamic thrust which we see on the Mozan stele.

The exact chronological position of the Mozan stele cannot for the moment be given, due to the fact that we cannot as yet finely differentiate the ceramic chronology of the Khabur basin in the latter half of the third millennium. Stratigraphically the pavements with which the stele is associated are not linked with the deposit inside the large room of the temple, but further excavation may give us the link between these two areas. For now we can say that the stele can be dated to the later part of the third millennium at Mozan.

## THE OUTER CITY

As a part of the overall research strategy at Mozan we undertook a survey of the Outer City (Fig. 4), under the supervision of Judith Thompson-Miragliuolo. This foot survey was intended to establish the limits of the Outer City in the chronological periods in which it was occupied or otherwise used, and to ascertain differential use patterns. The information thus obtained is being correlated with a similar survey done for the High Mound. Even without all the research having been completed it can be determined that the Outer City was being used during the same periods as the High Mound. Both were intensively occupied during the entire third millennium with a substantially smaller amount of use in the Halaf period and in the second millennium. In order to check the Outer City survey results we decided to put in five test trenches at various points in the Outer City. All these soundings yielded either occupational layers or burial evidence. The burial evidence came from the north eastern portion of

the Outer City. In this area a number of large stones on the surface led to the discovery of a stone tomb below. While this tomb was robbed in antiquity its architecture showed that it was an important burial. The tomb was lined with large stones which were also used to cover the top. Few ceramics were found in association with this tomb. In an area not far from this stone tomb there were a large number of Metallic ware sherds on the surface. Excavation here showed that it indeed was the burial place of two adults, but this time they were placed in a pit without any structure. This tomb contained over one hundred vessels and a number of metal objects. The ceramics included an early form of Metallic ware conical cups and a number of late Ninevite V vessels with the grooved and incised designs typical of Chagar Bazar and Ailun.<sup>15</sup> In addition to a number of undecorated vessels in shapes which reflected the Ninevite V pottery, there were several examples of a type of painted stand, painted in the Scarlet ware tradition. The paint is bright red fugitive paint with black used on the borders and for designs inside the panels. The designs are only geometric and cover the entire stand. The typical Scarlet ware paint and the use of designs arranged in panels can be paralleled by examples from the south; the concept of tight overall patterning in geometric designs is a northern characteristic. One similar Scarlet ware stand was published from Tell Chuera with a second one also mentioned.<sup>16</sup> From the assemblage in this tomb it now becomes clear that the early development of Metallic ware overlapped with the latest stage of Ninevite V pottery and that this stage of development in both these wares coincided with a local development in Scarlet ware.

## CONCLUSIONS

Mozan is the largest third millennium mound in the northern Khabur and as such was the most important city in the central Khabur triangle during this period. From the surface survey of the ceramics on the High Mound it appears that the height of the mound (25 m above the present plain level) is due almost entirely to its occupation in the third millennium. The Outer City too was occupied and used almost exclusively during this period. The city wall around the High Mound with its height of at least 5 meters and its deep glacis in front point to a well fortified and economically powerful city. From our excavated material we have already found a large religious building on the top of the mound and indication of major storage facilities in the remains of the burnt storage room outside the city wall. From the artistic evidence excavated in connection with the temple we can see that Mozan possessed an independent stylistic tradition related both to the southern Early Dynastic tradition and its northern counterparts (not discussed here) but was independent of both.

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<sup>15</sup> For a recent study of Ninevite V pottery, see: G.M. Schwartz, *The Ninevite V Period and Current Research*, *Paléorient* 11, 1985, pp. 53-70.

<sup>16</sup> A. Moortgat, U. Moortgat-Correns, *Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien: Vorläufiger Bericht über die siebente Grabungskampagne 1974*, *SMOS* 9, Berlin 1976, pp. 64-68.

The central position of Mozan in the Khabur region points up the fact that the trade routes both east-west and north-south had to pass this area. In the second millennium, caravans of traders from the Tigris cities passed this area as documented in the Old Babylonian itineraries.<sup>17</sup> Trading networks going north-south too can be reconstructed for the third millennium from the archaeological evidence. Mozan is situated in the fertile and well watered plain just to the south of Mardin located at the southern exit from the mountain pass which traverses the Tur-Abdin to the Ergani mining area.<sup>18</sup> Mozan then must have controlled the flow of trade of raw materials, principally metals, from the sources in the north to the southern cities, along the Khabur and Euphrates.

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<sup>17</sup> See: A. Goetze, *An Old Babylonian Itinerary*, JCS 7, 1953, pp. 51-72; W.W. Hallo, *The Road to Emar*, JCS 18, 1964, pp. 57-88.

<sup>18</sup> M. Kelly-Buccellati, *Trade in Metals in the Third Millennium: Northeastern Syria and Eastern Anatolia* (forthcoming).

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## TELL BRAK IN THE FOURTH AND THIRD MILLENNIA: FROM URUK TO UR III

Joan Oates - Cambridge

### PREHISTORIC TO EARLY DYNASTIC

The earliest object so far recovered at Tell Brak is an obsidian crescentic microlith found in fill in Area CH (Fig. 1), presumably deriving from decayed mud-brick and therefore some much earlier deposit. Among the potsherds found on the surface of the site and from various levelling fills is one Samarran example. Halaf material is plentiful, largely in the area of the Akkadian Palace and the Eye Temple, presumably also originating from fill within these buildings. Most of the Halaf sherds we have collected come from the 1930's dumps. 'Ubaid sherds are also plentiful, for the most part 'Ubaid 3-4, but they include very distinctive Hajji Muhammad types not previously found in the North. Indeed one such sherd can be no later than Eridu level XIV ('Ubaid 2).<sup>1</sup> The quality of both the Halaf and the 'Ubaid pottery suggests that Tell Brak was more than a small village at this time (Plate 10.2). Uruk pottery is very common, all around the site and indeed on several neighbouring small mounds. The total area from which Uruk sherds have been found covers some 110 hectares.

We still lack a consecutive and reliably stratified sequence of the 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium occupation levels, though the evidence we have found so far confirms that the site was occupied throughout this time, and suggests the following reconstruction:

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<sup>1</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1985-86*, Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 175-191.

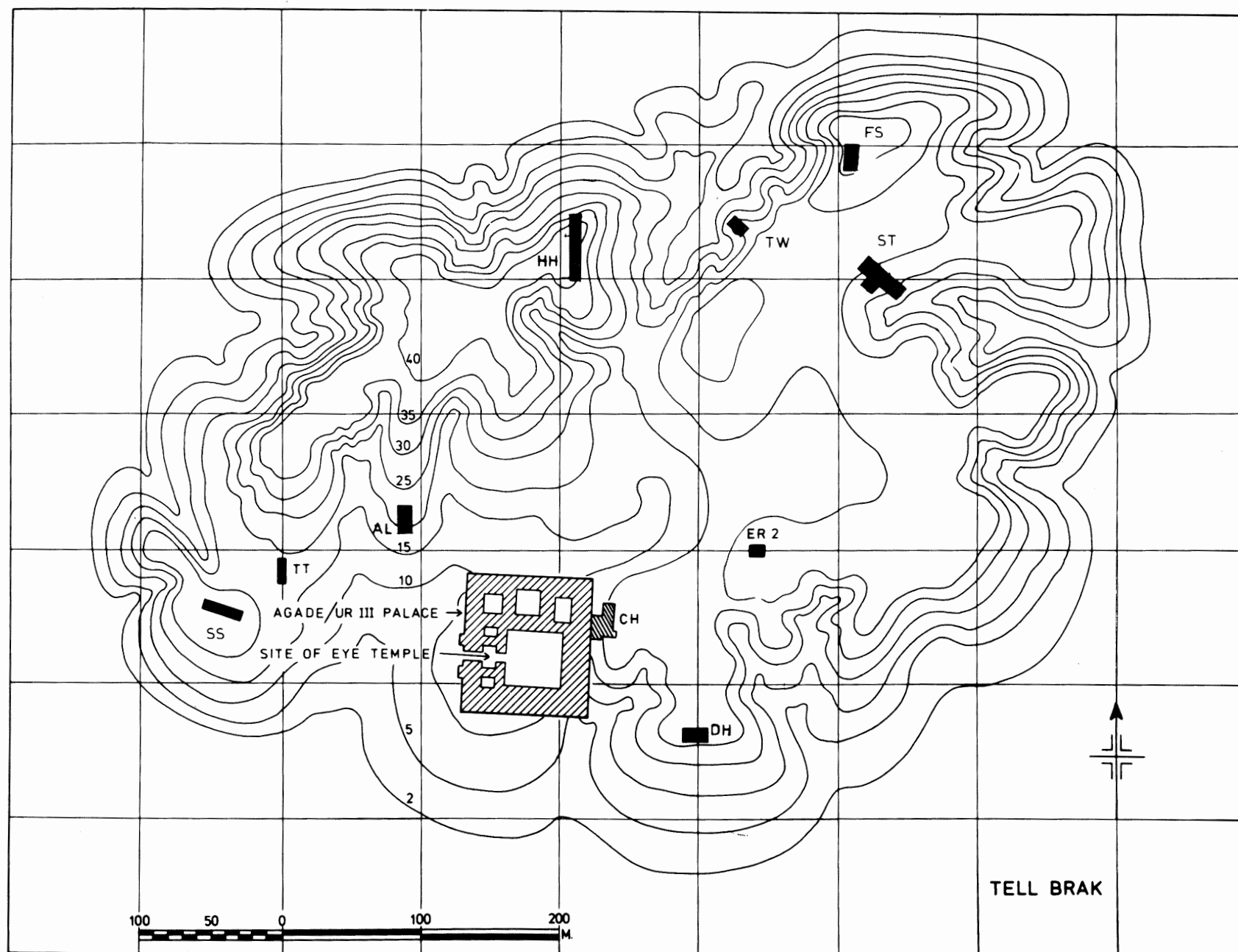


Fig. 1: Tell Plan

## LATE 'UBAID

Late 'Ubaid occupation, in Area CH still some 12 m. above the modern plough, not as yet extensively investigated but identified in the 'cistern' excavated in 1980 and in the earliest levels of the 1985 deep sounding, which extend to a depth of some 14 m. below the surface of the tell at this point. The very latest 'Ubaid painted pottery is chaff-tempered, and simple open bowls and tall-necked jars predominate. The transition to Early Uruk is gradual, and shows an increasing quantity of 'Coba bowls' with scraped sides.<sup>2</sup>

## EARLY URUK

An Early Uruk phase, also attested stratigraphically in Area CH, so far ill-defined but characterized by 'Coba bowls', red-on-black painted vessels (bowls and jars), red-burnished pottery, in particular small jars, conical vessels and a few hole mouth jars; comparable with early Grai Resh and Gawra XII. Also present in these levels were a variety of very finely worked stone bowls, including a fragment of one obsidian example. These Early Uruk and Late 'Ubaid materials derive from 9 strata in the deep sounding (1985, levels 14-22, CH South) and from the earliest tell identified within the complex stratigraphy revealed in CH North, 1986.

## EARLY / MIDDLE URUK

An Early/Middle Uruk phase, also as yet ill-defined and known so far only from levelling fills. Characterized by burnished red and some grey wares, hole mouth vessels (largely red but also grey and brown), bowls with criss-cross incised base interiors, very distinctive stamped and incised pottery (as in Gawra XI), 'black slip ware' (known also at Habuba), vessels with 'channel rims' as at Tepe Gawra (red ware), short upright spouts and large numbers of 'wide flower pots'. A few sherds of an unusual black-on-orange painted ware (wheelmade) were found in 1986. Vast quantities of obsidian tools and debitage were also recovered from these deposits.

In CH we also exposed part of the façade of a building with shallow rectangular buttresses, one with a central niche, and with Early Uruk pottery on the associated ground level. Such a façade can only be the external wall of a temple, and the technique bears a strong resemblance to that of Uruk temples at Tepe Gawra. Like the temples at Tepe Gawra, but unlike the nearby 'Terminal Uruk' (Jamdat Nasr) Eye Temple at Tell Brak, the newly discovered building stands on the contemporary ground level and not on a raised platform. There

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<sup>2</sup> The earlier types of 'Ubaid pottery display the mineral tempers more usual in the South; such pottery has not yet been found *in situ*.

appear to have been two different traditions of temple construction in the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium at Tell Brak, a phenomenon which also occurs at Warka, but we cannot be sure whether these two traditions co-existed at Tell Brak, as they did at Warka, until we have determined the date of the earliest Eye Temple (Plate 10.1). Our as yet incomplete investigation of the series of platforms in Area TP, on the south slope of the tell, seems to indicate that there were several Jamdat Nasr platforms, while the presence of numerous and unusual painted eye motifs on Late 'Ubaid pottery found in CH in 1985 suggests that the cult may have originated at least as early as the Late 'Ubaid period. Only further work can resolve the history of the Eye Temple sequence.

Enlargement of the excavated area in the 1986 season enabled us to define, among other features, the outline of an erosion gully on the north side of CH, obviously signifying a temporary abandonment of this particular part of the site. The gully was later filled with debris brought from elsewhere, which contained a mass of Early/Middle Uruk pottery. At some stage during this or probably an earlier levelling process a circular structure c. 4.80 m. in diameter was built overlying the gully near the east side of the trench. Two phases of construction were observed, the earlier being slightly smaller in size, and both showed signs of heavy burning. Circular buildings other than pottery kilns – which these were not – are unknown in the Uruk period, apart from the Round House at Tepe Gawra, which was a very much larger and obviously fortified structure.

#### MIDDLE TO LATE URUK

A Middle to Late Uruk phase with material very closely comparable with Habuba and contemporary at the latest with Warka VIII-IVb. We have not yet found stratified occupation levels of this phase, but its existence is attested by the contents of various fills found over the whole of the site, in particular in the foundations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium building in TW<sup>3</sup> and in extensive late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium levelling and rebuilding operations in Area FS. Much of the pottery is of local styles, but these deposits are characterized by nose-lug jars, drooping spouts, very large numbers of bevelled rim bowls and 'flower pots', and the absence of certain very distinctive types found in CH levels 9-12. The absence of stratified levels of this phase in CH may possibly be explained by the very extensive clearance and levelling immediately below level 11/12 and overlying the thick layers of very strikingly different Early/Middle Uruk debris beneath.<sup>4</sup> In the 1986 season large quantities of comparable ma-

<sup>3</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. pp. 195-196.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion, see: J. Oates, *Tell Brak: The Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence*, in: U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig (eds.), *Jamdat Nasr – Period or Regional Style?: Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen, November 1983*, TAVO B/62, Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 245-273.



terial were recovered from levelling fill on the north side of CH and from late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium levelling operations in Area FS. It was in the latter fill that the two pictographic tablets were found in 1984, together with a number of Uruk sealings (Plate 10.3).<sup>5</sup>

## LATEST URUK

The latest Uruk phase, identified stratigraphically in CH, conventionally 'Jamdat Nasr' in the South, which displays many parallels with the nearby Eye Temple sequence. Four building levels have been identified, arbitrarily designated levels 9–12; the time gap between level 8 (ED III) and level 9 is of course to be measured in hundreds of years (Plate 11.1, Figs. 2, 3). A large collection of pottery has been recovered, much of it *in situ* on actual occupation floors (levels 9, 10). Found with this pottery were a number of objects of types normally associated with the Eye Temple.<sup>6</sup> A particularly fine *bullā*, in conventional typology Warka V–IV, was found unequivocally stratified in the section itself, beneath level 12 (immediately below the lowest of the upper levels visible in Fig. 3, east section). Most of the pottery published by Dr. Fielden belongs to this phase of occupation.<sup>7</sup> The hearth marked on the section<sup>8</sup> and the associated casseroles belong almost certainly to level 9; indeed the lowest point of the 1978 sounding lay immediately above the floor of level 10. Thus the whole of the 1978 sounding corresponds to level 9 and above, though it should be noted that the pottery from this sounding is not unequivocally stratified. (It should also be emphasized that reading absolute levels across the lower part of the section published in 1982<sup>9</sup> is misleading owing to the steep slope of the earlier mound which had not been identified when this section was drawn.)

The most common pottery types in levels 9–12 were crudely finished platters and very distinctive casseroles. Corrugated jar rim interiors are particularly characteristic. Such types are not found in the Middle/Late Uruk levelling fills and almost certainly define a Jamdat Nasr, or at least very late Uruk, time span in Northern Mesopotamia; comparable material was recovered from CH North in 1986. Similar pottery is found in Late Chalcolithic contexts at a number of northern sites, e.g. Kurban Höyük (Period VI). Its immediately post-'Ubaid attribution at Leilan (Period V), however, must remain doubtful in view of the essentially

<sup>5</sup> I.L. Finkel, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak* 1984, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 187–201, esp. pp. 187–189, fig. 1, plate XXXII; S.A. Jasim, J. Oates, *Early Tokens and Tablets in Mesopotamia: New Information from Tell Abada and Tell Brak*, *World Archaeology* 17, 1986, pp. 348–362, esp. p. 360, plate 2a.

<sup>6</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983–84*, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159–173, esp. pp. 160–165, plate XXV.

<sup>7</sup> K. Fielden, *A Late Uruk Pottery Group from Tell Brak*, Iraq 43, 1981, pp. 157–166.

<sup>8</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978–81*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187–204, esp. p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978–81*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187–204, esp. fig. 3.

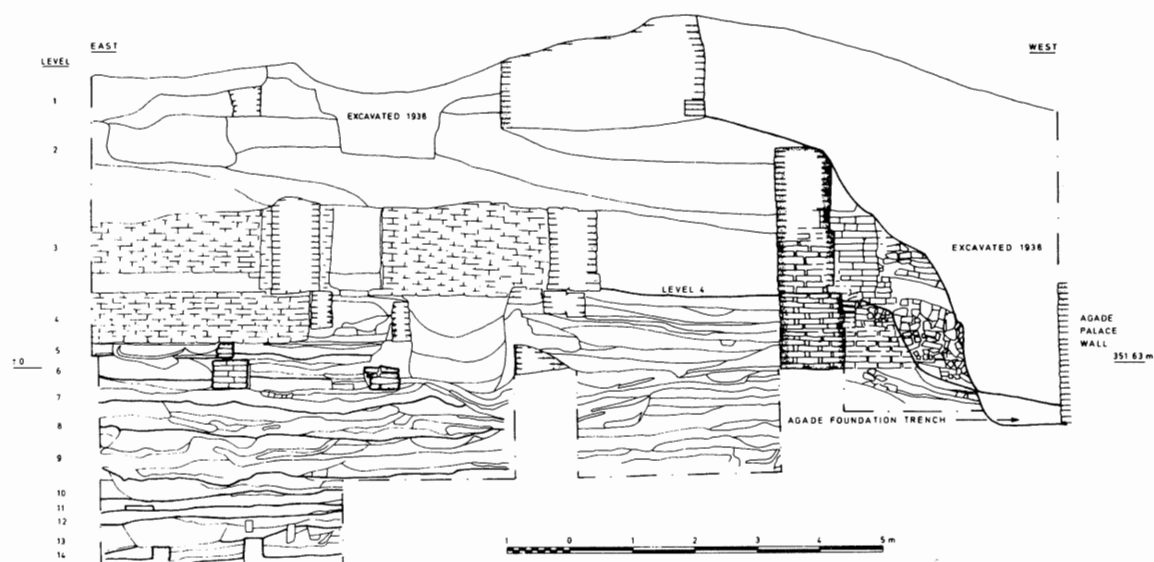


Fig. 2: CH, South Section

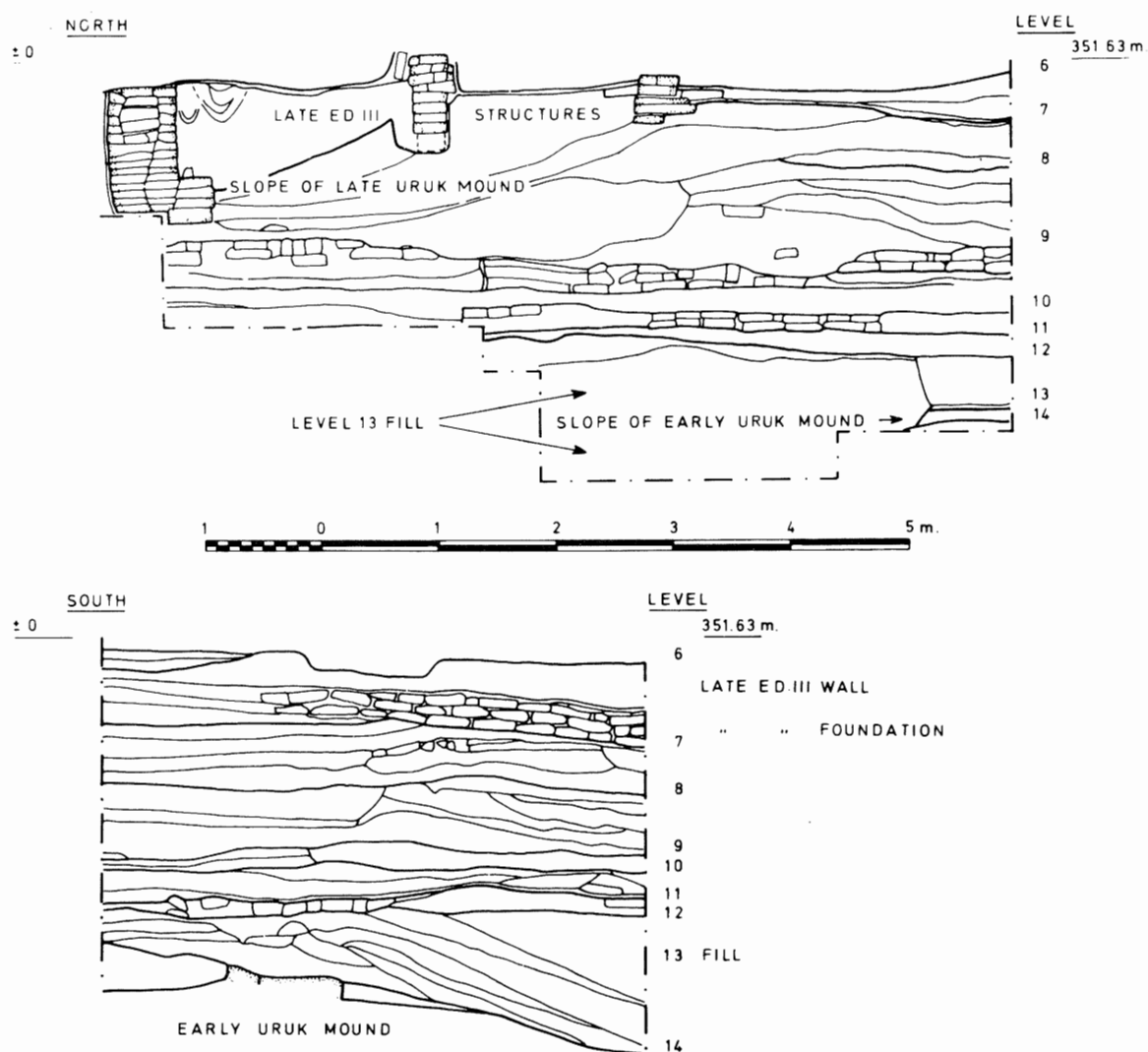


Fig. 3: CH, East and West Sections of 1984 Deep Sounding (see also Plate 11.1)

local but significantly different Early Uruk materials found at both Tell Brak (above) and Tell Hammam et-Turkman.<sup>10</sup>

The agreed southern criteria for 'Jamdat Nasr', i.e. the polychrome pottery, which so far has not been found in the North, and the Warka III type of tablet, are of course lacking, but the overall impression of levels 9-12 in the CH building sequence at Tell Brak is of a Warka III rather than a Warka IV time span, at least as Warka IV is conventionally defined. For example, a group of fine, almost eggshell quality bowls<sup>11</sup>, known also in Eanna III, suggest this general chronological horizon, as do associated, though admittedly not unequivocally stratified, objects found in levelling fills elsewhere on the site (*inter alia*, a sealing (Plate 11.2) which was found in fill (Area FS) in which casseroles, platters and other 'Jamdat Nasr' types predominated). Equally, much of the pottery most characteristic of the Habuba-like, 'Middle/Late Uruk' levelling fills is absent from CH levels 9-12. Certainly there is no doubt that the pottery of levels 9 and 10<sup>12</sup> was *in situ* and is securely stratified above the sealing referred to in the context of the section.<sup>13</sup>

The one 'notational tablet' so far found at Tell Brak comes from the 1978 sounding, and, like the rest of the material from that sounding, is not precisely stratified in the sense of deriving from identifiable floors; we can only say that it lay below the hearth and therefore cannot be later than level 9. It may equally have strayed from a much earlier level.

## EARLY DYNASTIC

### Area CH

The principal excavation directed at this period has been Area CH, the largest and deepest on the site, which was started in 1976 to produce a control sequence for other areas, since the presence on its west side of the foundation wall and trench of the palace of Narām-Sîn of Agade provides, in their associated ground level, a well-dated point of departure for the relative chronology of the levels above and beneath. In 1981 and 1983 we identified two destruction levels, 6 and 7, both earlier than the construction of the palace and separated by a relatively short interval. The material from the later destruction included

<sup>10</sup> M.N. van Loon (ed.), Hammam et-Turkman I: Preliminary Report on the 1981-84 Seasons, Leiden (in press).

<sup>11</sup> D. Oates, Tell Brak, in: J. Curtis (ed.), Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery: The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq 1932-1982, London 1982, pp. 62-71.

<sup>12</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: Uruk pottery from the 1984 season, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 175-186, esp. pp. 176-177.

<sup>13</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: Uruk pottery from the 1984 season, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 175-186, esp. p. 173, plate XXVd.

*bullae* with seal impressions of Late Early Dynastic III style<sup>14</sup>, but since the Late Early Dynastic artistic traditions are known, for example from relief sculpture, to have persisted at least under the first Agade king (Sargon) and may have been more conservative in the North than in the South, it is just possible that the second destruction was the work of Narām-Sîn at an earlier stage of his reign than his final occupation of the site, though it is more likely to date from an earlier period, perhaps of his grandfather Sargon who also campaigned in the North. The first destruction might, in the former case, be the work of Sargon or, in the second case, of the Sumerian king Lugal-zaggesi. Both are known to have campaigned up the Euphrates, and although the surviving historical texts make no mention of the Khabur region, it would seem a natural secondary objective, as it was for Narām-Sîn. At all events, the parallel with the history of Ebla, as recorded in Mesopotamian documents, is obvious and interesting.<sup>15</sup>

Up to now at least two major buildings and perhaps 4 or 5 ED III building phases have been identified in CH (tentatively levels 6-8). We have also found traces of an adjacent roadway, with wheel marks still visible. This was bounded on the West by a casemate wall, clearly delineating some important Late ED III complex, destroyed by the builders of the Narām-Sîn palace, which preserved exactly the same alignment. We have so far not penetrated directly below these ED III buildings to any informative degree, though elsewhere in CH it has become clear that the ED III buildings are terraced into an earlier Uruk tell, itself overlying a still earlier prehistoric mound.<sup>16</sup>

The ED III destruction level (CH, level 6) is reported extensively in two recent articles.<sup>17</sup> It has been identified in all areas of the site so far excavated (with the obvious exception of Mitanni HH), the other informative sources being Areas ER, ST, DH and AL. From the latter excavations, together with CH, we have acquired a large collection of precisely dated pottery<sup>18</sup> and of objects including a number of clay *bullae* and other sealings. It is of interest that the Late ED III levels in Area DH, at the highest part of the southern area of the mound, some 24 m. above modern plough line, lie significantly above not only the surface of the mound in Area CH (+ 19 m.), but even higher above the Area CH ED III buildings themselves, which are situated some 6 m. below the CH ground surface. This not only suggests that at least the southern area of Tell Brak was a very substantial prehistoric mound but also confirms the presence there of extensive terracing already in the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

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<sup>14</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. p. 192, 199, plate XIII.

<sup>15</sup> See also: J. Oates, *Tell Brak and Chronology: The Third Millennium*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 137-144.

<sup>16</sup> See also: D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84*, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173.

<sup>17</sup> J. Oates, *Some Late Early Dynastic III Pottery from Tell Brak*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 205-219, esp. plate XVIa.b; J. Oates, *Tell Brak and Chronology: The Third Millennium*, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 137-144.

<sup>18</sup> J. Oates, *Some Late Early Dynastic III Pottery from Tell Brak*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 205-219.

One further point merits mention in relation to ED III Brak. Radiocarbon determinations of grain samples taken from storage jars found *in situ* on the floors of the destruction level in both CH and ER<sup>19</sup> display the consistency one would expect from such samples, but even when calibrated are unacceptably late. Not only do we know this level to be stratified beneath the construction level of the Narām-Sîn Palace, but the material recovered from the destruction debris accords well with a late ED III date, at the latest Early Sargonid. The calibrated dates which range from 2050–1950 B.C. are clearly unacceptable, but it is hoped that accelerator dating of the grains themselves may help to determine the reason for this worrying discrepancy.

#### Area ST

Area ST was excavated in 1978–83. Situated in a heavily eroded gully, it was originally designed as a step trench to investigate the sequence of occupation on the north-east side of the mound. This proved to run from Ninevite V at the base, still some ten metres above plain level, to Akkadian buildings at the top, which were partly explored in 1980 in a series of four trenches dug from the level upper surface of the tell. Here a massive Akkadian building was revealed which yielded a fine ivory figurine of a woman and several large rectangular 'snake pots'.<sup>20</sup> In 1983 a further attempt was made to expose the intervening levels, for here, as in DH, we hoped to find the Early Dynastic sequence destroyed in CH where much bull-dozing activity had taken place. In ST both the architectural evidence and the stratification proved to be exceptionally complicated, but it is clear that the buildings of Late ED III and Akkadian date were stepped down the slope of the mound and supported by massive terrace walls which still mask the earlier ED levels which must lie behind them. This confirms observations made elsewhere that the configuration of the tell and its pattern of erosion gullies in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium was the same as it is now.

Three objects of particular interest were found in these levels in 1983. The first is a fragment of a frit bowl decorated with alternating black and white, perhaps originally blue, triangles. This came from an early Akkadian context, and just below it, in the ashes of a fire, were two massive copper or bronze implements and a number of bronze pins. The first was a spike, weighing almost a kilogramme, and the other a chisel.<sup>21</sup> This was clearly a destruction level and is almost certainly contemporary with the late ED III destruction observed in CH (level 6) and elsewhere. Below this and above the Ninevite V House excavated in

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<sup>19</sup> E.g. J. Oates, Some Late Early Dynastic III Pottery from Tell Brak, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 205–219, esp. plate XVIa,b; D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978–81, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187–204, esp. pp. 197–198.

<sup>20</sup> D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978–81, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187–204, esp. plate XIIc.

<sup>21</sup> D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983–84, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159–173, esp. plate XXIX a,b.

1978, some nine structural levels were observed.<sup>22</sup> Thus the step trench ST provides so far the only sequence of Early Dynastic material, but its complex terracing operations make further investigation both difficult and expensive.

#### Area TW: Early Dynastic I (? II)

The rather insubstantial remains of buildings which we have tentatively ascribed to ED I have been found in Area TW beneath the Old Babylonian 'fortification' substructures.<sup>23</sup> The pottery includes incised Ninevite V, elegant tall-footed chalices, some painted Ninevite V sherds and very distinctive cooking pots with U-shaped lugs and gouged decoration.<sup>24</sup>

A number of sealings, which have been found elsewhere on the site (in particular in an early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium wadi deposit in ST and in pits dug into the Eye Temple platforms) together with the Ninevite V pottery attest the occupation of Tell Brak during the early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium. Many of the former, like the pottery, are North Mesopotamian in style.<sup>25</sup>

#### Ninevite V

Both painted and incised Ninevite V are present at the site, in particular in ST and at the west end of the tell.<sup>26</sup> We have yet to establish the precise dates of the Ninevite V material at Tell Brak, but we do know that no Ninevite V of any type occurs in the ED III destruction level, now extensively identified in five different areas of the site (CH, ER, ST, AL and DH). Thus we have a *terminus ante quem* for this material in that even the latest examples must significantly pre-date the end of ED III. In CH sherds of two Ninevite V bowls of unusual and presumably later shapes<sup>27</sup> have been found at the edge of the Uruk tell, but so far it is impossible to say whether they derive from the adjacent level 8 (ED) or whether they belong to some earlier and ill-defined point of contact between these two chronologically disparate phases. A number of sherds of vessels with very distinctive excised angular decoration, a variety apparently peculiar to the Khabur area and characteristic of

<sup>22</sup> D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. plate IX a.c.

<sup>23</sup> D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. p. 195-196.

<sup>24</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: The Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence, in: U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig (eds.), *Ĝamdat Naṣr - Period or Regional Style?: Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen, November 1983*, TAVO B/62, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 245-273, esp. plate 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Inter alia*, D. Oates, Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. p. 199, plate XIV c.f.

<sup>26</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: The Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence, in: U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig (eds.), *Ĝamdat Naṣr - Period or Regional Style?: Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen, November 1983*, TAVO B/62, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 245-273.

<sup>27</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: The Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence, in: U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig (eds.), *Ĝamdat Naṣr - Period or Regional Style?: Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen, November 1983*, TAVO B/62, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 245-273, esp. fig. 5:93.94.

the very latest phase of Ninevite V, if indeed that is the correct designation for this local type, were found in the essentially unstratified 1978 CH sounding and in upper ED levels in the ST step trench.<sup>28</sup> No Ninevite V sherds, either painted or incised, have been found in the stratified 'Jamdat Nasr' levels (9-12) in CH, suggesting that in the Khabur at least, Ninevite V post-dates the end of Uruk. One large sherd from a very fine painted jar with a dark (plum) red slip on the exterior and triangles painted on the rim interior comes from fill either just above or associated with level 9, but it can hardly be described as 'Ninevite V'. Indeed a small quantity of 'Uruk painted' pottery seems to occur throughout the Uruk period, both at Tepe Gawra and Tell Brak.<sup>29</sup>

Thus a full 4<sup>th</sup> / early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium sequence remains to be established at Tell Brak and is indeed a goal of future seasons. Nonetheless, much useful information has been gained, especially concerning the extensive Uruk deposits. Clearly there is now the possibility in Northern Mesopotamia of distinguishing two recognizably different phases of 'Late Uruk', identified by quite distinctive and largely local ceramic types. At Tell Brak the 'Middle/Late' material undoubtedly corresponds with the phase of southern expansion represented by sites like Habuba and Jebel Aruda, while the very latest (CH levels 9, 10) reveals a number of features which suggest a Warka III ('Jamdat Nasr') time range, despite the absence of such specifically 'Jamdat Nasr' traits as the polychrome pottery and tablets. What is perhaps surprising at Tell Brak, at least in view of the apparently brief southern Uruk presence at Habuba and comparable sites, is the continued evidence for southern contact at this later time. This is seen not only in certain ceramic types but also in the Eye Temple and its furnishings. At Tell Brak we also have evidence for a long Early Uruk phase, which develops from the latest 'Ubaid without any apparent interruption, an observation of considerable importance in the wider Mesopotamian context.

This leads to one further point which must be emphasized. Tell Brak is an indigenous northern site with a long pre-Uruk 'history'. Contact with the South was close at least as early as the 'Ubaid period - indeed as early as 'Ubaid 2, and in Late Uruk times the city, as it had then become, was perhaps, even likely to have been, under southern control. But it was not an implanted colony like Habuba and there is throughout its material culture a distinctly northern flavour. Such southern parallels as occur are of value not only for questions of history and chronology but also in reconstructing the evolution of the site. At the same time, the establishment of what is essentially a North Mesopotamian sequence may provide external evidence for assessing comparable chronology in the South.

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<sup>28</sup> J. Oates, Tell Brak: The Uruk/Early Dynastic Sequence, in: U. Finkbeiner, W. Röllig (eds.), *Jamdat Nasr - Period or Regional Style?*: Papers given at a symposium held in Tübingen, November 1983, TAVO B/62, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 245-273, esp. plate 3.

<sup>29</sup> J. Oates, A Note on 'Ubaid and Mitanni Pottery from Tell Brak, Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 193-198, esp. fig. 3:1-3.

We tend to assume that all economic and political innovation originated in the South, and this may be true. But it is unlikely that the North was the total cultural backwater that is often implied. The Eye Temple itself displays an adaptation of the cruciform tripartite plan, known already in the Hamrin and at Tepe Gawra in the 'Ubaid period, but the origins of which remain obscure. Its contents and ornament can be precisely paralleled in the South, but it is the earliest shrine so far discovered of which the plan incorporates the heavily defended storage areas which were to be such an important part of the later temple precincts. This may reflect no more than a need for security in the North, seen also in the city wall at Habuba, but the plan was not necessarily invented in the South. The pictographic tablets pose the same question.

## AKKADIAN BRAK

### Area FS

Area FS is the principal trench in which we had hoped to achieve an extensive exposure of private buildings and where we are at present investigating structures of the Akkadian period. Here we have considerably enlarged the area of excavation in order to obtain more complete building plans and a more comprehensive range of pottery and other objects from the respective levels. There appear to be three distinct levels of Akkadian occupation. One building to be dated to the latest Akkadian phase is of particular interest (Plate 12.1). First excavated in 1984 and provisionally identified as the fore-court of some larger complex, we now know it to be an independent unit with no ancillary structures. It is a rectangular enclosure measuring some 7.40 by 5.70 m. internally, entered by two elaborate revealed doorways in the south and east walls, near the south-east and north-east corners respectively. The south external façade is ornamented with deep rectangular niches, also with reveals, suggesting that this was a public, possibly a religious, building. Its only internal feature is a rebated niche about 1 m. above floor level in the west wall opposite the north-east doorway. The building seems too wide to have been roofed since the maximum unsupported span of beams at this time - judging from the plans of other late 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium public buildings - is well under 5 m. and there was no sign of post-holes in the floor. Apart from suggesting that it may have been a place of assembly for a considerable number of persons we can propose no more precise identification, since the plan is unique.

Beneath the floor of this structure we observed the outline of wall faces with a thick coating of red plaster, finished in places with a hard white gypsum coating. This was clearly a more complex structure and equally monumental in character, for it too had elaborately decorated doorways. The fill between these two public buildings contained a number of skeletons, lying in haphazard positions as though they had died on the spot. Certainly there was no evidence of inhumation, and this somewhat bizarre evidence remains to be explained. The



lower building stands in places to a height of almost 2 m. and was obviously occupied for a considerable period. The latest debris within the walls includes a mass of pottery, with a number of complete vessels, clearly indicating a destruction level preceding the deposit containing the skeletons. Since the pottery from this level and from the original floor of the building is also Akkadian in date - though presumably nearer in time to the first Akkadian occupation under Narām-Sîn - it is apparent that the period of Akkadian occupation at Tell Brak was not without its vicissitudes.

Excavation of the lower monumental building has only just begun, but there can be no doubt that it is a substantial building with its finely plastered walls, doorways with reveals and benches around the sides of the rooms (Plate 13.1). It was destroyed by fire, and we have found burnt roof-beams lying on the floor. We attribute this level to the earliest Akkadian occupation, presumably under Narām-Sîn. A large quantity of debris accumulated before the building was reoccupied at a higher level, and it appears that there was a break in Akkadian occupation, possibly at the end of Narām-Sîn's reign, since the death of a ruler was often followed by revolts or enemy incursions, particularly in distant parts of his dominions. Equally this abandonment may have been the result of one of the numerous revolts which historical sources detail during this king's reign. The second and third levels represent a continuous occupation with a much smaller rise in floor levels. We are reminded of the existence in Area CH of two distinct levels of construction, both during the life-time of the Narām-Sîn palace, and there too parts of a substantial building were effectively obliterated and replaced.

In 1986 eleven complete or fragmentary Akkadian tablets were found in this area, in the upper destruction debris. One tablet which has been completely deciphered gives a list of payments of silver coupled with the names of three towns, Bitiršum, Biruād and Erūm, while a second lists workmen or soldiers coming from or going to the last two places and also Tādum, known from a tablet found during Mallowan's excavations. Others refer to issues or receipts of garments or sheep, and all would be appropriate to an administrative centre in a provincial capital, an identification that is entirely consistent with the formal aspect of this Akkadian building. Of particular interest is a sealing found with these tablets and bearing the name of It-be-la-ba, Governor of Gasur, the Akkadian name of the town known in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium as Nuzi, near Kirkuk. Not only does this demonstrate direct contact between Tell Brak and Gasur, but it reveals for the first time the name of a governor of that Akkadian town. The further excavation of this building is a major goal of the forthcoming season.

#### Area SS

It is clear that another major Akkadian building is situated at the western end of the mound, overlooking the present dig house, and like the Narām-Sîn building, the entrance to

the site from the South. The sounding carried out here in 1983, apparently within the courtyard of this building, produced large quantities of pottery and a number of objects of Akkadian date, including one small administrative document from the surface nearby <sup>30</sup>

#### Area DS: The City Wall

This excavation was originally designed to determine the context of the Uruk pottery which is particularly plentiful in the vicinity, but in the event prehistoric levels were never reached because the main feature in the area proved to be a pisé wall some 5 m. wide. The associated pottery is for the most part Akkadian, though this does not preclude the strong possibility of a Late ED date for the construction of the wall. It is interesting that here there was no sign of an outer face of mud-brick, and the condition of the pisé when excavated suggests that it was thoroughly resistant to weathering.

#### 'INTERREGNUM' / UR III

Again Area FS is our best source of information. Here the uppermost structure, a large private house known as the 'red *libn* building', was partially excavated by Mallowan (Plate 14.1).<sup>31</sup> A lower 'grey *libn*' structure, of which three building phases have been identified, contained a Gutian cylinder seal.<sup>32</sup> It was an impressive structure, with an elaborate system of pottery drainpipes beneath it. Below this lies the Akkadian 'courtyard building' described above, at which time there is evidence of extensive terracing on this north-eastern corner of the mound, perhaps for the construction of Ur III fortifications or simply as defense against erosion. In 1986 an unusual 'tholos' of post-Akkadian date was discovered at the eastern limit of Area FS South (Plate 14.2). From these levels in FS we have recovered a very extensive collection of pottery and other small finds, the latest of which can be dated to Ur III, or at the very latest Early Isin-Larsa (Plates 14.3-4, 15.1). Old Babylonian material is wholly lacking over the whole of the southern portion of the site - one of the major reasons for the selection of Tell Brak for excavation. Mallowan's excavations on HH, however, and the enormous quantities of Khabur ware we find eroding from the higher northern areas of the mound attest a more or less continuous sequence until the final destruction by the Middle Assyrians of the Mitanni city. It should perhaps be noted that the pottery recovered from the very extensive excavations of the Mitanni fortress-palace and temple is entirely 'Nuzi' in style, without a single sherd of Khabur ware.

<sup>30</sup> I.L. Finkel, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak* 1984, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 187-201, esp. p. 190, plate XXXIVa.b.

<sup>31</sup> M.E.L. Mallowan, *Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar*, Iraq 9, 1947, pp. 1-266, esp. pp. 75-76; D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, 1983-84, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173, esp. pp. 165-166.

<sup>32</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak*, 1983-84, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173, esp. plate XXVIe.

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## TELL BRAK: THE MITANNI PALACE AND TEMPLE

David Oates - Cambridge

Since the current series of campaigns at Tell Brak began in 1976<sup>1</sup> we have been intrigued by the mass of red mud-brick which covers the high north ridge of the tell beneath the modern survey point. The slopes of this heavily eroded ridge, which rises to a height of 43 m. above modern plain level, are littered with Khabur ware of Old Babylonian date and later second millennium material including Nuzi ware. In 1937-38 M.E.L. Mallowan excavated an area on the middle of the ridge which he named HH, a designation we have retained for our recent excavations which adjoin his on the East. The eastern limit of his trench, some 50 m. west of the survey point, was determined by a 'heavy terrace' beyond which he did not investigate. His excavations revealed private houses, of which the plan is incoherent but the stratigraphic sequence is interesting.<sup>2</sup> He reports three major levels containing Nuzi ware. Level 3, the earliest in this sequence, combined Nuzi pottery - in smaller quantity than in the succeeding Level 2 - with Late Khabur ware, an association which at Tell al Rimah we were inclined to date in the 16<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Both Levels 2 and 3 had been destroyed by fire. Mallowan made a small sounding below Level 3, and states that Khabur ware was found without Nuzi ware to a depth of a further 4.5 m., and was then preceded by in-

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<sup>1</sup> D. Oates, *The Excavations at Tell Brak, 1976*, Iraq 39, 1977, pp. 233-244; D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81*, Iraq 44, 1982, pp. 187-204; D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84*, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173; D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86*, Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 175-191.

<sup>2</sup> M.E.L. Mallowan, *Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar*, Iraq 9, 1947, pp. 1-266, esp. pp. 77-78.

cised pottery and earlier still by black-burnished 'Sargonid' pottery. Clearly the earliest, ill-defined levels in the sounding take us back to the late third millennium, and the Old Babylonian period, to which the unadulterated Khabur ware levels can approximately be assigned, is represented by 4.5 m. of deposit. The relationship of this sequence to the evidence from our own excavations is discussed below.

Our investigations in this area began in 1984 with the tracing of a wall face which runs for some 46 m. from north to south across the eastern end of the ridge. It was ornamented at intervals with a series of niches, in each of which was a set of three engaged half-columns.<sup>3</sup> This type of decoration is exclusively associated in Mesopotamian architecture with religious buildings, and we therefore conclude that this was a temple façade. It had later been masked by a revetment of mud-brick, used as the foundation for a thicker wall. We know nothing of the internal layout of the temple except that it had a courtyard some 15 m. square, on the south and east sides of which we again found panels of three columns, cut back and incorporated in the walls of the later structure. The courtyard pavement was apparently reused, with some patching, since it can in places be seen to underlie the original columned façade. So there was, at least in the courtyard, little or no change in floor level between the two buildings, but parts of the temple walls had either been severely damaged or deliberately levelled, very probably both. The building that succeeded the temple, though heavily eroded on north and south, can quite firmly be identified as a fortress-palace. Some indication of the date of its construction is given by the discovery, embedded in the mortar between the temple façade and the later revetment, of a small fragment of inlaid glass of a type well-known at Tell al Rimah, which can hardly be earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

There is a second point which has some bearing on the circumstances in which the palace was founded. The desecration of a temple, which was to judge by its dominant position the major temple at Tell Brak, and its replacement by a secular building is an extremely rare event in Mesopotamian history and must represent the intrusion of an alien power with no respect for local religious tradition. The most likely occasion for this is the extension of Mitanni control over the region of Tell Brak. This must have taken place by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century B.C. since at that time Parattarna, king of Mitanni, controlled the whole northern plain from Nuzi in the East to Alalah and Kizzuwatna (eastern Cilicia) in the West. It is inconceivable that Tell Brak was not a Mitanni city in his reign.

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<sup>3</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84*, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173, esp. pp. 166-168, plate XXII.

## ARCHITECTURE OF THE PALACE (Fig. 1)

Although no external doorway has been found, it must have been situated in the eroded south wall close to the south-west corner, and led through two rooms (10 and 9) into the central courtyard which, as we have observed, seems to have formed part of the original temple plan. On the south side of the courtyard was a large chamber (1), now heavily eroded, but originally some 15 by 5 m. It was entered from the court by a doorway 2.3 m. wide. The single door had apparently been burnt *in situ*, for the socket was filled with ash.

## AREA HH 1986

## WALLS

- PRE-MITANNI  
 // MITANNI  
 - - - - - TRACED ON SURFACE OR PROJECTED

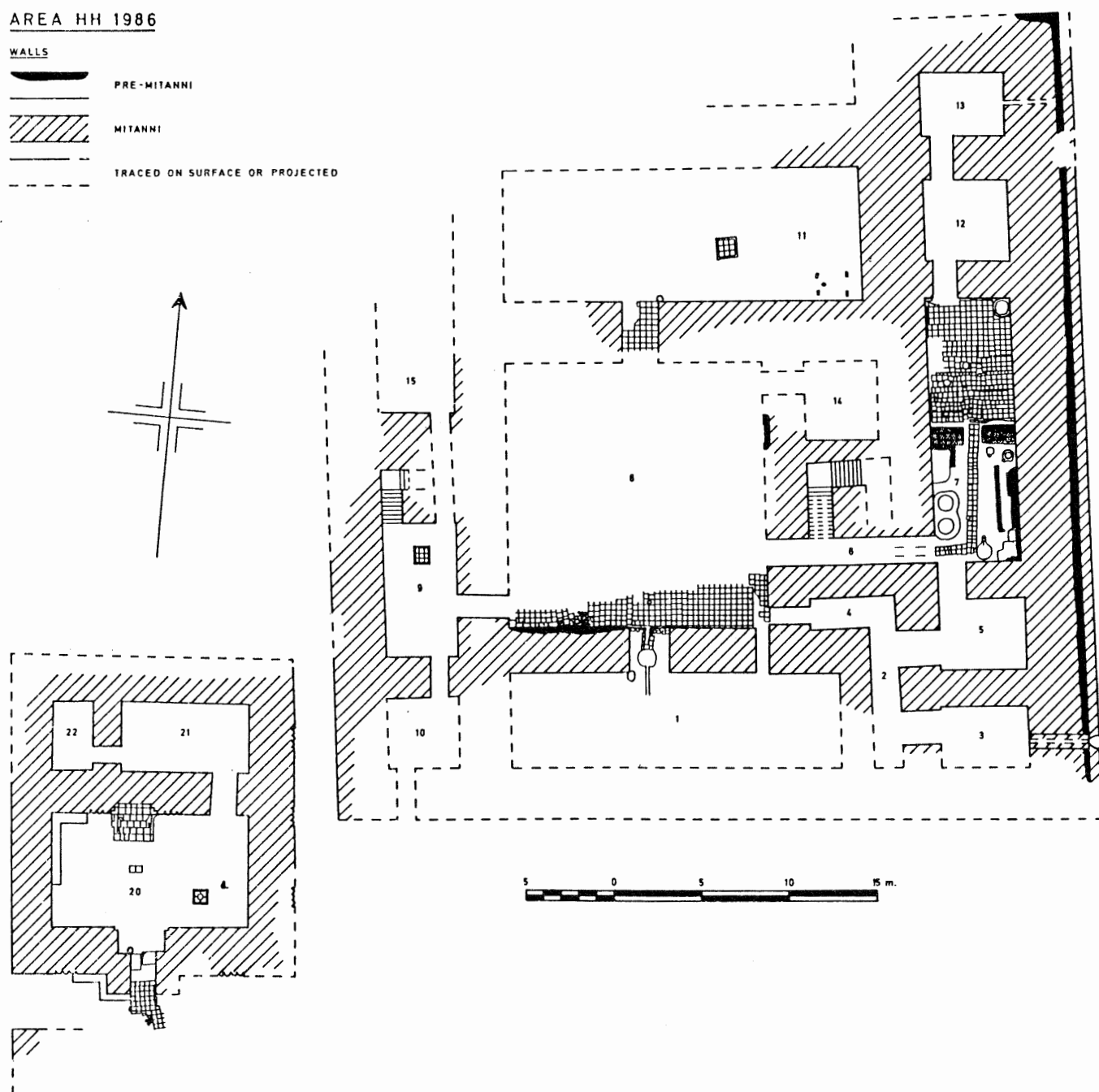


Fig. 1: Plan of the Mitanni Palace and Temple

It contained not only the usual pivot-block with a circular depression in its upper surface, but a cylindrical stone pivot with one end rounded to fit the depression, the other flattened on one side to lock it into the butt of the wooden post on which the door swung. A second narrower doorway near the north-east corner of Room 1 gave easy access to a range of rooms on the east side of the building, including an ablution room (3) and a large kitchen (7).

By analogy with Mesopotamian palaces Room 1, with its north-facing aspect and close association with an ablution room, should be a major reception room or throne room, but here the Mesopotamian analogy ends. The whole of the north side of the courtyard was occupied by an even larger chamber (11), c. 7.5 m. wide. The west and much of the north sides have been lost by erosion, but it was at least 16 and probably 20 m. long, and was entered from the court by a doorway 2.0 m. wide. In the surviving area the only permanent installations were a square baked brick hearth set in the plastered floor, and a set of four small rectangular blocks of white stone, flush with the floor and close to the south-east corner. These appear to have been footings for the corners of a wooden structure or piece of furniture, some 1.5 m. long by 1.0 m. wide. This had clearly been removed before the fierce fire that consumed the contents of the room, since a timber post had been set in the floor within the area it spanned, apparently to support a sagging roof beam, and the post itself had been burnt in the fire. We infer that the palace was damaged and later, after an interval in which local repairs were carried out, large parts of it were burnt and it ceased to exist as an official building. The dating of these events is discussed below.

Returning to the east side of the building, both the kitchen (7) and its anteroom (5) contained large storage jars, and the kitchen was in addition elaborately equipped with a variety of ovens for baking and roasting or grilling (Plate 16.1), while its northern half, where liquids were evidently used, had a baked brick pavement drained by a brick-lined trough which ran down the middle of the cooking area and then turned west to pass through a second doorway in the direction of the courtyard. In the north wall of the kitchen an intact arched doorway led into two small rooms (12 and 13) with an interconnecting doorway, also arched. These showed marks of the same intense conflagration as the great north chamber, and seem to have been store-rooms and workshops, for we found hearths and some fragments of what appeared to have been a small, roughly made crucible with an inner deposit that looked like silver, as well as hundreds of storage jar sherds. From the intensity of the blaze, which had almost vitrified the wall plaster, we suspect that some of the jars contained a flammable substance such as oil. The surviving spring of a vault in one of these rooms enables us to calculate approximately the minimum height of the roof, which appears here to have been at least partly paved with baked bricks of which many examples were found in the mud-brick debris that filled the rooms.

Another very un-Mesopotamian feature of the palace was the presence of two stairways, one on the east side between the kitchen and the courtyard, the other on the west, opening



off the second entrance chamber. Both were approximately the same width as ordinary doorways, unlike the wide single stairs of Mesopotamian palaces and temples, and seem to have been designed for practical rather than ceremonial use. Their gradient can be accurately reconstructed and provides independent evidence of roof height, on the east side c. 7.0 m., on the west c. 5.4 m. above floor level. Three considerations lead us to believe that there was a second storey above at least the northern part of the palace: the great thickness of the walls, 3.5 as compared with 2.5 m. elsewhere, the presence of two stairways, and the absence of any purely residential quarters on the ground floor. It seems likely that the apartments which constituted the *bītānu* or residential area of a single-storey Mesopotamian palace were, in this building, on an upper floor over the great north chamber and possibly also the kitchen, with a paved terrace at the north-east corner. There is an obvious parallel in the contemporary palace at Alalah, and it may be that limitations of space dictated two-storey construction on both sides.

#### THE MITANNI TEMPLE

A new discovery in 1986 was a temple, measuring some 16 m. wide from east to west and 18 m. long, separated only by a passage 2.5 m. wide from the palace and obviously contemporary with it.<sup>4</sup> The south and east façades were decorated with inset panels of three engaged half-columns and the only entrance, 1.5 m. wide and flanked by small projecting towers, lay approximately in the middle of the south side. It led into a *breitraum* cella (20), 11.2 m. wide and 6.5 m. deep, with a shallow rebated niche in the north wall almost opposite the door. The niche was flanked by two pairs of engaged half-columns, and from it a stepped dais of mud-brick projected into the room (Plate 16.2). The only other permanent installations were a low mud-brick bench along part of the north and west walls in the north-west corner, a pair of baked bricks flush with the floor on the axis of the dais, presumably to support an altar or offering table, and in the south-east quadrant of the room a square baked brick hearth of the type also found in the palace. A door in the north-east corner of the cella led into two further rooms (21 and 22), connected by an arched doorway, which seem to have served as stores or vestries. The temple, like nearby rooms in the south-west quarter of the palace, was not heavily burnt, but the contrast in this respect with the northern and eastern rooms of the palace probably reflects the lack of flammable materials. There seems little doubt from the pottery and other objects on the temple floors, and from the overlying stratigraphy, that it was destroyed or at least abandoned at the same time.

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<sup>4</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86*, Iraq 49, 1987, pp. 175-191.

## PRINCIPAL FINDS

Finds in the palace, though in most cases badly broken and scattered – pieces of the same glass, alabaster or pottery vessel were often found in many different places – were of outstanding interest. The glass included fragments of vessels decorated not only with multi-coloured festoon and chevron inlay (Plate 15.2), a technique already known in this period from Tell al Rimah, but also one vessel with tiny inlaid flowers and bands with pendant triangles encrusted with minute globules of different coloured glass. This type of decoration is unique, and represents the highest achievement of the Mitanni glass-workers. We may be sure, too, that these and other vessels were actually being produced at Tell Brak, for we found several ingots of raw glass in the palace, and we hope in future to locate the factory itself and recover some of its equipment. Handled alabaster jars, in some of which the material appears superficially to be of Egyptian origin, and small pot-stands of the same stone are closely paralleled at Ras Shamra. Terra cotta jars with single handles, bulbous bodies and long cylindrical bases are Egyptian or at least Palestinian rather than North Mesopotamian in type, while yet other vessels with a plum red, highly burnished surface, closely resemble fine Hittite pottery in ware and shape.

The most important objects discovered in 1986 came from the floor of the great north chamber and its doorway. Their distribution suggested that they had either been burned *in situ*, in the case of wood, ivory and bronze furniture components, or in other instances abandoned by looters rushing out into the courtyard. The furniture components consisted of rectangular copper sheathing and two very heavily burnt structural elements of wood, a large claw foot and a bulbous moulding, parts of chair or table legs. There were also numerous pieces of ivory bearing incised guilloche patterns and some individual pieces of inlay of the same material, possibly the decoration of furniture and certainly in one instance a small box. The most interesting and attractive ivory object was the base of an elongated oval container in the form of a duck's body which, to judge from very similar examples found at Alalah, would have had a swivelling lid carved to represent the bird's back, with head and neck turned back to form the handle (Plate 15.3). The interior of our piece appears unfinished, suggesting that it was being made in the palace at the time of its destruction.

Small items of gold jewellery were also found, as well as very thin sherds of a hemispherical cup which had been incised with panels of vertical guilloche, diamonds and zigzags and then covered with gold leaf pressed into the design. Other finds were a large and almost complete blue frit bowl, badly cracked and warped by fire, complete and broken mace-heads or finials of white frit and faience, beads of frit and glass, fragmentary glass vessels and a number of small glass cylinders which look like blank cylinder seals awaiting the hand of the engraver. Also worthy of mention are a virtually complete circular tray of diorite, 42 cm. in diameter, and a number of fragments of alabaster vases, which are indeed widely distributed throughout the building.

Our most interesting find, however, was a small statue of fine-grained white or grey limestone, just over 42 cm. high and representing a seated male figure, which was found face down in the doorway of the north chamber. It was badly calcined and split, and only preliminary cleaning and repair were possible on the site. But it is virtually complete apart from the face which was destroyed in antiquity, probably as a deliberate and symbolic act. The figure wears a toga-like garment and holds some object, possibly a vase, in front of his body. Although mediocre in both design and execution, this figure is of extreme interest as the only known example of human sculpture from a Mitanni site.

The north chamber also yielded two complete cuneiform tablets, both very informative.<sup>5</sup> The first is the record of a legal case concerning the distribution of property heard 'in the presence of Tušratta the king', who succeeded his brother Artasšumara as king of Mitanni about 1385 B.C., and who is well known as the author of some of the Tell al-Amarna letters. Although different individuals are involved, the text is closely parallel in form and content to the first tablet found in the palace in 1984,<sup>6</sup> which recorded a disposition of property in the presence of Artasšumara. This phrase may be a legal form and does not necessarily imply the physical presence of the king in court or even his presence in the city where the tablets are found, but both were sealed with the Mitanni dynastic seal, of which the Tušratta tablet bears an excellent impression. We have very little other evidence for the ancient context in which the tablets recording such decisions were subsequently kept, but it would be reasonable to assume that copies were kept by the individuals or families affected by the decision, and secondly that copies might be retained in central or provincial chanceries.

The second document is more difficult to understand completely, since it is very summary in form.<sup>7</sup> It concerns reeds or possibly arrows (GI.MEŠ), followed by an unintelligible Hurrian word or phrase, then 'of the town of Nawar in the district of Ta'idu, (?) Puḫa received in the presence of Malizzi'. This is a known formula for certifying a receipt, in which the personal name is that of the responsible official, and it is presumably the seal of Malizzi which appears on the reverse. Again we may consider where such a document might be stored, and conclude that it would be of importance either as a receipt to the person making the delivery, or as a matter of record to the local administration, or both. In either case it seems virtually certain that Tell Brak was either Nawar, where the reeds originated, or Ta'idu where, as provincial capital, the receipt was filed. It cannot be strictly established by the text that the reeds were physically delivered to Tell Brak, but that there had been a considerable demand for this material in the palace itself is shown by the quantity of

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<sup>5</sup> I.L. Finkel, Tablets from the 1985 and 1986 seasons (in press).

<sup>6</sup> I.L. Finkel, Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1984, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 187-201, esp. pp. 191-194, plate XXXIV.

<sup>7</sup> I.L. Finkel, Tablets from the 1985 and 1986 seasons (in press).

burnt reeds found on the floor of the north chamber together with charred roof beams. The room was obviously too wide to be spanned by a vault, and the builders had to employ the traditional Mesopotamian method of roofing with transverse beams covered with reed matting and layers of mud mixed with straw. Moreover, the repair of the roof of Room 11, which we deduce from the secondary post-hole near the south-east corner, would have required the renewal of the matting, at least at this point.

#### THE ANCIENT NAME OF TELL BRAK

The ancient name of Tell Brak has been discussed in our last published report, where we assembled the evidence pointing to its possible identification as Ta'idu.<sup>8</sup> This possibility is, we believe, considerably strengthened by the recent discoveries, on the following grounds:

- The second legal text, dating to a different reign and concerning a different family, makes it very unlikely that these two tablets derive from a single private archive, and much more probable that they were chancery file copies. Moreover, the building in which they were found, whether it should be described as a 'palace' or 'fortress' or a combination of the two, is quite clearly a royal establishment of considerable importance, and this is borne out not only by its architecture but by the wealth of its contents, including gold, silver and ivory as well as alabaster vessels some of which appear to be of foreign and even Egyptian origin.

- Since we are presented by our second text with the choice between Ta'idu and Nawar as the name of Tell Brak, it is pertinent to remark that Ta'idu figures prominently as a 'royal city' in the Middle Assyrian accounts of the subjugation and final overthrow of the Mitanni kingdom, whereas Nawar is not mentioned at all. (Though not relevant to the present argument, it is very interesting to note that our second text proves the existence in the 13<sup>th</sup> century of a place called Nawar in the vicinity of Ta'idu, which is almost certainly the important third millennium city of this name mentioned in the inscription of Atal-šen, 'king of Urkiš and Nawar', which was found near modern Amuda. This eliminates the hypothetical and inherently improbable extension of the kingdom of Urkiš to include another Nawar, east of the Tigris.)

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<sup>8</sup> D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84*, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 159-173, esp. pp. 169-172.

## DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PALACE

In our account of the architecture of the palace we have noted the evidence for structural damage,<sup>9</sup> at least to the northern part of the building, before its final destruction by fire. This may represent a local collapse, but it is at the least a considerable coincidence that two Middle Assyrian kings, Adad-nārārī I and his son Shalmaneser I, claim victories over two successive kings of Mitanni in the first 30 years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, both of which involved the destruction of their major cities, notably Ta'idu, while the second marked the end of the Mitanni kingdom and the establishment of direct Assyrian rule.

Turning to the archaeological evidence we observe that, in the area west of the palace, Mallowan excavated in 1937-38 a sequence of private houses in which Levels 2 and 3 contained pottery identical with that found in the palace, and he records that both levels were destroyed by fire. The palace does not appear to have been burnt on the first occasion, and here Adad-nārārī's scribes may by their use of standard phraseology overstate the extent of the destruction, since the Mitanni king Wasašatta was permitted to remain in control of his own territory, albeit as an Assyrian vassal. But we suggest that the damage observed in the north chamber is contemporary with the earlier burning of the adjoining settlement and is the work of Adad-nārārī I, while the second holocaust both inside and outside the palace represents the final destruction of Tell Brak as a major Mitanni city by Shalmaneser I.

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<sup>9</sup> See above p. 152.



### THIRD MILLENNIUM URBANIZATION: A PERSPECTIVE FROM TELL LEILAN

Harvey Weiss - Yale University

Within fewer than ten years our knowledge of the late prehistoric and early historic societies of the Khabur Plains has been set within a new chronological and developmental framework which prepares the stage for further advances in the reconstruction of Syrian and North Mesopotamian history. The research efforts underway at Tell Brak, Tell Leilan, Tell Barri, Tell Hamidi, Tell Mozan, Tell Kashkashuk, and Tell Mohammed Diyab have individual archaeological foci, but some research concerns stretch across the Khabur Plains and impose themselves, implicitly or explicitly, upon all Jezireh archaeologists. The purpose of this paper is to articulate a few Khabur Plains archaeological perspectives concerning the fourth and third millennia B.C. which the Tell Leilan Project shares with other Khabur Plains archaeological projects. This presentation must be brief and almost outline in form. Much relevant data for each problem is now in the process of retrieval. Yet the restatement of a perspective on a few problems from the vantage point of Tell Leilan may help focus or delimit regional research agendas for the immediate future.

Recent advances in radiocarbon calibration<sup>1</sup>, and in our understanding of the manipulation of radiocarbon dates<sup>2</sup> have generated finer resolution for the radiocarbon chronology of late

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<sup>1</sup> M. Stuiver, R.S. Kra (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Radiocarbon Conference*, June 24-28, 1985, Trondheim, Norway, *Radiocarbon* 28: 2B, New Haven 1986; F. Hassan, S. Robinson, *High-precision Radiocarbon Chronometry of Ancient Egypt, and Comparisons with Nubia, Palestine and Mesopotamia*, *Antiquity* 61, 1987, pp. 119-135.

<sup>2</sup> A. Long, B. Rippeteau, *Testing Contemporaneity and Averaging Radiocarbon Dates*, *American Antiquity* 39, 1974, pp. 205-215; G.K. Ward, S.R. Wilson, *Procedures for Comparing and Combining Radiocarbon Determinations: A Critique*, *Archaeometry* 20, 1978, pp. 19-31.

prehistoric - early historic Mesopotamia than the chronology offered through the historical synchronisms and regnal lists of Mesopotamian rulers. While the probabilistic analysis of Huber *et al.*<sup>3</sup> suggests a high chronology for Mesopotamia, it cannot resolve the choice between high and middle chronologies with certainty. Additionally, the span for the Gutian period remains to be fixed<sup>4</sup>, the regnal years of Sargon and Nārām-Sîn are uncertain, and the span of the Early Dynastic periods are calendrically undefined outside of the available radiocarbon data. Indeed, the span of the Early Dynastic period, apart from its radiocarbon definition, can still only be estimated as the period between the 'end' of the late Uruk period and the 'beginning' of the Sargonic period. The absolute chronology of fourth and third millennium developments, therefore, remains ambiguous to a degree which still precludes some fundamental levels of historical generalization and explanation.

A wide range of radiocarbon dates from the late Uruk colonies or their dependencies in Turkey, Syria and Iran suggests that the late Uruk expansion occurred during the period 3500-3300 B.C.<sup>5</sup> There is, as yet, no evidence on the Khabur Plains for any assemblage similar to that which occurs in the Eski Mosul region at sites such as Mohammed Arab, which provide a 'transitional' ceramic stage between the late Uruk type assemblages discussed by Sørenhagen<sup>6</sup> and the Ninevite 5 type ceramic assemblages which appear in considerable variety across the Tigris. At Tell Leilan, however, the analysis of the Operation 1 ceramic sequence unambiguously defines, in quantitative fashion, a Period IV ceramic assemblage which varies little from its preceding Period V assemblage but for the presence of beveled rim bowls.<sup>7</sup> This assemblage differs significantly, therefore, from the Brak, Hamukar, and Qahtaniyeh, late Uruk assemblages in this region.<sup>8</sup>

The problem of defining the range of late Uruk period settlement types, and thereby advancing towards a more detailed understanding of the function of these settlements and the societies which sustained them, from close-by or from afar, remains obscured by the limited sample sizes which some large settlements, like Tell Leilan, permit for retrieval. The Leilan IV settlement, one could argue, is two or three economic and perhaps political stages removed

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<sup>3</sup> P.J. Huber *et al.*, *Astronomical Dating of Babylon I and Ur III*, OPNE 1/4, Malibu 1982.

<sup>4</sup> J.A. Brinkman, *Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period*, in: A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, revised edition, completed by Erica Reiner, Chicago, London 1977, pp. 335-348, esp. p. 346, n. 1; W.W. Hallo, *Gutium (Qutium)*, RIA 3, Berlin, New York 1957-1971, pp. 708-720.

<sup>5</sup> G.M. Schwartz, H. Weiss, *Syria: ca. 10000 - 2000 B.C.*, in: R. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, third edition, Chicago (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> D. Sørenhagen, *The Dry Farming Belt: The Uruk Period and Subsequent Developments*, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 7-43.

<sup>7</sup> G.M. Schwartz, *From Prehistory to History on the Habur Plains: The Operation 1 Ceramic Periodization from Tell Leilan*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven 1982.

<sup>8</sup> H. Weiss, *Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of North Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C.*, *Paléorient* 9/2, 1983, pp. 39-52, esp. p. 44.



from direct contact with southern Mesopotamians as they interacted with the local populace of the northern plains; the Leilan IV settlement may have been one of the 'feeder' settlements which Sørenhagen has helped to define for the Euphrates region.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, the size of the Leilan sample is quite small within Operation 1 at present, and therefore does not allow for generalization about the settlement as a whole. It seems possible to argue, in fact, that the Leilan IV settlement within Operation 1 is analogous to the 'Brick Kiln Cut' assemblage from Godin Tepe: a local community adjacent to an intrusive late Uruk community, displaying this relationship solely in the presence of beveled rim bowls or a few other ceramic items, within an otherwise traditional ceramic assemblage. Across the center of the Leilan IV settlement, now under several meters of third and early second millennium palaces and temples, there may be a 'genuine' late Uruk 'colony' similar to Hassek Höyük<sup>10</sup> or Godin Tepe.<sup>11</sup>

As always, the face value of the archaeological record can be misleading; eventually some statistical evaluations of the skewed archaeological record which we manipulate will be necessary.<sup>12</sup> Functional definitions of late Uruk centers, and even the identification of such centers must remain quite tentative if these are derived from only limited excavation samples. The nature of southern influence during the late Uruk period, even when large archaeological samples such as the Tell Brak 'Eye Temple' series are available, remains to be determined.<sup>13</sup> Tests of southern Mesopotamian influence within Tell Brak contexts and assemblages might eventually determine when and under what conditions southern influence was extended there.

In spite of the radiocarbon dates from Tell Leilan, which include a series of four calibrations from one large sample run at two different laboratories<sup>14</sup>, there is still uncertainty as to the absolute chronology of the Ninevite 5 period. Fundamental to any assessment of this problem, however, is the early Leilan II ceramic assemblage, similar to the 'Late ED III' assemblage at Tell Brak, which marks the transition from Leilan period III to Leilan period II. The span of the Ninevite 5 period, therefore, extends from the end of the late Uruk period to the beginning of the Leilan period II, or ca. 3300 B.C. to 2500 B.C. This span requires

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<sup>9</sup> D. Sørenhagen, *The Dry Farming Belt: The Uruk Period and Subsequent Developments*, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 7-43.

<sup>10</sup> M.R. Behm-Blancke, *Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Hassek Höyük im Jahre 1985*, in: VIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, Ankara 1986, pp. 139-147.

<sup>11</sup> H. Weiss, T.C. Young, Jr., *The Merchants of Susa: Godin V and Plateau-lowland Relations in the Late Fourth Millennium B.C.*, Iran 13, 1975, pp. 1-17.

<sup>12</sup> R. Lewin, *Statistical Traps Lurk in the Fossil Record*, Science 236, 1987, pp. 521-522.

<sup>13</sup> P. Amiet, *L'époque proto-urbaine vers 3300-3100 av. J.-C.*, in: *Au pays de Baal et d'Astarté: 10 000 ans d'art en Syrie*, Paris 1983, pp. 48-51, esp. p. 51.

<sup>14</sup> H. Weiss, *Excavations at Tell Leilan and the Origins of North Mesopotamian Cities in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Paléorient 9/2, 1983, pp. 39-52, esp. p. 44.

sub-division if indices of change and growth within this period are to be discerned. Confirmation of the quantitative ceramic divisions established at Tell Leilan will be needed from other sites.

The absence of other Ninevite 5 radiocarbon dates remains, however, an obstacle to further research. The Tell Brak radiocarbon dates have a systematic error still to be identified, and there are as yet no radiocarbon dates from Karrana 3, Mohammed Arab, or other sites in the Eski Mosul region. The dates from Tellul eth-Thalathat are early and could, therefore, confirm a limited, early date for the span of Ninevite 5. Additional Ninevite 5 dates are, therefore, needed to confirm or disconfirm the absolute chronology for Ninevite 5 generated by the Tell Leilan radiocarbon dates. These currently provide the only late Ninevite 5 radiocarbon dates, but they are derived from a succession of strata which were terminated by the construction of the Leilan City Wall in Operation 1. Early Leilan II dates are a prerequisite for the resolution of this problem.

When pre-'Late ED III' contexts are retrieved from Tell Brak their ceramic assemblages may be quite similar to Leilan IIIc. Given the peripheral position of Tell Brak relative to the high-density, dry-farming regions of the Khabur Plains, it seems likely, however, that the site's 'gateway' functions will have provided a Ninevite 5 assemblage strongly influenced by southern Mesopotamian ceramic assemblages.

#### Ninevite 5 Period Chronological Frame

Leilan II / Brak 'Late ED III' / Tāya IX . . . . .	2500 B.C.
Mohammed Arab M-R	
Leilan IIIc	
Leilan IIb	
Leilan IIIa	
Leilan IV / Mohammed Arab painted late Uruk . . . . .	3300 B.C.

As recently discussed by Schwartz<sup>15</sup> and Weiss<sup>16</sup>, the evidence for Ninevite 5 society and economy is extremely sparse. There is, apparently, little site size differentiation to judge from a preliminary survey in the Tell Leilan sustaining area<sup>17</sup> and around Tell Afar<sup>18</sup>, which

<sup>15</sup> G.M. Schwartz, Mortuary Evidence and Social Stratification in the Ninevite V Period, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 45-60.

<sup>16</sup> H. Weiss, Review of "J. Curtis (ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery: The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1932-1982*", London 1982", *JAOS* 105, 1985, pp. 327-330.

<sup>17</sup> H. Weiss, *The Origins of Tell Leilan and the Conquest of Space in Third Millennium Mesopotamia*, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 71-108.

<sup>18</sup> J.E. Reade, *Tell Taya (1967): Summary Report*, Iraq 30, 1968, pp. 234-264.

latter region, however, may provide some evidence for larger settlements. There is little evidence for social stratification within the small samples of Ninevite 5 settlements available<sup>19</sup>, a fact coincident with the regional modality of settlement sizes.

The Ninevite 5 period is then 800 years of relatively small scale individual settlements not exceeding the village and town site size category, and certainly not approaching the qualitatively distinct regional organization characterized by urban centers. What then accounts for the apparent stability of this period? What accounts for the low population densities? What accounts for the absence of significant, visible trade relationships with southern Mesopotamia? What accounts for the termination of this period and the establishment of large urban centers across the Khabur Plains and northwestern Iraq?

Answers to questions such as these rest, in the first case, upon the reliability of the extant data. The preliminary Leilan sustaining area survey of 1984 was designed to define the problems and data retrieval needs of a systematic survey to be undertaken in 1987. Systematic surveys of the Khabur Plains and northwestern Iraq will be needed to define regional patterns which may only be obscured by individual sustaining area surveys. Nevertheless, it may be useful now to consider, even briefly, the possibility that the Ninevite 5 period was, region-wide, a period of drastically reduced sedentary occupation. Shorter periods of reduced sedentism and increased pastoral nomadism are well documented across the Khabur Plains.<sup>20</sup> The conjunction of seasonal variation and extensive forage for sheep flocks between the Euphrates River and the Khabur Plains has apparently generated a pattern of seasonal pastoralist movement of great time depth, while the relationship between urbanites and pastoralists also persists to this day.<sup>21</sup> Archaeological tests for such relationships within Ninevite 5 period subdivisions remain to be developed. The alteration between lengthy periods dominated by pastoral nomadism and by extensive dry-farming, controlled by and in support of urban elites, seems to be a long-term cyclical pattern, observable across northern Mesopotamia.

The growth and circumvallation of Tell Leilan ca. 2500 B.C. nevertheless, remain to be explained not as unique phenomena but as cases of a regional pattern of urban growth which eventually became the focus of southern Mesopotamian attack. A regional perspective also draws attention to the sources of southern Mesopotamian innovation during this period. Although the documentation for northern developments during the early third millennium does not yet present the detail long available within southern archaeological sources, southern developments have not been understood. The late Early Dynastic and early Sargonic periods

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<sup>19</sup> G.M. Schwartz, Mortuary Evidence and Social Stratification in the Ninevite V Period, in: H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford 1986, pp. 45-60.

<sup>20</sup> J.-L. Krawczyk, *The Relationship between Pastoral Nomadism and Agriculture: Northern Syria in the Eleventh Century*, *Jusur* 1, 1985, pp. 1-22.

<sup>21</sup> A. Rassam, *Al-tabā'iyya: Power, patronage and marginal groups in northern Iraq*, in: E. Gellner, J. Waterbury (eds.), *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies*, London 1977, pp. 157-166.

seem to represent a radical social and economic departure from preceding conditions in southern Mesopotamian cities.<sup>22</sup> The cities of northern Mesopotamia played a role, still to be identified, within the genesis of these highly stratified, labor intensive, grossly extractive, southern Mesopotamian states. Southern attacks on northern cities, and northern attacks upon southern cities, required powerful centralized states with standing armies and expendable agricultural resources. In each case, however, the threat, whether symbolic or real, required mutual cognition.

Interdependent causality within the north-south regional orbit, a suggestion for otherwise unexplained, or undefined, regional 'complexities', may provide a useful departure from 'center-periphery' historiography and inspire efforts to frame and to resolve archaeological problems of the fourth and third millennia on the Khabur Plains.

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<sup>22</sup> B.R. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, MCAAS 20, Hamden, CT. 1982; P. Charvát, *Early Ur - War Chiefs and Kings of Early Dynastic III*, AoF 9, 1982, pp. 43-59; P. Charvát, *Review of "B.R. Foster, Umma in the Sargonic Period, MCAAS 20, Hamden, CT. 1982"*, BiOr 41, 1984, pp. 136-141.

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TELL LEILAN / ŠUBAT-ENLIL  
CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

Robert M. Whiting - Chicago

INTRODUCTION

I find it extremely fortunate that coincident with the discovery of a number of new *līmū* at Tell Leilan during the course of the 1985 season,<sup>1</sup> an entirely new chronological framework for the period surrounding the reign of Šamšī-Adad has been provided into which these *līmū* can be fitted. This framework emerges from four articles published in MARI 4, the result of a colloquium held in Strasbourg in 1983:

- K.R. Veenhof<sup>2</sup> has painstakingly collected and analyzed all of the known *līmū* from the 'Later Old Assyrian Period', roughly corresponding to *kārum* level Ib at Kültepe.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A report on the content and nature of the tablets is presented in: R. Whiting, Tell Leilan Tablets: A Preliminary Report, MARI 6 (forthcoming), hereafter cited as 'Report'; a catalog of the inscribed materials from the 1985 season is given in: R. Whiting, Preliminary Catalog of Tablets and Sealings: Tell Leilan 1985, MARI 6 (forthcoming), hereafter cited as 'Catalog'. For a summary of all the *līmū* found at Tell Leilan through 1985, see below, Fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> K.R. Veenhof, Eponyms of the 'Later Old Assyrian Period' and Mari Chronology, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 191-218, hereafter cited as 'Eponyms'.

<sup>3</sup> For K.R. Veenhof's definition of this period, see: 'Eponyms', pp. 192-194.

- The Mari Eponym Chronicle edited by M. Birot<sup>4</sup> is a truly amazing document. From a historiographic point of view, nothing comparable is known for this period. Much more than a simple eponym list, it is a true historical record, presenting not only the events and accomplishments of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty but also those of its sometime foe and sometime ally, Ešnunna. Quite unusually for any Near Eastern chronicle, it not only lists Šamšī-Adad's victories but also mentions his defeats. Unfortunately, although several different copies of the text are presented in the edition, all are badly damaged and the text has several gaps of unknown length and many incomplete lines. While the MEC has made some of the conclusions reached by Veenhof obsolete, the corpus given in 'Eponyms' is still a valid and valuable resource for chronological studies. In fact, MEC and 'Eponyms' provide two sets of complementary data. MEC gives a sequential list of *līmū*, unfortunately incomplete; 'Eponyms' provides all the *līmū* actually known to exist in texts, but mostly without any idea of their sequence. Trying to match these two data sets is a puzzle that will doubtless stimulate the ingenuity of Assyriologists for years to come.

- D. Charpin<sup>5</sup> has provided two essential tools to assist in attacking this puzzle: a definitive explication of the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar,<sup>6</sup> the lack of which has severely hampered previous attempts at chronological reconstructions; a catalog of all the administrative tablets found in the palace at Mari (published and unpublished) that can be dated to the time of Šamšī-Adad's domination.<sup>7</sup> A by-product of Charpin's article is his conclusion that the 'year names' of this period at Mari are not part of an official system, but rather are *ad hoc* comments used by scribes in legal texts in much the same manner as *inūma* statements are used in administrative texts.<sup>8</sup>

- D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand<sup>9</sup> present a wealth of new material in the form of collations and joins coupled with new copies and photographs mostly relevant to the last years of Šamšī-Adad's domination at Mari and the final collapse of his dynasty.

These new sources make possible a detailed chronological analysis of the reign of Šamšī-Adad that could not have been done previously. Without them, the new *līmū* from Tell Leilan, for the most part otherwise unattested, could not easily have been accounted for; with them,

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4 M. Birot, Les chroniques "assyriennes" de Mari, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 219-242, hereafter cited as MEC.

5 D. Charpin, Les archives d'époque "assyrienne" dans le palais de Mari, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 243-268, hereafter cited as 'Archives'.

6 'Archives', pp. 244-247.

7 'Archives', pp. 256-266; to Charpin's list of texts with broken dates ('Archives', pp. 265-266) might be added ARM VII: 292 since the presence of a seal impression of a servant of Daduša (D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, Relectures d'ARMT VII, MARI 2, 1983, pp. 75-115, esp. pp. 99 + 115) should place it within the Šamšī-Adad period.

8 'Archives', pp. 251-253; *cf.* also: 'Eponyms', pp. 210-212.

9 D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, La prise du pouvoir par Zimri-Lim, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 293-343, hereafter cited as 'Pouvoir'.



these *līmu* are forced into a narrowly circumscribed position and help to fill the gaps in the MEC. But before dealing with the position of the *līmu* from Tell Leilan it will be necessary to refine the chronological framework for the reign of Šamšī-Adad a little further.

### BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

In the discussion of the chronology of the reign of Šamšī-Adad that follows certain information is treated as common knowledge and not documented at each step. These 'Basic Assumptions' consist of facts that are so obvious as to be indisputable or that have been fully justified by others. Most of this information is summarized already by Veenhof and Birot.<sup>10</sup>

The information from the Assyrian King List (AKL) concerning the reign of Šamšī-Adad is accepted as correct. Thus Šamšī-Adad conquered Ekallātum in the *līmu* of Ibni-Adad, ruled there for three years and then ousted Erišum from Aššur in the *līmu* of Atamar-Ištar and ruled Aššur for 33 years.<sup>11</sup> There is no reason to doubt this information. The very existence of the MEC is evidence that sources for this information were available to AKL.<sup>12</sup>

The sequence and position of the months in the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar are firmly fixed by Charpin.<sup>13</sup> Niqumum was the first month of the eponym year. The eponym year began in the late summer whereas the Babylonian (including Mari and Ešnunna) year began in the spring. Thus a Babylonian year will overlap parts of two eponym years and vice versa.

Šamšī-Adad died sometime in the fourth year of the reign of Ibāl-pī-EI II of Ešnunna as recorded in the latter's fifth year date. Ibāl-pī-EI's predecessor, Daduša died in the year following the conquest of Qabrā which is recorded in his last year date (= Ibāl-pī-EI 0). Therefore, the conquest of Qabrā (= Ibāl-pī-EI -1) took place five years before the death of Šamšī-Adad. The campaign against Qabrā was a joint operation of Šamšī-Adad and Daduša.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> 'Eponyms', pp. 191-194; MEC, pp. 219-227.

<sup>11</sup> I.J. Gelb, Two Assyrian King Lists, JNES 13, 1954, pp. 209-230, esp. pp. 212-213.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 'Eponyms', p. 217.

<sup>13</sup> 'Archives', pp. 244-247.

<sup>14</sup> This is proved conclusively by the victory stela of Daduša commemorating this event now in the Iraq Museum (IM 95200) reported by: B. Khalil Ismail, Eine Siegesstele des Königs Daduša von Ešnunna, in: W. Meid, H. Trenkwalder (eds.), Im Bannkreis des Alten Orients: Studien zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients und seines Ausstrahlungsraumes, Karl Oberhuber zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 24, Innsbruck 1986, pp. 105-108. This remarkable document, containing over 200 lines of cuneiform, provides valuable corroboration of the events of the campaign reported in the Mari and Shemshara letters; it also assures the attribution of the 'Louvre stela' (H. de Genouillac, Ancienne stèle de victoire, RA 7, 1909-1910, pp. 151-156, pls. 5-6) to Šamšī-Adad. It is unusual in that it contains a description of the iconography of the stela; furthermore, it can be very narrowly dated to the time between the conquest of Qabrā and the death of Daduša about a year later.

Therefore:

lbāl-pī-EI -1	=	conquest of Qabrā
lbāl-pī-EI 0	=	death of Daduša
. . .		
lbāl-pī-EI 4	=	death of Šamšī-Adad

Note that these distances are given in 'Babylonian' years.<sup>15</sup>

The 'year dates' of the Šamšī-Adad period found at Mari are unofficial and do not need to be allotted any space in the reconstruction of Šamšī-Adad's reign. The sequence and number of *līmu* attested at Mari is certain from Sîn-muballiṭ to *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur (14 *līmu*). The *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur is the last one attested on administrative texts from Mari. The *līmu* found at Chagar Bazar<sup>16</sup> correspond to the ones known from Mari.

The minimum possible reign for Šamšī-Adad based on MEC, AKL, and simple arithmetic, is 57 years.<sup>17</sup>

## THE REIGN OF ŠAMŠĪ-ADAD

### THE BEGINNING

The MEC provides us with a welcome new piece of information: Šamšī-Adad ascended the throne during the *līmu* of Šarrum-Adad.<sup>18</sup> This will be the starting point for the present discussion.<sup>19</sup> There is, however, one point before the reign of Šamšī-Adad that may have some bearing on the chronological reconstruction. Section A of the MEC has shortly before the break (at the end of column i of A.1288) the entry [ ]x x LUGAL dUTU-ši-dIM / wa-li-id. Contrary to Veenhof,<sup>20</sup> I think it likely that this is a reference to the birth of Šamšī-Adad. Veenhof suggests that the time between this reference and the accession of Šamšī-Adad (which he estimates at ca. 10 years) is too short for this to be a report of his birth and

<sup>15</sup> See below, note 27.

<sup>16</sup> For a summary of these *līmu*, see: 'Archives', p. 250, note 34. For the texts from Chagar Bazar, see: C.J. Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar, 1936, Iraq 4, 1937, pp. 178-185; C.J. Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38, Iraq 7, 1940, pp. 22-66; O. Loretz, Texte aus Chagar Bazar, in: W. Röllig (ed.), *lišān mithurti*: Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19. VI. 1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern, AOAT 1, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, pp. 199-260; O. Loretz, Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak, Teil 1, AOAT 3/1, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969; D.C. Snell, The Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar in the Aleppo Museum, AAAS 33 (2), 1983, pp. 217-241.

<sup>17</sup> MEC, p. 224; cf. 'Eponyms', p. 215.

<sup>18</sup> MEC, p. 229, B: 8.

<sup>19</sup> The problems of the origin of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty and the succession prior to his reign (cf. MEC, pp. 221-223) are beyond the scope of the present paper.

<sup>20</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 213, note 87.

would rather see it as referring to the birth of Išme-Dagān. However, the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign is 57 years. If we add to this the *ca.* 10 years that separate this birth reference from Šamšī-Adad's accession and then add another 13 years as the minimum age that he might have become a father, we are forced to the conclusion that Šamšī-Adad met his death at a minimum age of 80, presumably while leading a military campaign in the field, and any additions to any of these factors can only force this number upwards. While this is not impossible, it does stretch credulity. On the other hand, there is nothing remarkable about the accession of a ruler at a tender age; the history of all periods is filled with parallels. My suggestion for the restoration of the birth notice and the preceding line is:

A. 1288 I: 22' (A: 22) [1 P]u(?) - sà - a - ia

A. 1288 I: 23'-24' (A: 23) [i - na x - (x) - ] x - x LUGAL dUTU - šī - dIM / wa - li - id

The spacing of 22' suggests that it contains nothing but a *līmu* and BU seems a likely restoration based on the copied traces.<sup>21</sup> 23'-24' then contains nothing but the name of the *līmu* and the statement that Šamšī-Adad was born. The lines following this are too fragmentary to allow a productive analysis of the number of additional *līmu* that they may have contained. From the fact that the surface of the reverse is preserved in this area, it should be possible to obtain some estimate of the number of lines remaining in the column from the curvature of the reverse; unfortunately, the number of *līmu* cannot be predicted from a count of the number of lines available.<sup>22</sup>

## THE END

While the *līmu* of Šamšī-Adad's accession is preserved in the MEC, the *līmu* in which he died is not. There are, however, sufficient indications from other sources to allow us to pinpoint the date of this event. In order to do this, we first need to establish some 'working assumptions'<sup>23</sup> in addition to the 'basic assumptions' outlined above. The first of these is that

<sup>21</sup> It might be tempting, with Veenhof, 'Eponyms' p. 217, to identify this *līmu* with the *Zi-za-a-ia* reported by: J.-M. Durand, *Deux tablettes de Mari?*, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 264-266, but that would be against the traces. Note that if this *līmu* is Pussaya it cannot be identified with the *līmu* of the same name from Tell Leilan which occurs on tablets with seals of servants of Šamšī-Adad, Išme-Dagān, and Yasmah-Adad.

<sup>22</sup> The only predictable relationship is that the number of *līmu* cannot exceed the number of lines, or, conversely, that the number of lines must be equal to or greater than the number of *līmu* since there are no instances where there is more than one *līmu* on a line. It can be noted, however, that all of section B before B:7 must be accommodated by the beginning of column ii and the end of column i of A.1288. If, as seems likely, A.1288 began at the same point in time that M.7481 does, then there were about 7 *līmu* at the beginning of column i and the same amount of space is available at the beginning of column ii. This space should be quite adequate for the missing 6 *līmu* from section B, which leaves ample space at the end of column i for several additional *līmu*. Not many additional *līmu* can be placed here, however, since as Birot, MEC, p. 220, (following a suggestion of Veenhof) points out: if M.7481 and S.24-1 belong to the same tablet (again, as seems likely), then everything from A:21 to B:15 must be placed between them. This includes a minimum of 3 *līmu* from section A (A:21-23 as amended above) plus 15 from section B, so there is a limit (although an undefined one) to the number of *līmu* that can be added at the end of column i of A.1288. See below, note 69.

<sup>23</sup> These assumptions are less subject to direct proof than the basic assumptions but still seem highly probable.

the references to LUGAL GAL (= *šarrum rabûm* 'great king') in the Mari administrative texts refer to Šamšī-Adad.<sup>24</sup> This in turn implies that Šamšī-Adad was still alive during the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur since three of the Mari texts mentioning LUGAL GAL are dated with this eponym, the last being in the fifth month.<sup>25</sup> Veenhof<sup>26</sup> discussed the pros and cons of this position and settled on the conclusion that Šamšī-Adad died during the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that the last reference to Šamšī-Adad (LUGAL GAL) is dated only a few days before the last *līmu*-dated administrative text so far recovered at Mari.

The fact that the administrative archives of the 'Assyrian' period at Mari come to an abrupt end in the middle of the fifth month of the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur could be taken as an indication that this date marks the end of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty's control of that city.<sup>28</sup> The distribution of the dates of the tablets certainly meets our expectations with regard to an archive that is terminated by some catastrophe whereby one expects the most recent dates to be the most numerous. The most common *līmu* is *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur despite the fact that only five months of the year are represented, and well over a quarter of the texts have the *līmu* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur or *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur.<sup>29</sup> However inviting this distribution of dates may be for fixing the end of the Šamšī-Adad dynasty at Mari, it cannot be accepted uncritically because the archives were not found *in situ*, but in various secondary archaeological contexts.<sup>30</sup> Clearly, the slightly more than 400 texts registered by Charpin, more than half of them from a single office, represent only a fraction of the administrative documentation of the palace organization during the 20+ years of the 'Assyrian' period at Mari. We

<sup>24</sup> ARM VII: 8, 62, 81, 85; D. Charpin, *Nouveaux documents du bureau de l'huile à l'époque assyrienne*, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 83-126 (hereafter cited as 'Documents'), 97. This has been generally accepted; cf. J. Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratifs*, ARMT VII, Paris 1957, p. 189; M.T. Larsen, *Unusual eponymy-datings from Mari and Assyria*, RA 68, 1974, pp. 15-24, esp. p. 20; 'Documents', p. 110; 'Pouvoir', p. 301, note 37.

<sup>25</sup> ARM VII: 62 (1/II\*), 85 (4/III), 81 (1/V\*). I have adopted the month conventions used by Charpin in his catalog, 'Archives', p. 256. Although Charpin lists ARM VII: 85 under incomplete dates in his catalog (p. 265), this text almost certainly had the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur since, according to his catalog, a *warki līmu* (see: D. Charpin, J.-M. Durand, *Relectures d'ARMT VII*, MARI 2, 1983, pp. 75-115, esp. p. 77) in the third month can only belong to this eponym.

<sup>26</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 209.

<sup>27</sup> While this may be true, Veenhof's conclusion that *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur is the earliest *līmu* in which Šamšī-Adad could have died, based on the fact that it is five *līmu* after Aššur-malik, is not valid. The fact that Daduša is apparently still alive in the *līmu* of Aššur-malik according to the MEC (E: 10) implies that he could have died sometime during or after this *līmu* and four years after Aššur-malik brings us only to the *līmu* of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur. However, the distance of four years from the death of Daduša to the death of Šamšī-Adad is reckoned in Babylonian years, not in eponym years. Because of the overlap of the two calendar systems, events that took place in two consecutive Babylonian years could have taken place in a single eponym year, in two consecutive eponym years, or even over a period of three eponym years. Conversely, events that took place in two consecutive eponym years could fall within a single Babylonian year, and so forth. Thus the simple equation of four Babylonian years with four (and only four) eponym years is not valid. Events that are separated by four Babylonian years could span three, four, or five eponym years.

<sup>28</sup> Thus: J. Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratifs*, ARMT VII, Paris 1957, pp. 170-171; M.T. Larsen, *Unusual eponymy-datings from Mari and Assyria*, RA 68, 1974, pp. 15-24, esp. p. 19; 'Pouvoir', p. 304.

<sup>29</sup> 'Archives', p. 248.

<sup>30</sup> 'Archives', pp. 253-256.

can then legitimately ask with Veenhof,<sup>31</sup> whether there may not be further texts with later *līmu* awaiting discovery. The fact that the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur was used at Mari until well into the fifth month of the year is suggestive of some sort of disruption of normal administrative procedures in Šamši-Adad's empire but as Larsen has pointed out it seems

"very likely that the *warki* datings are to be directly connected with political disorders which prevented or postponed the appointment of a new eponym in Assur".<sup>32</sup>

What these "disorders" may have been in this instance is not known, but it does not seem likely that troubles in Mari would have prevented the selection of a new *līmu* in Aššur. Nor does it seem likely that Mari was completely cut off and thus unable to learn the name of the new eponym, since the texts testify that various groups of people arrived at Mari during this period.<sup>33</sup> Clearly, then, no *līmu* was appointed in Aššur before at least the fifth month of this year for reasons that we can only speculate on.

Since we cannot rely on archival context to establish the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur as the last 'living' eponym used at Mari and the MEC does not preserve this information, the best that we can do is to inventory the facts that we do have and try to reach some conclusions about the possible date of the death of Šamši-Adad. This takes us back to our basic assumptions:

- the conquest of Qabrā took place five (Babylonian) years before the death of Šamši-Adad,
- the death of Daduša took place four (Babylonian) years before the death of Šamši-Adad.

Since Daduša is still alive during the eponymy of Aššur-malik the earliest possible date for the death of Šamši-Adad is during the *līmu* of Nimer-Sîn.<sup>34</sup> However, Šamši-Adad is still alive during the fifth month of the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur so this theoretical date is of no use to us. The conquest of Nurrugum and Aḫazum seems to be included in the events that occurred during the *līmu* of Aššur-malik.<sup>35</sup> These events took place after the conquest of Qabrā<sup>36</sup> therefore the latest possible date for the conquest of Qabrā is also the *līmu* of Aššur-malik and the latest possible date for the death of Šamši-Adad is during the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur +1. This theoretical date is also of limited value since there would seem to be

<sup>31</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 209.

<sup>32</sup> M.T. Larsen, Unusual eponymy-datings from Mari and Assyria, RA 68, 1974, pp. 15-24, esp. p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., ARM VII: 42 (16/I) records the arrival of a group from Ekallātum and ARM VII: 75 (20/II) records a group that came "from the presence of Išme-Dagān".

<sup>34</sup> See above, note 27.

<sup>35</sup> MEC, p. 226, notes 41-42.

<sup>36</sup> ARM I: 69 + M. 7358 ('Pouvoir', p. 313); J. Eidem, News from the Eastern Front: the evidence from Tell Shemshāra, Iraq 47, 1985, pp. 83-107; hereafter cited as 'Shemshāra'.

sufficient information available to fix the time of the conquest of Qabrā more closely and even fix it to the Babylonian calendar year.<sup>37</sup>

Our knowledge of the events leading up to the capture of Qabrā has been described in detail,<sup>38</sup> and I will take it as given and only deal with those dated events that allow us to fix the events chronologically. First is the 'Louvre stela',<sup>39</sup> which provides month names but no *līmu*. According to its information, Šamšī-Adad crossed the Zāb and invaded the land of Qabrā on the 20<sup>th</sup> of Addaru after having conquered Arrapha. This first incursion into the territory of Qabrā therefore took place in the spring (month VIII of the *līmu* of Asqudum). A number of Mari letters document the capture of various towns and cities in the land of Qabrā, but the real key to fixing the date of the conquest of Qabrā is ARM I:8 in which Šamšī-Adad gives instructions to Yasmaḥ-Adad to kill the Ya'ilānu who are being held (as hostages?) at Mari because there is no longer any possibility of peace with Ya'ilānu. These instructions antedate the conquest of Qabrā because in ARM I:92 Šamšī-Adad reports the defeat of Ya'ilānu five days after the defeat of Qabrā. Since ARM I:8 is dated in the month Tīrum (15/XII, late summer), Qabrā did not fall before the end of the *līmu* of Asqudum. Although there is no direct evidence, Qabrā apparently was not conquered until the end of the summer or the early fall. In several letters to Kuwari, now Šamšī-Adad's vassal at Šušarrā, Šamšī-Adad expresses his desire to deal with the perfidious Yašub-Adad, ruler of Aḥazum, but complains that because of the cold weather he cannot get his hands on him for several months.<sup>40</sup> Obviously these letters date to the late fall or early winter and show that Šamšī-Adad had to suspend military operations until spring. With the coming of spring, however, Šamšī-Adad was able to continue the campaign against both Nurrugum and Aḥazum<sup>41</sup> whose defeat is recorded in the MEC during the *līmu* of Aššur-malik.

My timetable for these events is: conquest of Arrapha = Asqudum (fall or early spring); invasion of Qabrā = Asqudum (spring); conquest of Qabrā = Aššur-malik (fall); conquest of Nurrugum and Aḥazum = Aššur-malik (spring). Therefore:

Ibāl-pī-EI -1	= conquest of Qabrā	= Asqudum / Aššur-malik
Ibāl-pī-EI 0	= death of Daduša	= Aššur-malik / Awiliya

. . .

<sup>37</sup> Eidem, 'Shemshāra', has given an excellent summary and timetable for these events and I find that I can agree with almost all of his particulars. His reconstruction is fully justified both by the Daduša stela and the MEC, neither of which were available to him when he wrote. The events given by Charpin and Durand, 'Pouvoir', pp. 312-315, for the Babylonian year that overlapped the *līmu* Ikūn-piya / Asqudum must be moved down one Babylonian year because they apparently postulated two conquests of Qabrā, one by Šamšī-Adad and another a year later by Daduša.

<sup>38</sup> See above, note 37.

<sup>39</sup> See above, note 14; for the most recent treatment and bibliography, see: A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, RIMA 1, Toronto 1987, pp. 63-65, A.O. 39.1001.

<sup>40</sup> 'Shemshāra', pp. 95-97.

<sup>41</sup> 'Shemshāra', pp. 99-101.

Ibāl-pī-EI 4 = death of Šamšī-Adad = Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur / *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur<sup>42</sup>

Since Šamšī-Adad was still alive in the fifth month of the *līmu warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, he must have died sometime between the second of the fifth and the beginning of the eighth month of this *līmu*.<sup>43</sup> According to this reconstruction the conquest of Qabrā, Nurrugum, and Aḥazum all took place during the *līmu* of Aššur-malik and the capture of Arrapha during the *līmu* of Asqudum. Any reconstruction of the MEC should take this into account. Finally, contra Charpin and Durand<sup>44</sup>, ARM IV: 25 cannot be dated before the campaign against Arrapha and Qabrā because it is clear that Šušarrā was not under the control of Šamšī-Adad until, at the earliest, very shortly before the fall of Qabrā.<sup>45</sup>

Did Yasmaḥ-Adad hold Mari after the Death of Šamšī-Adad?

Having placed the death of Šamšī-Adad to within a period of 3–4 months, it is necessary to address the question of whether or not Yasmaḥ-Adad was able to retain control of Mari after his father's death. This question is important not only for the history of Mari but because it also has a bearing on where some of the *līmu* from Tell Leilan must or can be placed.

Charpin and Durand<sup>46</sup> have argued vigorously for a negative answer to this question. Despite a wealth of new information and reinterpretations, I find that I am not entirely con-

<sup>42</sup> This is the same conclusion reached by Charpin and Durand, 'Pouvoir', p. 306, although for different reasons. Note that an alternative whereby the campaign against Nurrugum and Aḥazum dragged on through the summer so that their conquest came early in the *līmu* of Aššur-malik (fall) rather than late (spring-summer) does not work because this forces the conquest of Qabrā into the early part of the *līmu* of Asqudum meaning that the conquest of Qabrā falls in the Babylonian year that overlaps Ikūn-piya/Asqudum and therefore Šamšī-Adad died in Nimer-Sīn/Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur. But Šamšī-Adad was still alive in the fifth month of *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur.

<sup>43</sup> Unless the year Ibāl-pī-EI 4 at Ešnunna had an intercalary month, which would have allowed one month more in which Šamšī-Adad could have died and still be recorded in this year. This is an additional complicating factor that has not yet been mentioned in connection with the reconstruction of the chronology of this period based on the correlation of two different calendars. It can be assumed that at Mari the local calendar and the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar would have been intercalated at the same time so this problem should not affect Charpin's reconstruction. It is curious that an intercalary month is not attested in any of the texts of the Šamšī-Adad period cataloged by Charpin. However, the intercalary month for the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar is attested at Tell Rimah (OBTR: 317; *līmu* of Usur-ša-Aššur) and at Tell Leilan (L 85-145; *līmu* of Abu-šalim) so the calendar was intercalated. The name of the month is the same in both places (DIRI followed by a sign that has a resemblance to UD) so this was presumably a standard name. I am somewhat suspicious of the intercalary Addaru (ITI ŠE.[GUR<sub>10</sub>].KUD MİN) reported in OBTR: 213 since the KUD sign looks rather like the end of a GUR<sub>10</sub> sign (compare the copy in OBTR: 216) and the MİN could be a defective KUD sign on the edge of the tablet. Whatever the value of these 'armchair collations', the tablet dates from a time when this city was under heavy Babylonian influence, and this intercalary month should not be connected with the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar. Whether intercalation was uniform throughout Šamšī-Adad's empire or was handled locally cannot be determined at present. Still, the fact that both the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar and the Ešnunna calendar had intercalary months means that the two calendars will drift in and out of synchronization further confusing attempts to fix events between the two systems.

<sup>44</sup> 'Pouvoir', p. 312.

<sup>45</sup> J. Læssøe, IM 62100: A Letter from Tell Shemshara, in: H.G. Güterbock, T. Jacobsen (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, April 21, 1965, AS 16, Chicago 1965, pp. 189–196; 'Shemshāra', pp. 89–95.

<sup>46</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 319–322.

vinced by their arguments. We have already seen that Šamšī-Adad is mentioned in almost the last *līmu*-dated documents found at Mari. If we accept the conclusion that the end of such documents marks the disappearance of Yasmaḥ-Adad from Mari then we are almost forced to the conclusion that the death of Šamšī-Adad was part of the same immediate chain of events. As Charpin and Durand express it:

"Il n'est pas sans importance que l'on constate la présence de Samsi-Addu, lui-même, à Mari, tout à fait à la fin des opérations militaires. Sans doute le grand roi, lui-même, est-il venu superviser en personne les opérations militaires sur le front le plus menacé. Rien n'empêche de penser que Samsi-Addu est mort ou a connu une mort violente, sur les bords de l'Euphrate."<sup>47</sup>

Arguing against this position are the words of A.489:2'-4': "[when my lord] defeated Išme-Dagān and drove Yasmaḥ-Adad out of Mari".<sup>48</sup> This text convinces me that the defeat and death of Šamšī-Adad in battle were not part of the events that forced Yasmaḥ-Adad out of Mari, for the failure of the author of this letter to mention such an accomplishment, surely the high point of any military career, if there were any justifiable means of claiming credit for it is simply beyond belief. Clearly, if Šamšī-Adad was defeated and killed on the battlefield, it was not by the same agency that inflicted a defeat on Išme-Dagān and ousted Yasmaḥ-Adad from Mari. This does not imply that Šamšī-Adad might not have died a natural or even an accidental death shortly before the battle that drove Yasmaḥ-Adad out of Mari, but there are other facts that point to Yasmaḥ-Adad's presence at Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

I will leave out of the discussion letters such as ARM V: 14 and ARM IV: 20, which can be interpreted either as having been written during the lifetime of Šamšī-Adad<sup>49</sup> or as evidence that Yasmaḥ-Adad was present at Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad, both because of lack of time and space for a detailed discussion and because any such discussion would, at the present time, be inconclusive. The same is true of the letter ARM V: 20 in which Išḫi-Adad (Yasmaḥ-Adad's father-in-law) refers to Išme-Dagān as *šarrum rabûm*.<sup>50</sup>

The most damaging evidence against the hypothesis of Charpin and Durand that Yasmaḥ-Adad was chased out of Mari within a month or two after the death of Šamšī-Adad is the presence at Mari of two *līmu* that must be dated after the death of Šamšī-Adad. On three

<sup>47</sup> 'Pouvoir', p. 319.

<sup>48</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 322-323, note 131: (2') ... [... *i-nu-ma be-lī*] (3') *da-am<sub>1</sub>-da-am ša l i š-me<sup>d</sup>-da-gan i-du-ku* (4') *ù l ia-ās-ma-ah<sup>d</sup>IM i-na ma-riki ú-še-šû-[ú]*. We can be grateful to Charpin and Durand for locating this fragment and making the context of this remark available. Although neither the name of the author nor of his *bēlum* (surely the person who defeated Išme-Dagān) is preserved, it is clear that the purpose of this part of the letter was the aggrandizement of the *bēlum* at the expense of another (unidentified) group.

<sup>49</sup> As done by Charpin and Durand, 'Pouvoir', p. 303 and notes 47, 49-50.

<sup>50</sup> Whether *šarrum rabûm* here means "a great king" or "the great king" is extremely difficult to assess. I find the reference to the "prince de Mari" ('Pouvoir', p. 301, note 37, end) in connection with this letter inexplicable since it is clearly addressed to Išme-Dagān.



legal texts found in the palace occur the *līmu* of Aḫi-yaya (ARM VIII: 52; A. 4232 [unpubl.]) and Pussanum (ARM VIII: 86).<sup>51</sup> Both ARM VIII: 52 and 86 bear impressions of seals of servants of Ibāl-pī-EI. The earliest possible date for these *līmu* is thus the accession of Ibāl-pī-EI, four years before the death of Šamšī-Adad. But the *līmu* from the accession of Ibāl-pī-EI to the death of Šamšī-Adad are all accounted for at Mari. Therefore both of these *līmu* must be dated after the death of Šamšī-Adad. Durand *apud* Charpin<sup>52</sup> has suggested that Aḫi-yaya was the *līmu* that eventually replaced *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, thus justifying the presence of the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya at Chagar Bazar, but this is not likely. The text ARM VIII: 52 is dated in the third month (Tamḫīrum) of this eponymy while *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur was still in use at Mari during the fifth month. While this is not necessarily conclusive, since ARM VIII: 52 may well have not been written at Mari (see below) or we may have been mistaken in the conclusion reached above that no *līmu* was named at Aššur for this year, the fact that one of the texts from Chagar Bazar that has the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya (A. 959<sup>53</sup>) is dated to the ninth day of the first month is. It does not seem possible that the name of the *līmu* was known at Chagar Bazar by the ninth day of the year and still not known at Mari four months later.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, the fact that ARM VIII: 86 is dated in the second month of the year speaks against the possibility that Pussanum was the *līmu* that replaced *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur. Granted, then, that these two *līmu* must be dated after the death of Šamšī-Adad and that neither is likely to be equated with *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, the question that must be answered is: What are the tablets with these *līmu* doing at Mari?

This problem has been skirted by Charpin<sup>55</sup> as well as by Charpin and Durand<sup>56</sup> by suggesting that these tablets were not written at Mari, but at some other location. Because of the presence of seals of servants of Ibāl-pī-EI on these tablets, Charpin has suggested that

<sup>51</sup> 'Archives', p. 250.

<sup>52</sup> 'Archives', p. 250, note 34.

<sup>53</sup> D.C. Snell, The Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar in the Aleppo Museum, AAAS 33 (2), 1983, pp. 217-241, esp. p. 234.

<sup>54</sup> The problem of the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya at Chagar Bazar is even more complex since one of the tablets with this date (A. 980 [unpubl.]; cf. C.J. Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38, Iraq 7, 1940, pp. 22-66, esp. p. 56) belongs to a group of related texts that record barley rations for the house(hold) of Šubat-Enlil (ŠE.BA É Šu-ba-at-dEn-lil<sup>ki</sup>; for A. 985, see: O. Loretz, Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak, Teil 1, AOAT 3:1, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969, 40 [no *līmu*]; for A. 986, see: D.C. Snell, The Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar in the Aleppo Museum, AAAS 33 (2), 1983, pp. 217-241, esp. pp. 235-236 [*līmu* of Aššur-malik]). These texts are said to be almost identical in terms of the names of the recipients and other details (cf. C.J. Gadd, Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38, Iraq 7, 1940, pp. 22-66, esp. p. 57, sub A. 986). All of this implies that a text dated to the first month of the *līmu* Aššur-malik is almost identical to one dated in the tenth month of Aḫi-yaya, a circumstance that usually implies that the two texts should be placed as close together chronologically as possible. The closest that Aḫi-yaya can be placed to Aššur-malik, however, is after *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur making it the sixth *līmu* after Aššur-malik while the months found in the two texts mean that they were separated by almost seven full years. While there is nothing inherently impossible in this (note the continuity reported by: J.-M. Durand, Les dames du palais de Mari à l'époque du royaume de Haute Mésopotamie, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 385-436 [hereafter cited as 'Dames'], for oil rations in the palace at Mari), it is suspicious.

<sup>55</sup> 'Archives', pp. 250-251.

<sup>56</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 304-305.

they were written "daḥs une ville ayant fait partie du royaume d'Ibāl-pî-El et conquise ensuite par les Assyriens".<sup>57</sup> Granting the likelihood that these tablets may have been written in territory controlled by Ešnunna,<sup>58</sup> and even granting that this territory may have come into the hands of the 'Assyrians', this still does not explain how these tablets came to be at Mari several years after 'Assyrian' control of that city supposedly ended. Charpin and Durand suggest

"on supposera, cependant, que le texte qui comporte une datation par Puṣṣâ-num, a été rédigé à Aššur, voire par des gens qui se réclament d'Aššur".<sup>59</sup>

Again, this does not account for the presence of these tablets at Mari. The question that must be answered is not "where were these tablets written", but "how did these tablets get to Mari". I have argued elsewhere<sup>60</sup> that loan and sale contracts are portable and it is quite possible for such a tablet to be found in a city other than the one in which it was drawn up, but there should be some reasonable explanation for the transportation of the tablet. Clay tablets are (fortunately for Assyriologists) one of the few items that are not carried off as booty, so this does not seem a likely explanation. The three tablets involved here are obviously part of the private archive of one individual or his family,<sup>61</sup> and one can visualize a scenario in which an (Assyrian?) official, perhaps stationed in Ešnunnean territory, decides after the fall of Mari to move to that city and take up service with Zimri-Lim, bringing his personal archive with him into the palace at Mari. While this is a perfectly rational explanation for the presence of tablets dated after the death of Šamšī-Adad at Mari, at this point the archaeological context comes into play and renders it impossible. These three tablets were all found in room 108 of the palace,<sup>62</sup> and according to Durand,

"Les documents des S. 108 et 116 forment une série très homogène de textes discontinus, utilisés, dès l'antiquité, comme matériau de remblai."<sup>63</sup>

Thus these three texts are not set off in any way from the other detritus of the 'Assyrian' interregnum, including legal and administrative texts,<sup>64</sup> used for the rebuilding and repair

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<sup>57</sup> 'Archives', p. 250.

<sup>58</sup> Note that the month names found in these texts, Kinunum and Tamḫīrum, could equally well be Ešnunna month names as belong to the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar (for the Ešnunna calendar, see most recently: R. Whiting, *Four Seal Impressions from Tell Asmar*, AfO, forthcoming, note 16). We now know of at least one other *īmu*-dated text with an Ešnunna month, found at Tell Leilan (L 79-183); see 'Report'.

<sup>59</sup> 'Pouvoir', p. 304.

<sup>60</sup> R. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, AS 22, Chicago 1987, p. 31, note 107.

<sup>61</sup> 'Archives', p. 250.

<sup>62</sup> 'Archives', p. 265.

<sup>63</sup> 'Dames', p. 385.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. 'Archives', pp. 253-254.

of the palace by Zimri-Lim. If these tablets had been found separately, the scenario could be preserved, but because of their findspot the inescapable conclusion is that these three tablets, dated at least one to two years after the death of Šamšī-Adad, were already present in the palace at Mari when Zimri-Lim got there.

Another *līmu* found at Mari that should be placed after the death of Šamšī-Adad is the last one given in the MEC, [...]-emūq[ī] (G:1).<sup>65</sup> This may very well be the name of the eponym that finally replaced *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur.<sup>66</sup> If not, then there is at least one more *līmu* other than Aḫi-yaya and Pussanum attested at Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

This raises a point in connection with the end of the 'Assyrian' period at Mari that was not addressed at all by Charpin and Durand:<sup>67</sup> the very existence of the MEC and its presence at Mari. It does not seem likely that the first thing that Zimri-Lim did after his conquest of Mari was to commission an eponym chronicle detailing the history and accomplishments of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty. The MEC must be a relic of Šamšī-Adad's dominion over Mari.<sup>68</sup> If the last *līmu* of the MEC, [...]-emūq[ī], corresponds to *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur then it was written during the year of Šamšī-Adad's death; if it does not, then the MEC is another post-Šamšī-Adad document found in the debris of the 'Assyrian' occupation at Mari.<sup>69</sup> Again the conclusion is inescapable that there was some sort of 'Assyrian' presence at Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

In summary, there are at least two *līmu* from after the death of Šamšī-Adad found at Mari (Aḫi-yaya and Pussanum) and possibly a third ([...]-emūq[ī]). This is slim, but adequate,

<sup>65</sup> Birot, MEC, p. 226, is hesitant about seeing this as a *līmu*, but the format of the tablet certainly calls for a *līmu* in this position, and the restoration seems highly probable, especially considering that the head of the diagonal wedge that marks the beginning of K1 is clearly visible in the photograph.

<sup>66</sup> As suggested by Veenhof, 'Eponyms', p. 215, note 98.

<sup>67</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 293-343.

<sup>68</sup> At least one fragment (S. 115-26) presumably came from room 115 that produced several other 'Assyrian' period administrative and legal texts; cf. 'Archives', pp. 253-254.

<sup>69</sup> Either solution seems about equally likely. Some idea of their likelihood may be obtained from the physical characteristics of the tablet M. 7481. We have already noted (see above, note 22) that if M. 7481 and S. 24-1 are part of the same tablet then all of the MEC from A:20 to B:15 must fit between the two fragments. This is a minimum of 18 *līmu* plus however many *līmu* are after A:23 at the end of column i of A. 1288, a number that can be conservatively estimated at 2-3. Most of these are probably one-liners, so a comfortable estimate would be that about 25 lines must have separated the two fragments. Approximately the same number of lines must have separated the two fragments on the reverse, and this number must include at least the remainder of Awiliya plus the events of the *līmu* Adad-bāni, Nimer-Sîn, and Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur. The last *līmu* take up considerably more lines per *līmu* than the earlier ones, due to a natural tendency for the events of the later *līmu* to be more fully documented. Thus Ikūn-piya takes up five lines, Aššur-malik seven, and [...]-emūq[ī] six, while Awiliya has parts of three lines preserved with space for several more. If we assume that the missing *līmu* averaged six lines each, then we have a total of 21 lines accounted for (3x6+3 for the remainder of Awiliya), a number that is reassuringly close to the estimated number of lines in the gap on the obverse. If we drop the average number of lines per *līmu* to five, then there is obviously enough room to accommodate another *līmu* (*warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur) here. If we raise it, there is not. There is no point in belaboring the issue since these numbers are all hypothetical and we have no control, but it is clear that if M. 7481 and S. 24-1 belong to the same tablet that there is sufficient room for all of the events down to the death of Šamšī-Adad to be placed before the *līmu* [...]-emūq[ī]. At this point we can point out that if [...]-emūq[ī] is placed immediately after *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur then we are driving still farther apart the two nearly identical texts dated Aššur-malik and Aḫi-yaya found at Chagar Bazar, described above, note 54.

evidence for the presence of Yasmaḥ-Adad at Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad, especially since the evidence of A. 489<sup>70</sup> suggests that Yasmaḥ-Adad was driven out of Mari as a result of a defeat of Išme-Dagān not of Šamšī-Adad. I see no reason to expect a much longer duration for Yasmaḥ-Adad's tenure at Mari after his father's death, and I am in complete accord with Charpin and Durand<sup>71</sup> in rejecting the widely held view that the tenth year date of Ibāl-pī-EI marks the defeat of Išme-Dagān and Yasmaḥ-Adad,<sup>72</sup> so there is no need to expect evidence for five years of post-Šamšī-Adad 'Assyrian' dominance at Mari.<sup>73</sup>

## THE MIDDLE

Thus far we have been able to reconstruct the first 20 *līmū* of Šamšī-Adad's reign (from 1. Šarrum-Adad to 20. Be[...]) from the MEC and the last 14 (from 44. Sîn-muballit to 57. *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur) from the MEC and the administrative archives recovered at Mari. This leaves a minimum gap of 23 *līmū* out of the middle to be identified or accounted for.<sup>74</sup> The first reconstruction that can be made is to insert the *līmū* from the AKL in accordance with our basic assumptions, *i.e.*, Ibni-Adad goes into MEC B:28 and Atamar-Ištar goes three *līmū* later, thus:

- 21. [Ibni-Adad]
- 22. [            ]x
- 23. [            n]išu (?)
- 24. [Atamar-Ištar]

<sup>70</sup> See above, note 48.

<sup>71</sup> 'Pouvoir', p. 307.

<sup>72</sup> For the year name, see: S.D. Simmons, Early Old Babylonian Tablets from Hama and Elsewhere, JCS 13, 1959, pp. 71-93, esp. p. 75 (g). The reference is to a defeat of 'Subartu' and *ḫé-na*. Ibāl-pī-EI certainly knew that Išme-Dagān and Ekallātum were not 'Subartu'. For *ḫé-na* see the convincing discussion by Charpin and Durand, 'Pouvoir', p. 307, note 70.

<sup>73</sup> Note, again, however, that we are comparing Babylonian years and eponym years (see above, note 27). If we have found three post-Šamšī-Adad *līmū* at Mari, we only need one more to bring us within range of the ninth year of Ibāl-pī-EI. Since Šamšī-Adad died near the end of the Babylonian year (see above), one of the conditions that would permit events separated by five Babylonian years to span only four eponym years is already met. Note also that extending 'Assyrian' control of Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad moves forward the accession date of Zimri-Lim but cannot affect the dates of Ibāl-pī-EI. If the events of the year date Ibāl-pī-EI 10 are connected with the disappearance of Yasmaḥ-Adad from Mari, the most likely explanation would seem to be that Ibāl-pī-EI intervened only after the defeat of Išme-Dagān, preventing his annihilation. Thus it is perhaps noteworthy that the tenth year date of Ibāl-pī-EI mentions only the defeat of the armies of Subartu and *ḫé-na* and does not record any conquest of territory nor does it specify where the battle(s) took place.

<sup>74</sup> I will at all times operate with the assumption that we are reconstructing the minimum possible reign of 57 years for Šamšī-Adad. Note that the next shortest possible reign is 60 years since if Ibni-Adad (the year of Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Ekallātum according to AKL) is not placed in MEC B:28 then it must be placed after B:30 because there are traces of the intervening *līmū* preserved, none of which is compatible with Ibni-Adad. Note also that the number of *līmū* between no. 21 and no. 57 is fixed by AKL and the number between no. 1 and no. 20 is fixed by MEC. Therefore, any lengthening of Šamšī-Adad's reign beyond the minimum 57 years can only be done at the point between *līmū* no. 20 and no. 21 in the present reconstruction. Similarly, any *līmū* that must be inserted before the conquest of Ekallātum will automatically raise the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign.

This brings us down to Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur. Next we can jump to the other end of the gap and, with Birot, restore before Sîn-muballit: 43. [Enna]m-Aššur.<sup>75</sup> Now comes the real puzzle. For the remaining 18 *līmu*, we can only look around and see what *līmu* we have that can be fitted into this gap.

#### The Remaining *līmu* from Mari

The texts from Mari record three early *līmu* that are not preserved in the MEC: Ḫaya-malik and two different Šalim-Aššur's.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, these *līmu* are attested only at Mari.<sup>77</sup> Charpin has presented a quite reasonable argument that the *līmu* of Ḫaya-malik may represent the first *līmu* used after the 'Assyrian' conquest of Mari and that the two Šalim-Aššur's should also be placed very early in this period.<sup>78</sup> Clearly these three *līmu* belong in the gap shortly before Ennam-Aššur. Although their exact position is not known now, Ḫaya-malik should come first and mark the date of Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari.

#### The Remaining *līmu* from the MEC

There are a few fragments of the MEC that have not yet been fixed into the text with precision but which contain identifiable *līmu*. Most notable is S. 24-3, edited as section D, which is in all probability part of the same tablet as M. 7481 + S. 24-1<sup>79</sup> and which contains three recognizable *līmu*: [...] -Aššur, Atanum, and Aššur-taklāku (D: 2-4).

Despite the fact that this fragment is floating within the framework of the MEC, it nevertheless is extremely important chronologically because its content lends additional support to the conclusion that Šamšī-Adad did not conquer Mari before his conquest of Aššur.<sup>80</sup> The *līmu* Atanum (D: 3) contains what is apparently a reference to the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim and a coalition of 12 kings; because of this reference to Yaḥdun-Lim, these *līmu* must be placed before Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari. If Šamšī-Adad conquered Mari before his conquest of Aššur, then these *līmu* must also be placed before the conquest of Aššur. But attempting to do so extends the length of Šamšī-Adad's reign by a minimum of seven

<sup>75</sup> MEC E: 1. This restoration seems safe, especially in view of the occurrence of the *līmu* Ennam-Aššur on an administrative text from Mari ('Archives', p. 257). The traces of signs between the end of the name of the *līmu* and the beginning of the name of Šamšī-Adad referred to by Birot, MEC, p. 226, note 36, appear from the photograph to be an erasure.

<sup>76</sup> 'Archives', pp. 256-257.

<sup>77</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, nos. 20 + 39-40.

<sup>78</sup> 'Archives', pp. 249-250.

<sup>79</sup> See above, notes 22 and 69.

<sup>80</sup> This view is rapidly gaining in popularity; cf., e.g., M. Anbar, Le début du règne de Šamši-Addu Ier, IOS 3, 1973, pp. 1-33, esp. p. 16; 'Eponyms', p. 207; MEC, pp. 224-225; 'Archives', pp. 251-252.

years.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, this theoretical minimum of seven years does not take into consideration some of the practical problems involved. By this new arrangement Atanum now comes two *līmu* before Ibni-Adad which is three *līmu* before Atamar-lštar. The defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim in Atanum must be the final confrontation with Šamšī-Adad since the *līmu* for the conquest of Mari must fall before Atamar-lštar and the two events were separated only by the short reign of Sumu-Yamam.<sup>82</sup> According to this scheme, Šamšī-Adad's military exploits over a five year period took the following path:

- defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim at an unknown location, but presumably in the West;
- over to the Tigris to conquer Ekallātum;
- across to the Euphrates to capture Mari;
- back to the Tigris to take Aššur.

This is a highly improbable sequence of events. In order to eliminate this crisscrossing of Northern Mesopotamia by Šamšī-Adad and his army but still preserve the conquest of Mari before that of Aššur, it is necessary to move the conquest of Mari up before the capture of Ekallātum. This, however, means moving the *līmu* Ibni-Adad down past the *līmu* for the conquest of Mari thereby extending the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign still further and the resulting chronological scheme is entirely contrary to the historical context.<sup>83</sup> By *reductio ad absurdum*, the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim by Šamšī-Adad must be placed after the latter's conquest of Aššur, and, unarguably, his capture of Mari must be placed after this.

We can accept as a working assumption that the reference to Yaḥdun-Lim in the *līmu* Atanum marks the end of his reign. Thus the *līmu* Atanum should be placed some 3-4 years before Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari,<sup>84</sup> presumably represented by the *līmu* of Ḫaya-malik, more or less fixing the position of section D of the MEC.

There is another section of the MEC (edited as section C), represented by the preserved portion of column iv of the tablet A. 1288. Although fixed in position, this section is so isolated from the rest of the text that it might as well be a loose fragment. Still, the fact that it is fixed may allow us some conclusions about the nature of the tablet or, alternatively, about the text of the section itself. From the overall layout of the tablet it can be estimated that there were probably about 45-50 lines per column.<sup>85</sup> If this is so, then the end of

<sup>81</sup> Since the fragment contains three *līmu*, none of which is Ibni-Adad or Atamar-lštar, placing it before the conquest of Aššur also means placing it before the conquest of Ekallātum. The only place that it can be placed to accomplish this is after MEC B: 30, but doing so means that the earliest that Ibni-Adad can be placed is after Aššur-taklāku (D: 4) thereby moving it down at least seven *līmu* and raising the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign to 64 years.

<sup>82</sup> This is usually reckoned at a minimum of three years; cf. 'Eponyms', p. 207; MEC, p. 225. However, these are Babylonian years and because of the overlap in the two calendar systems there is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence with eponym years; see above, note 27.

<sup>83</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 293-299.

<sup>84</sup> See above, note 82.

<sup>85</sup> The two columns on the obverse preserve about 30 lines each and there were probably about 10 lines broken off at the top while there should not be many more than 5 lines missing at the bottom; see above, note 22.

section C cannot be much more than about 25 lines from the end of the tablet. But if the *līmu* recorded here, Dadmi and Tari[...], are correct,<sup>86</sup> they must be placed at least 15 *līmu* before the end of Šamšī-Adad's reign, and 25 lines does not seem adequate for these *līmu*, especially since the number of lines per *līmu* goes up drastically toward the end of the tablet. Only two reasonable conclusions seem possible: either A. 1288 was a shorter version of the chronicle, or Dadmi and Tari[...] are not *līmu*.<sup>87</sup> By a shorter version we could understand an earlier, a less detailed, or simply an incomplete version. If Dadmi and Tari[...] are not *līmu*, then there are no restrictions on where this section fits except for the number of *līmu* that were contained in the completely destroyed column iii.

This section of the chronicle records the capture of Šerwunum and Ḫaburatum, which are probably to be located between Jebel Sinjar and the Tigris.<sup>88</sup> It can be suggested that these locations came under the control of Šamšī-Adad around the same time as the sites of Tell Rimah and Tell Tāya (see below). Unfortunately, we have no clear idea of when this might have been. Birot<sup>89</sup> has suggested that these *līmu* might be placed before the conquest of Ekalātum and Aššur, but I find this unlikely for a number of reasons.<sup>90</sup> For the time being, I sug-

<sup>86</sup> I suspect that Dadmi is not a *līmu* but represents *ina dadmī*, "in the inhabited world", in some manner completing the description of the two towns mentioned in the previous lines. If this is true, however, then the catalog of events continues at least into the following line which is difficult to connect with what precedes it. Tari[...] in the next line is more likely to be a *līmu* since this is a common sequence for the beginning of a name; note, however, the geographical name *Ta-ri-is(?)*<sup>ki</sup> in ARM V: 27, 22. While both *ina dadmī* and *ina Tari*[...] have the appearance of being *līmu*, we can note that in ii 16' of this tablet the scribe has allowed *ina Lazapatim* to fall at the beginning of the line. Were it not for the parallel text that makes it clear that this is a geographical name (without indicator), this writing could very easily have been mistaken for a *līmu*. It is possible to reconstruct (rather freely) iv 1'-8' as:

1' [ ] x x [ ]  
 2' [x x x x] IM<sub>ma-a-at</sub> [ ]  
 3' [x x] x-nim še-er-wu-nim  
 4' ù ḫa-bu-ra-tim LUGAL i[s-b]a-a[t]  
 5' BĀD-d[ ]  
 6' ù BĀD-dUTU-šī-d[ ] [M URU.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ e-li ša] (?)  
 7' i-na da-ad-mi ib-[ni-ma ina GN] (?)  
 8' da-aw-da-am š[a PN i-du-uk] (?)

"[In (the *līmu* of) ...] the king captured the land of [ ], Šerwunum, and Ḫaburatum; built Dūr-[PN] and Dūr-Šamšī-Adad, [the grandest cities] in the inhabited world; [and in GN] defeated [PN]." Alternatively, the [ina GN] restored at the end of line 7' could be replaced by *ina Tari*[...] at the beginning of line 9' with the *idūk* at the end of line 8' placed at the end of line 9' yielding: "(the king) ...; built [and ...ed] ...; and defeated [PN] in Tari[...]" This would mean that the statement concerning Rapiqum and presumably several other place names in lines 10'-11' would also have to be incorporated into the list of events all of which makes for a very long, disorganized, and almost incoherent rubric. This highly speculative reconstruction is put forward more in the interest of exploring the possibilities than from any firm belief in its correctness, and since this is a text that existed in multiple copies, we can still hope for a duplicate that will make it all clear.

<sup>87</sup> These alternatives are not necessarily mutually exclusive since it is possible for Dadmi and Tari[...] not to be *līmu* and for A. 1288 still to be a shorter version of M. 7481. It is only if either Dadmi or Tari[...] is actually a *līmu* that A. 1288 cannot have covered exactly the same ground as M. 7481.

<sup>88</sup> Both of these place names are mentioned in the texts from Tell Rimah; for Šerwunum, see: MEC, p. 225, note 32; for Ḫaburatum, compare: J.-R. Kupper, Noms géographiques, in: M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, Répertoire analytique (2<sup>e</sup> volume): Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-collection, première partie: noms propres, ARMT XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 1-42, esp. p. 13; B. Groneberg, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit, RGTC 3, TAVO B 7/3, Wiesbaden 1980, pp. 84-85.

<sup>89</sup> MEC, p. 225.

<sup>90</sup> First, doing so automatically extends the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign (see above, note 74). Second,

gest the following solution:

- C:1 is represented by the traces in line 1'.
- C:2 begins in line 2' and continues to the end of line 8' following the reconstruction offered above.<sup>91</sup> Therefore Dadmi is not a *līmu*, and the *līmu* of C:2 is represented by the IM sign that comes at the end of the break at the beginning of line 2'. This IM could be the end of <sup>d</sup>IM or could be for *-im* representing the genitive ending.
- C:3 begins with the *līmu* Tari[...] in line 9' and contains a reference to Rapiqum.<sup>92</sup>
- These three *līmu* should be placed after the conquest of Aššur but before the conquest of Mari, probably around the time of Šamšī-Adad's confrontation with Yaḥdun-Lim.

#### The *līmu* from Tell Leilan

All the *līmu* discovered at Tell Leilan through the 1985 season are presented in Fig. 1. During the 1985 season *līmu*-dated texts were found both on the acropolis and in the lower town. All of the *līmu* from the lower town, with the exception of Adad-bāni (L 85-490), are not only post-Šamšī-Adad but probably also post-Ḥammu-rapi, and a discussion of them will be postponed until later in this paper. The Adad-bāni *līmu* from the lower town should correspond to Šamšī-Adad 54.<sup>93</sup>

The first *līmu* from the acropolis that can be dealt with is Sîn-muballit because it is firmly identified with a *līmu* from Mari. Both the Mari (ARM XXII: 3, iv 13) and the Tell Leilan (L 79-102) *līmu* have a patronymic that has been identified as Ašgi-iddinam<sup>94</sup> which guarantees that they are the same because names compounded with the deity Ašgi are very uncommon.

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column ii of A. 1288 breaks off at the *līmu* Aššur-tukultī (B:20) which is Šamšī-Adad 13; the earliest that section C can be placed (i.e., extending Šamšī-Adad's minimum reign by only six years) is after B:30 meaning that the ca. 60-65 lines that separated the end of column ii and the beginning of column iv contained only about ten *līmu*. Finally, placing these events before the conquest of Ekallātum means that the entire remainder of Šamšī-Adad's reign must go into the 25 or so lines remaining in column iv. While it is obvious from other considerations (see below, note 92) that A. 1288 did not cover the entire reign of Šamšī-Adad, if it is an earlier version of the chronicle (and not simply an incomplete one) then it should go down at least to the conquest of Mari since it was found there. I would estimate that this event took place about 14-15 years after the conquest of Ekallātum (see below), and therefore the remainder of column iv of A. 1288 would have to contain at least this many *līmu*. While elaborate schemes could be devised to account for 60-65 lines containing ca. 10 *līmu* while ca. 25 lines contain a minimum of 14-15 *līmu*, it seems more logical to me simply to move the events of section C farther down into the reign of Šamšī-Adad in order to make the number of *līmu* in each gap proportional to the size of the gaps.

<sup>91</sup> See above, note 86.

<sup>92</sup> Accepting Tari[...] as a *līmu* means that section C cannot be placed anywhere after [Enna]m-Aššur (E:1). Therefore, if A. 1288 covered the entire reign of Šamšī-Adad then the remainder of column iv (approximately 25 lines) must have contained a minimum of 15 *līmu*, and if the events listed in section C took place before the conquest of Mari (and probably before the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim), then this number is considerably higher. The conclusion, then, is that A. 1288 must have been a shorter version of the eponym chronicle than M. 7481 (see above and note 87).

<sup>93</sup> See 'Report', note 28.

<sup>94</sup> See 'Report', notes 20-23.



<i>līmu</i>	Number of times	Lower Town (L) or Acropolis (A)	Occurrences
Abu-šalim	3	A	L 82-103, L 85-097, L 85-145
Adad-bāni	1	L	L 85-490
Adad-bāni son of Pussaya	1	A	L 79-183
Aššur- [...]	1	A	L 85-515
Aššur-emūqī	1	A	L 85-459
Aššur-taklāku	1	L	L 85-094
Aššur-[taklāk]u (?) son of Ennam- [...]	1	A	L 85-001
Ennam-Aššur	5	A	L 85-126, L 85-146, L 85-147, L 85-148, L 85-149 A-B
Ikūn-pī-lštar	7	A	L 85-115, L 85-140, L 85-141, L 85-445, L 85-509, L 85-514, L 85-528
Išme-II	7	L	L 85-080, L 85-082, L 85-083, L 85-084, L 85-085, L 85-086, L 85-087
warki Išme-II	1	L	L 85-081
Na(?) - [...]	1	A	L 82-133
Nami- [...] son of Ipiq-[Ad]ad (?)	1	A	L 85-142
Niwir-Kūbi	6	L	L 85-088, L 85-089, L 85-091, L 85-092, L 85-093, L 85-114
Pussaya	23	A	L 80-179, L 82-149, L 85-100, L 85-101, L 85-102, L 85-103, L 85-104, L 85-105, L 85-106, L 85-107, L 85-108, L 85-109, L 85-110, L 85-111, L 85-112, L 85-132, L 85-138, L 85-436, L 85-438, L 85-447, L 85-453, L 85-501, L 85-503
Sîn-muballit	1	A	L 85-113
Sîn-muballit son of Ašgi-iddinam	1	A	L 79-102

Fig. 1: *līmu* found at Tell Leilan

mon in this period. The Sîn-muballit *līmu* without patronymic (L 85-113) is probably the same, so this *līmu* can confidently be identified with the year Šamšī-Adad 44.

The next task is the placing of a group of *līmu*, Abu-šalim, Aššur-emūqī, Ennam-Aššur, Ikūn-pī-lštar, and Pussaya, that, because of the coherence of text types, seal impressions, and

prosopography, must be manipulated as a unit.<sup>95</sup> While these five *līmū* are not necessarily consecutive years, it does not seem likely that more than two or three additional *līmū* could be interspersed among them. Because the tablets with these *līmū* bear seal impressions of servants of Šamšī-Adad, Išme-Daġān, and Yasmaḥ-Adad (and no others!) they must be placed either within the reign of Šamšī-Adad or immediately after it. In 'Report', I argued that there was not sufficient time to accommodate this block of *līmū* after the death of Šamšī-Adad before the various invasions, occupations, and pillages that overtook Šubat-Enlil.<sup>96</sup> This, however, was based on the assumption that Zimri-Lim took Mari immediately after the death of Šamšī-Adad as proposed by Charpin and Durand.<sup>97</sup> While this is still a possibility, the arguments raised above against this position make it advisable to investigate the likelihood that these *līmū* belong after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

First, there are the *līmū* themselves. Aššur-emūqī could correspond to the [...] -emūq[ī] found at the end of the MEC (G: 1)<sup>98</sup> and Pussaya could be considered a hypocoristicon of Pussanum. The *līmu* Aḥi-yaya, known to belong to this period, is missing at Tell Leilan. Thus the minimum length of this block of *līmū* is six years, however, if Abu-šalim can be equated with *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur<sup>99</sup> this still means only five years after the death of Šamšī-Adad that must be fitted in here.

The events at Šubat-Enlil following the death of Šamšī-Adad are extremely complicated<sup>100</sup> and I am not ready to attempt their explication based on the material from Tell Leilan.<sup>101</sup> For the time being, it can be noted that if Zimri-Lim took Mari immediately after the death of Šamšī-Adad then there is no time for these *līmū* at Tell Leilan, whereas if Yasmaḥ-Adad was able to hold onto Mari for 3-4 years after his father's death then there is just about time to squeeze in these *līmū* before the upheavals that surely must have put an end to the administrative continuity that these tablets represent. Although placing these *līmū* after Šamšī-Adad would advance the latter thesis, I feel, at the present time, that this is a remote possibility and I am much more inclined to place them earlier in the reign of Šamšī-Adad. However,

<sup>95</sup> See 'Report'.

<sup>96</sup> For the most recent argumentation that Tell Leilan is Šubat-Enlil, see: 'Report', and D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140, hereafter cited as 'Apum'. I am grateful to Charpin for kindly providing me with a copy prior to its publication. For a catalog of the events that befell Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamšī-Adad (not in chronological order), see: H. Weiss, Tell Leilan and Shubat Enlil, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 269-292, esp. pp. 274-275, fig. 3.

<sup>97</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 293-343.

<sup>98</sup> If this equation is correct then Aššur-emūqī could not have been the *līmu* that replaced *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur since the text on which it occurs is dated to the first month. In fact, of the five *līmū*, only Abu-šalim could correspond to *warki* Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur.

<sup>99</sup> See above, note 98.

<sup>100</sup> See above, note 96.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. 'Apum', pp. 129-140. It is hoped that the projected publication of the correspondence of Samiya, known to have been in charge at Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamšī-Adad, in 'Archives épistolaires de Mari 2' will shed more light on these events.

there are a number of things found in these texts that could be more easily explained by placing them at the end of Šamšī-Adad's reign.

- The seal of Ilum(or Ilī)-gamil, servant of Išme-Dagān, occurs on texts with the *līmu* Ennam-Aššur. Included in the titulary of Išme-Dagān on this seal is the epithet SAG.KAL LUGAL.<sup>102</sup> If this expression is interpreted as *ašarid šarrī*, "foremost among kings", it is difficult to visualize it as a title used by Išme-Dagān during Šamšī-Adad's lifetime.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, if it is interpreted as *ašarid šarrim*, "foremost of the king" (*i.e.*, first in rank after the king), this is an otherwise unknown usage, and one could certainly more reasonably expect DUMU SAG.KAL LUGAL, "first son of the king", as on the seal of Bini-Šakim.<sup>104</sup>
- A letter of Samiya (A. 1421, addressee unknown) cited by Charpin<sup>105</sup> reports that a group of people propose to kill Samiya and either establish Mār-Aššur as king or give the city to Turumnatki.<sup>106</sup> All of the *naptan šarrim* texts from Tell Leilan dated with the *līmu* Pussaya<sup>107</sup> record as the last entry: 1(BAN) KAŠ ša ZU-mi-šu i-na GIŠ.BÁN dUTU NÍG. GUB DUMU-dA-šur, "10 quarts of ... beer in the measure of Šamaš for the banquet of Mār-Aššur". The use of the term *naptanum*, "meal, banquet", and the regularity of these issues mark Mār-Aššur as a person of high status, presumably part of the royal household. This would fit quite well with the proposal to make him king reported in the letter of Samiya. While the two references are not necessarily to the same person, the contexts make it likely that they are, and the administrative texts are easier to understand if placed close in time to the letter. On the other hand, it is equally possible for them to refer to the same person twenty years earlier.

If this block of *līmu* does not belong after the death of Šamšī-Adad, then they must be placed before section E of the MEC because all of the *līmu* from that point to the end of Šamšī-Adad's reign are accounted for. We have already seen that one of the *līmu* from Tell Leilan, Sîn-muballit, is firmly identified with one from Mari. The *līmu* before this is restored in the MEC as [Enna]m-Aššur, based on a single occurrence of this *līmu* at Mari. If we identify this Ennam-Aššur with the *līmu* of the same name from the group then the rest of the

<sup>102</sup> See 'Catalog', under 'Inscribed Seals'; a copy of the inscription is published elsewhere in MARI 6 (forthcoming).

<sup>103</sup> Compare *a-ša-ri-id* LUGAL-*ri* used by Hammu-rapi in the prologue to the laws (CH iv 23).

<sup>104</sup> OBTR, p. 251, seal 8.

<sup>105</sup> 'Apum', p. 135 and note 36.

<sup>106</sup> This correspondence of Samiya, found at Mari, could be further evidence that Yasmaḥ-Adad was able to keep Mari for a few years after Šamšī-Adad's death. This letter was clearly written after the death of Šamšī-Adad. Samiya was a high official of Šamšī-Adad and, according to this letter, pro-Ešnunna. The question that comes to mind is who was he writing to at Mari; certainly not Zimri-Lim. Again, we can hope for 'Archives épistolaires de Mari 2' to provide the answer.

<sup>107</sup> See 'Report' and 'Catalog'.

group extends back before Ennam-Aššur. There is no clue to the sequence of the other four *līmu* in this group,<sup>108</sup> so I will simply leave them in alphabetic order. One or both of the Šalim-Aššur *līmu* from Mari might be interspersed with these five *līmu*, but in view of the lack of evidence for where they might be placed, for the time being they can be left immediately after the *līmu* Haya-malik which represents the year in which Šamšī-Adad conquered Mari.<sup>109</sup> This yields the following reconstruction:

- 36\* Haya-malik
- 37\* Šalim-Aššur I
- 38\* Šalim-Aššur II
- 39\* Abu-šalim
- 40\* Aššur-emūqī
- 41\* Ikūn-pī-lštar
- 42\* Pussaya
- 43 Ennam-Aššur

The asterisk\* is used here to indicate that the regnal year and the name of the *līmu* do not necessarily match for reasons other than the possible length of Šamšī-Adad's reign. While there may yet be one or two more *līmu* that will have to be placed after the conquest of Mari, the present reconstruction places the conquest of Mari by Šamšī-Adad in his 36<sup>th</sup> year, 21 years before his death.

The *līmu* Aššur-[taklāk]u son of Ennam-[...] (L 85-1) is (if correctly restored) certainly the same as the *līmu* from Aššur reported by V. Donbaz.<sup>110</sup> This *līmu* must be placed after Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur because the text published by Donbaz has a month name from the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar (<sup>d</sup>*Dumu-zi*). It is reasonable, therefore, to associate it with the Aššur-taklāku *līmu* from the MEC (D: 4) which also must be placed after Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur but before his capture of Mari (see above).

The *līmu* Adad-bāni son of Pussaya (L 79-183) is not the same as the Adad-bāni *līmu* known from Mari who is now known to be the son of Puzur-ili.<sup>111</sup> However, the tablet on which it occurs also has impressions of seals of two different servants of Šamšī-Adad<sup>112</sup> so it

<sup>108</sup> We are not dealing with a 'living' archive here, so the frequency of occurrence of the *līmu* should have no bearing on their sequence.

<sup>109</sup> The evidence for placing the five *līmu* from Tell Leilan after the conquest of Mari would be slim if it were based solely on the congruence of the Ennam-Aššur *līmu* since the Ennam-Aššur *līmu* at this point in the MEC is broken and it is a very common name (there are two others in the MEC); but if the Līter-Šarrussu found on a seal impression on a tablet with the *līmu* of Ikūn-pī-lštar at Tell Leilan is the same as the Līter-Šarrussu known to have been an official in the palace of Sumu-Yamam (see 'Report', and 'Archives', p. 249) this evidence is incontestable since a seal identifying this Līter-Šarrussu as a servant of Šamšī-Adad must be dated after the conquest of Mari. For the nonoccurrence of four of the five Tell Leilan *līmu* at Mari, see: 'Report', note 25.

<sup>110</sup> V. Donbaz, Four Old Assyrian Tablets from the City of Aššur, JCS 26, 1974, pp. 81-87, A. 1574 = Ass. 18799.

<sup>111</sup> 'Documents', 113.

<sup>112</sup> 'Report', note 32.

should be placed within his reign. Theoretically, it could go anywhere between sections B and E of the MEC, but probably it should be placed somewhere between the conquest of Aššur and the capture of Mari.

The remaining *līmu* from the acropolis are Na(?)-[...] (L 82-133) and Nami[...] son of Ipiq-[Ad]ad(?) (L 85-142). I am inclined to see these two writings as representing the same *līmu* simply because of the rarity of *līmu* beginning with Na-.<sup>113</sup> There is nothing to associate these tablets with the reign of Šamšī-Adad except their overall nature and where they were found, but L 85-142 is associated with a victory over Huršanum and Tigunānum<sup>114</sup>, both of which are known from the Mari correspondence, so I have little hesitation in placing this *līmu* somewhere between the conquest of Aššur and Mari.

In summary, the *līmu* found on the acropolis probably represent nine distinct years, six of which fall after the conquest of Mari with the last of these definitely identified with Šamšī-Adad 44, while the remaining three belong before the conquest of Mari with one of them being the *līmu* after the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim. In order to make the span of time covered by these *līmu* as compact as possible the other two *līmu* could also be fitted in between the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim and the capture of Mari, but, as of now, I know of no context that requires this, and they could equally well go anywhere after the conquest of Aššur.

#### The *līmu* from Tell Rimah

The *līmu* found at Tell Rimah present a particularly thorny problem since they come from a number of scattered archaeological contexts and when there are parallels for them, they seem to point in contradictory directions. Veenhof<sup>115</sup> has presented a summary of these *līmu* in which he divides them into six groups based on the archaeological context and generally following the divisions of the original editors, and I will refer to these groups, a) - f), in my discussion. By general consensus, the groups a), b), and e) are post-Šamšī-Adad, belonging well into or even after the reign of Zimri-Lim, and their *līmu* need not concern us here.<sup>116</sup> Of the remaining groups, d) is firmly dated to the reign of Šamšī-Adad by the archaeological

<sup>113</sup> There are none found in the MEC, nor in 'Eponyms', nor in: K. Balkan, Kaniš Kārum'unun kronoloji problemleri hakkında müşahedeler - Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kārum Kaniš, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, VII. Seri, No. 28, Ankara 1955; hereafter cited as K. Balkan, 'Observations'.

<sup>114</sup> See 'Catalog'. The text records 100 rams (UDU.NITÁ) and 100 women (GEMÉ) presented by the palace (ša iš-tu É.GAL-*līm in-na-ad-nu*) out of the booty from Huršanum and Tigunānum (ša ša-la-at ḡu-ur-ša-nim ū Ti-gu-na-nim). The text is dated to the second month, so the victory over (= successful raid against) these two places probably belongs at least in the previous eponym year.

<sup>115</sup> 'Eponyms', pp. 196-198.

<sup>116</sup> In passing we can note that the *līmu Ia(?) -ri-bu* included by Veenhof, 'Eponyms', p. 197 *sub b*), p. 204, no. 29, can be deleted both there and in OBTR 215 and Index, since Veenhof's interpretation of this formula as *līmu ēribu*, "the coming eponym", ('Eponyms', p. 197, note 28) is certainly correct; cf. 'Archives', p. 268.

context,<sup>117</sup> while c) and f) have no firm basis for assigning a date to them. Another way of approaching these groups is to point out that the texts from the palace, a), b), d), and e), can be dated easily while those from the temple, c) and f), can not.

Group d) contains two broken *līmu*: Ri[...] (OBTR 246) and [...]ša(?) (OBTR 244). The *līmu* Ri[...] could be associated with either Rīš-Šamaš or Rigmānum known from Mari and the MEC to be Šamšī-Adad years 45 and 49 respectively.<sup>118</sup> For the other *līmu*, the sign proposed as ŠA does not have the proper gestalt for this sign. If the sign could be identified as ID, the *līmu* could be restored as [Sīn-muball]it (= Šamšī-Adad 44), but the sign does not have exactly the correct form for ID either.<sup>119</sup> In any case, these *līmu* belong to the reign of Šamšī-Adad and even though the texts themselves do not argue very strongly in favor of it, if the Lu-Ninsianna whose seal impressions were found in association with them<sup>120</sup> is the same person who is found in ARM IV 22:16, then they belong after the conquest of Mari.

When we come to groups c) and f), even the shaky ground that supports the dating of group d) falls away. These two groups come from the area of the temple; group c) (OBTR 223-243) was found within the temple, while group f) (OBTR 278-335) was found near the south wall of the monumental stairway leading to the east entrance of the temple; the excavator suggests that the two groups are "approximately contemporary".<sup>121</sup> S. Dalley does not suggest a narrower date than "Old Babylonian" for the few texts that make up group c),<sup>122</sup> but Hawkins presents a detailed analysis of the larger group f), discussing the archaeological context, the archival nature of the texts, and their historical and geographical setting.<sup>123</sup> On the basis of this analysis, Hawkins concludes that the most probable date for group f) is early in the reign of Šamšī-Adad or prior to it.<sup>124</sup> By the reign of Šamšī-Adad, Hawkins is referring explicitly to the 33 years after Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur.

Group c) contains one legible *līmu* (Warad-Sīn [OBTR 239]) and two badly damaged ones,

<sup>117</sup> cf. OBTR, p. 171; C.B.F. Walker gives a summary of the conclusions of D. Oates, with references to Oates' published discussions.

<sup>118</sup> From the traces either reconstruction seems about equally unlikely. Contrary to Veenhof, 'Eponyms', p. 197, note 27, the traces after Ri seem to me more likely to fit IG than IŠ.

<sup>119</sup> The sign has the appearance of a DU with an extra horizontal wedge at the bottom or a IA without the final double vertical. Compare the sign transliterated as X in OBTR 226: 8.

<sup>120</sup> OBTR, p. 249, seal 3.

<sup>121</sup> D. Oates, Introduction, in: OBTR, p. xv.

<sup>122</sup> OBTR, p. 163.

<sup>123</sup> OBTR, pp. 195-202. Among the prominent individuals found in the archive are: a king, found in an ARÁD RN formula on a seal impression, whose name is unknown (even after reading the seal impression [seal 1, pp. 248-249]); IIŠ-Šamaš, owner of the seal just mentioned, sender of well over half of the letters in the archive and whose seal appears on one of the administrative texts (OBTR 317); a 'governor' (*šāpiṭum*) who has been tentatively but plausibly identified with a certain Iškur-mansum who is also prominent in the letters.

<sup>124</sup> OBTR, p. 202; cf. also OBTR, p. 248.

for which the scant traces that are copied do not invite speculation (OBTR 234, 235).<sup>125</sup> Group f) contains four completely preserved *līmū*: Aḫi-yaya (OBTR 314), Tuttaya (OBTR 315), Uṣur-ša-Aššur (OBTR 316-318), and *warki* Aššur-taklāku (OBTR 322). Before turning to a detailed discussion of these *līmū* it will be useful to make a new inventory of the background information provided by this archive, for, although there is still no firm basis for a consensus on the date of these texts, it is possible now to refine the historical context beyond the analysis provided by Hawkins.

First, the rejection of a date between Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari and the end of Zimri-Lim's reign can be made more categorical. Not only is there a complete change of administration between the letters of group f) and those of groups a), b), and e), known to date to the later part of this period, but the fact that the obviously high-ranking administrative officials mentioned in group f) are completely absent from the Mari archives argues strongly against a date during the time that Šamšī-Adad controlled both Mari and the area around Tell Rimah. Furthermore, one of the letters in this group (OBTR 305) mentions a certain Išme-Eraḫ who is said to be at Sabum with 2,000 troops and who obviously constitutes a potential military threat to the area. It does not seem likely that a threat of this size would go unnoticed at Mari, but Išme-Eraḫ does not appear in the correspondence either of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty or of Zimri-Lim.<sup>126</sup>

Next, we can redefine, at least for the purposes of this paper, the terms used by Hawkins, "early in the reign of Šamšī-Adad" and "prior to his reign"<sup>127</sup>, to be consistent with the 57 year reign of Šamšī-Adad reconstructed here rather than with the 33 years that he ruled Assyria. "Early in the reign of Šamšī-Adad" then corresponds to the time between the conquest of Aššur and the capture of Mari, or, roughly, to the gap between sections B and E of the MEC. "Prior to his reign" then encompasses anything back from the end of section B. There is still sufficient room between sections B and E to accommodate all of the *līmū* from this archive. If they are placed before the conquest of Ekallātum, however, this will automat-

<sup>125</sup> Cf. 'Eponyms', pp. 204-205, b and c. The significant extension of our knowledge of the *līmū* of this period in the time since these tablets were copied suggests that collation of these *līmū* might repay the effort.

<sup>126</sup> It could be pointed out that several of the letters from Ḫasidanum to Yasmaḫ-Adad (ARM V: 36, 37, 43) report precautions taken against a military threat by an unspecified enemy that are expressed in almost exactly the same terms as those used in the Tell Rimah letter. Since Ḫasidanum is known to have operated in this particular area (see below), a scenario could be constructed in which a local ruler has submitted to Šamšī-Adad and has been allowed to maintain his position as a client prince. This local ruler (LUGAL) is then responsible for the internal administration of his 'kingdom' (his administrators remain his 'servants'), while Ḫasidanum (or whoever) functions as a 'resident commissioner', responsible to his superior (Šamšī-Adad, Išme-Daḡān, or Yasmaḫ-Adad) for good order and discipline, defense, safeguarding the interests of the empire, and liaison between the local ruler and the imperial hierarchy. Under these circumstances, it is quite possible that the local administrators might never be named in the correspondence of the resident commissioner and even the name of the local ruler, falling into the category of information that everyone knows and therefore not necessary to state, might not be mentioned. This is only a scenario, a hypothetical reconstruction that would account for an archive that might have documented local administration under the dominion of Šamšī-Adad and yet be transparent to his presence. The *līmū* found with this particular archive will show that it was not compiled during the time that Šamšī-Adad controlled Mari.

<sup>127</sup> OBTR, p. 202.

ically raise the minimum length of Šamšī-Adad's reign.<sup>128</sup> If these *līmū* are not placed between sections B and E of the MEC, the next place that they can be inserted is between A and B, about 30 years earlier. There is, however, a limit to the number of *līmū* that can be inserted at this point<sup>129</sup>, which we have previously estimated at about two to three.<sup>130</sup> It is possible that the minimum of five *līmū* that are necessary to date this archive to this point could be fitted into this gap, but it seems unlikely.<sup>131</sup> The next place where these *līmū* can be put is before section A of the MEC, some 17 years earlier. In other words, if the *līmū* of groups c) and f) do not belong roughly between the time of Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur and his capture of Mari, then the next likely place for them is at least 50 years earlier.

These alternatives allow us to reach some conclusions about the length of time that may have been covered by all of the texts found at Tell Rimah. It is generally agreed that group b) (the Iltani archive) represents the latest dated texts from Tell Rimah and that this archive came to an end around the time of the end of Zimri-Lim's reign.<sup>132</sup> If the *līmū* from groups c) and f) are to be placed between Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur and his capture of Mari, then the maximum extent of the period covered by the texts from Tell Rimah is about 50–60 years.<sup>133</sup> This is within the productive span of a human lifetime and covers a period of 2–3 generations. If, however, these *līmū* are not placed in this gap, then the minimum period covered by these texts is about 100–110 years (*i.e.*, the previous number plus 50). This is not within the normal lifespan of a human being and covers 4–6 generations.

With these numbers in mind, we can see if there is any internal evidence from these archives that would make one alternative or the other more likely. First, we can consider prosopographical links. This type of evidence is almost always based on probabilities, and a large number of factors can bear on the probability that the same name in two or more different texts refers to the same individual. These factors include such things as frequency (the same name in almost every text in an archive would almost certainly refer to the same person), number (the more names there are in common between two texts, the more likely it is that all the common names refer to the same persons), how common the name is (the

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<sup>128</sup> See above, note 74.

<sup>129</sup> See above, note 22.

<sup>130</sup> See above, note 69.

<sup>131</sup> The *līmū* from group c) do not necessarily have to be manipulated together with those of group f), so it is possible that there are only four *līmū* that must be placed in the gap. The term "approximately contemporary" used to describe these two groups (see above, p. 190) seems to imply no more than 'within the productive part of a human lifetime'. Certainly it does not imply that group c) must form a consecutive block of time with group f). Furthermore, the likelihood that several *līmū* from an archive must fit into a lengthy list of *līmū* at precisely the point where that list is broken and in so doing fill the break completely seems to me rather small.

<sup>132</sup> OBTR, pp. 31–32; *cf.* 'Eponyms', pp. 196–197.

<sup>133</sup> That is, the remainder of the reign of Šamšī-Adad plus the reign of Zimri-Lim plus a possible few additional years after this.



rarer the name, the more likely multiple occurrences refer to the same person), the time span (the farther apart in time, the less likely to refer to the same person), the context (persons appearing at the same point in similar texts are likely to be the same), and specific identifying remarks (such as professions, titles, or patronymics). Unfortunately, the probabilities that I speak of are not quantifiable, even when only one factor is involved, and their assessment is often more subjective than the use of a mathematical term such as 'probability' would imply.

Time and space are not sufficient here to indulge in a full-scale prosopographic investigation of all the texts from Tell Rimah and I will limit myself primarily to the links that can be established between a single text and the other archives from the site. OBTR 322 is a large (3 columns obverse and reverse) tablet that lists in each entry an amount of field, an amount of grain, and a personal name. The entries are divided into sections that represent geographical or administrative areas. Unfortunately, the tablet is broken so all of its information is not preserved. It is dated with the *līmu warki* Aššur-taklāku and belongs to group f). Hawkins has characterized this text as a record of issues of seed grain.<sup>134</sup> Whatever its exact purpose may have been, it is very likely that those persons listed in it held land at the pleasure of the state and, although the rank or status of the individuals listed must have varied, it would not be surprising to find anyone listed there occurring elsewhere as an administrative official. Indeed, Hawkins has already pointed out that many of the officials occurring in the letters from group f) are also to be found in this text.<sup>135</sup>

This, then, makes a good place to begin a brief investigation of the links between text OBTR 322 and texts related to it and the remainder of the texts from the site.

- Group f) (OBTR 278-335): In addition to Aḥam-arši, Warad-Šarrim and Larim-Ei, known as senders or recipients of letters, the following names from OBTR 322 are found in the letters: Yakūn-diri (OBTR 287); Yumraṣ-Ei (OBTR 291, 311, 312) [two persons with this name in OBTR 322]; Labu'anu (OBTR 297); Zarriqu (OBTR 302); Kaniya (OBTR 308). In several instances the letters refer to the assignment of land to these individuals. In the other field assignment texts of this group the following names from OBTR 322 are found: Zurrata, Aya-abu, Yakūn-diri (OBTR 317); Larim-Ei (OBTR 323). In OBTR 331 three out of the four names<sup>136</sup> are found in OBTR 322: Mār-Šamaš, Ibaya, Yakūn-salim. In OBTR

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<sup>134</sup> OBTR, pp. 240-241.

<sup>135</sup> OBTR, pp. 197, 240-241. I suspect that others of this group such as Atanaḥ and Yašuba are lost in the broken sections of OBTR 322 since I would expect all of the local administrators (with the exception of the highest level, such as Ilī-Šamaš and Iškur-mansum; see above, note 123, and below, note 160) to have been included in this list. Yašuba actually occurs in OBTR 323, which is a short list of field assignments that may have been used to draw up tablets like OBTR 322. Other names from the letters may have been masked behind hypercoristica (such as Abdiya in OBTR 283 and Abdu-lštar in OBTR 322: i 30') or by variant orthographies.

<sup>136</sup> The fourth, Yakūn-Adad, appears in OBTR 326, a text the purpose of which eludes me. However, of the nine recognizable names in this text, five occur in OBTR 322 and all but two are found in other texts of this group. I suspect that the missing (in OBTR 322) Yakūn-Adad is hidden behind the name registered as *ia-ku-*

332 both of the preserved names also occur in OBTR 322: Mār-Šamaš, Ibaya. Half (i.e., one) of the names in OBTR 329 are found in OBTR 322: Samsī-etar. In OBTR 326 five of the nine identifiable names also occur in OBTR 322: Aḫī-Lim; Pulsiya; Mār-Šamaš; Samsu-bali; Ila-šur. The woman (the only one specifically identified as such in OBTR 322) Egennadḫi appears also in OBTR 324 and 325. Samsuma of OBTR 322 may appear as Sam-sama in OBTR 319. OBTR 318 names several heads of sections (KUD);<sup>137</sup> Yakuya is also found in OBTR 322 (OBTR 321 is a muster list of his section) and Yarim-Adad is probably to be restored in OBTR 322: i 33'. In addition to Yakuya, the following names from OBTR 322 are found in the muster list of his section (OBTR 321): Allašarum; Kuzizu; Zimmiya.

- Group c) (OBTR 223-243): This group contains two field assignment texts (OBTR 229, 231) plus two texts that might be so classified (OBTR 224, 230). The following names from OBTR 322 occur in these texts: Tešub-ewri, Katirḫe (OBTR 224); Allašarum (OBTR 229); Ḫalu-rapi<sup>138</sup> (OBTR 230); Tešub-ewri, Ḫazip-Šimiga, Aya-abu (OBTR 231). These last two names occur together in OBTR 231 and 322. In addition, there is one text that could record an issue of seed grain (OBTR 236). The following names from OBTR 322 appear in this text: Allašarum, Ibaya.
- Group d) (OBTR 244-249): This is the earliest group from the palace. Although there is a large tablet included (OBTR 244), only two names can be matched with OBTR 322: Kizzibu<sup>139</sup>, Zakku (also in OBTR 246). The name Alpuya is found in OBTR 244 and 321, while Nuriya occurs in OBTR 244, 246 and 323.
- Group e) (OBTR 250-273): This group contains primarily the wine and beer texts and is post-Šamšī-Adad in date. There are two matches with OBTR 322 among the officials found in these texts: Pulsiya (OBTR 255, 263); Samsu-bali (OBTR 255, 262). Both of these names also appear in the obscure text OBTR 326 belonging to group f). Two names occur here and in OBTR 321: Milku-ma-Ei (OBTR 261); Mutu-nari (OBTR 268). A connection between Ḫatti (OBTR 253, 257) and Ḫatte (OBTR 321) could also be postulated. The name Ḫazip-Aranzi occurs both here (OBTR 257) and in group c) (OBTR 231; field assignments).
- Group a) (OBTR 1-18): This group is made up primarily of letters from foreigners to the local ruler. There are only two very brief administrative texts and no matches with OBTR 322.

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*un-d<sup>1</sup>lim* (OBTR 322: i 10') in the Index to OBTR since the scribe has a tendency to place the vertical wedge of his IM sign before the horizontal (cf. OBTR 322: i 7', ii 10', ii 24', etc.) and the writing of *d<sup>1</sup>Lim* with the signs AN.ŠI is sufficiently unusual to arouse suspicion in any case.

<sup>137</sup> For a list of heads of sections mentioned in group f), see OBTR, p. 230.

<sup>138</sup> OBTR 322: Ḫalum-ṛapi.

<sup>139</sup> OBTR 322: Kizziba.

- Group b) (OBTR 19-222): This is the archive of Iltani, the largest group of texts, containing well over half of the tablets found at the site. It is also the latest group, although group e) should be about the same date. The majority of the texts are letters, but many of these obviously deal with local administration. The administrative texts are mostly short, but there are several ration texts, almost duplicates, that list the members of Iltani's household (OBTR 206-211). The following links with OBTR 322 can be found in the letters from group b): In OBTR 69 is found a reference to "the people of Aya-abu" (*ni-ši ša A-ia-a-bi*); OBTR 142 mentions Himdiya and Šilliya (this last name does not occur in OBTR 322, but could easily be restored in v 2; it does occur in group c) as *ši-li-ia* [OBTR 231]); OBTR 144 provides a reference to Habdi-Ištar (Abdu-Ištar in OBTR 322). In the administrative texts of group b) the following links with OBTR 322 can be noted: Sinniya (OBTR 202, 203); Zarriqu (OBTR 207, 208); Hazip-Šimiga (OBTR 218). In addition to these links with OBTR 322, there are also a number of connections with the administrative texts of group b) and the letters of group f): Ibbiya (OBTR 281; 194, 202, 203)<sup>140</sup>; Kizzi (OBTR 289; 206, etc.); Zarriqu (OBTR 302; 207, 208). There are also some common names between these texts and the administrative texts of group f): Tiziham (OBTR 317; 206, etc.); Huziri (OBTR 319; 206, etc.); Inibšina (OBTR 324, 325; 30 [a letter]); Abdu-šuri (OBTR 316, 326; 143 [a letter]). Finally, in one of the seal inscriptions from group b), a servant of Aqba-Hammu, Inib-Šamaš, is said to be the son of Zakku (OBTR seal 16); this last name also appears in OBTR 322.

The result is a mass of undigested documentation that the reader would do well to skip over. In order to make sense of it, it should be reduced to a chart that would show the interconnections among the various archives or groups. However, that is not my purpose for collecting this data here.<sup>141</sup> The point that I want to make is that between the texts from the temple, groups c) and f), and the latest texts from the palace, group b) and e), the following names are found in common: Abdu-šuri, Aya-abu, (H)abdi/u-Ištar, Hatti/e, Hazip-Aranzi, Hazip-Šimiga, Himdiya, Huziri, Ibbiya, Inibšina, Kišsurum, Kizzi, Milku-ma-El, Mutu-nari, Pulsiya, Samsu-ba(h)li, Sinniya, Šilliya, Tiziham, Zakku, Zarriqu. The probability that these matches refer to the same persons is affected by the factors outlined above plus some others, and I am certain that no one would believe me if I claimed that each and every one represented the same person. On the other hand, were I to claim that not one of these matches referred to the same person, it would be equally incredible. This is the point that is at issue. For it is not necessary to prove that all, or even most, of these references are to the same person; if just one of these 21 common attestations refer to the same person, that is

<sup>140</sup> This name could be restored in OBTR 322: vi 3 which has *Ib-bi*-[ ].

<sup>141</sup> It is also incomplete for this purpose since I have not collected the links between the contemporary groups from the palace; nor have I included the very common name Kišsurum, which occurs in groups b), d), e), and f); nor have I noted some connections between groups c) and f), such as Buniya in OBTR 241 and 314, or within group f), such as Apkila in OBTR 290 and 317.

sufficient to prove that the *līmū* of group f) must be placed between sections B and E of the MEC.

Obviously, anyone whose name occurred in the texts of groups c) or f) would be quite old and near the end of his career if he is found also in group b) or e).<sup>142</sup> Conversely, anyone still alive at the time of the later texts would have been quite young at the time of the texts of groups c) and f). Thus the most likely productive matches would be found with persons who appear inconsequential or of low rank in the earlier texts, and it is hardly surprising that the administrative officials who appear in the letters of group f) are not found among the matches, or that of the ten heads of sections listed by Hawkins<sup>143</sup> only one name, Huziri, appears in the later texts. Finally, there is the fact that of the 21 matches between the texts of the two periods, almost half (9 or possibly 10) of these names stem from a single tablet, OBTR 322, known to have contained the names of administrative officials and others holding fields at the pleasure of the state.<sup>144</sup> Surely this is too heavy a burden to place on coincidence.

Another point can be discussed in connection with the texts from Tell Rimah, but at the present state of our knowledge its specific contribution to chronological precision is limited. As far as can be ascertained, all the texts found at Tell Rimah utilize the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar. This is true even in texts from the time that the site was presumably under Babylonian control.<sup>145</sup> Unfortunately, we have no idea of the origin of this calendar. The name 'Šamšī-Adad' is applied to it simply as a convenient designation because it is persistently found at sites that can be associated by other means with Šamšī-Adad: Mari, Chagar Bazar, Tell Tāya, and now Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil). But while all sites that attest Šamšī-Adad's

<sup>142</sup> Note OBTR 134: 27-28: SAG.ARÁD.MEŠ *ša a-bi id-di-nam iš-ti-bu* "the slaves that my father gave me have grown old". This letter was written to Iltani by her sister (?), Amat-Šamaš. Thus the person referred to by "my father" may be Samu-Adad, known from the seal of Iltani (OBTR seal 13) and referred to in ARM IV: 26 as a contemporary of Išme-Dagān and Yasmaḥ-Adad. Cf. M. Gallery, Review of "S. Dalley, C.B.F. Walker, J. D. Hawkins, The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell Al Rimah, London 1976", JNES 40, 1981, pp. 343-349, esp. p. 345, note 5, and below, notes 183 and 184.

<sup>143</sup> See above, note 137.

<sup>144</sup> In putting together the information given above, another interesting fact about tablet OBTR 322 came to my notice. By my count, there are 112 names in this text that are either completely preserved or uniquely identifiable. These names are divided equally between the first section and the remainder of the text (56 in each). Of the 37 names of OBTR 322 that are attested elsewhere among the other texts from the site, 26 of them (approximately 70%) come from the first section. This is an impressive percentage, but it pales beside the observation that of the 25 names from OBTR 322 that are found in the letters and other administrative texts from group f), 23 of them (92%) come from the first section. This is a truly impressive percentage. Clearly there is some bias, probably geographical, that rules against coincidence as the basis for these occurrences. In support of the idea that this is a geographical bias, we can note that of the 4 names from OBTR 322 that occur in group d) where they are listed under various towns (cf. OBTR, p. 171), not one comes from the first section of OBTR 322. Since the first section of OBTR 322 contains the entry for Qaṭarā, one wonders if there is not some connection between this location and the name of the site where the tablets containing so many names associated with it were found. While this does not materially affect the argumentation for the identity of the site (OBTR, pp. 34-36), it is a fact that, to my knowledge, has not previously been taken into account.

<sup>145</sup> A possible exception is the intercalary Addaru in OBTR 213 (see above, note 43). If this month exists, it is clearly Babylonian since Addaru is the eighth month of the eponym year but the twelfth month of the Babylonian year. However, in the same way that *līmū* are used rather than Babylonian year names, there is no other trace of Babylonian month names at Tell Rimah.

presence have *līmu* dates and the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar, there is nothing that proves the converse, that the presence of these two features ensures the hand of Šamšī-Adad. If it could be shown when this calendar was placed in use it might help to limit the date of groups c) and f) at Tell Rimah, but at the present time this information is not available to us. Whether this calendar was that of the seat of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty or whether it belonged to some place that he conquered in his long career as well as when it came into being are questions that need to be answered before its mere presence can be used to draw historical or chronological conclusions. In the meantime, we can make a few observations:

- It is not the calendar of Aššur of the Old Assyrian period with which it has nothing in common.
- Its closest known relative seems to be the calendar of Ešnunna with which it has six months in common.<sup>146</sup>
- It also has two months in common with the contemporary Mari calendar. However, the Mari calendar has three months in common with the Ešnunna calendar.
- It has a distinctive intercalary month, ITI DIRI.X (X is a sign similar to UD), attested at Tell Rimah and Tell Leilan.<sup>147</sup>

The fact that the intercalary month for the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar is attested at Šubat-Enlil, clearly during the reign of Šamšī-Adad, could indicate that the Tell Rimah occurrence should be placed near the same time, but there is no hard evidence that requires this.

Finally, we come to the *līmū* themselves. The one identifiable *līmu* from group c), Warad-Sîn, is not attested elsewhere. It is possible that it might belong in the gap between sections A and B of the MEC (some 30-33 years before the conquest of Aššur) but this seems too long a span of time to separate it from the texts of group f). The faint traces at the end of the *līmu* B:29 from the MEC (the *līmu* after the reconstructed location of Ibni-Adad) would be compatible with a restoration of [ARÁD-<sup>d</sup>EN.Z]U and this seems like about the right place in time for it. While there is nothing against this possibility, there is nothing much for it either, and it remains just that, a possibility. It is equally likely that it belongs between sections B and E.

Of the four *līmū* from group f), three are attested at other sites; but as I noted at the beginning of this section, these parallels create more problems than they solve. Aḫi-yaya is found at Mari, Chagar Bazar, and Kültepe;<sup>148</sup> Tuttaya occurs at Boghazköy;<sup>149</sup> Aššur-taklāku is

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<sup>146</sup> See above, note 58.

<sup>147</sup> See above, note 43.

<sup>148</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 3; the Mari *līmu* Aḫi-yaya is clearly the same as the one from Kültepe because of the patronymic.

<sup>149</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 42.

attested in the MEC (D: 4), and at Tell Leilan (L 85-1), Aššur, and Kültepe.<sup>150</sup> The remaining *līmu*, Ušur-ša-Aššur, is not attested elsewhere.<sup>151</sup>

The *līmu* Aḫi-yaya found at Mari must be dated after the death of Šamšī-Adad, and, furthermore, can only be a very few years after this event (see above). If the Tell Rimah occurrence (OBTR 314) is the same *līmu* then the text in which it occurs must be almost exactly contemporary with the texts from group a). However, the remainder of the texts from group f) certainly cannot be dated to this point in time as pointed out by Hawkins and reinforced by the additional comments made above. Therefore, if the Aḫi-yaya *līmu* from Tell Rimah is connected with the Mari *līmu* then the text that bears it must be separated from the rest of group f) by at least the amount of time that Šamšī-Adad controlled Mari, or more than 20 years. This does not seem feasible for a number of reasons.<sup>152</sup> The conclusion is that there must have been two Aḫi-yaya *līmu*, one shortly after the death of Šamšī-Adad and one that belongs sometime between his conquest of Aššur and his capture of Mari.<sup>153</sup>

The *līmu* Tuttaya that occurs at Boghazköy provides little in the way of clarification for where the Tell Rimah *līmu* of group f) should be placed, since the archaeological, historical, and chronological context of the *līmu* from Boghazköy is far from clear.<sup>154</sup> In fact, it seems

<sup>150</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 9; cf. 'Report', note 36.

<sup>151</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 43.

<sup>152</sup> The archaeological context argues against it, but these tablets were found in a secondary deposit that had been disturbed by building activity, and an intrusive tablet is not impossible. There is only one name in the text, Buniya, so prosopographic links are inconclusive. The most compelling argument seems to be an accounting procedure that this tablet shares with text OBTR 316, namely the recording of the entries in one measuring system and the totals in another. The summary of OBTR 314 reads as follows (38-42):

ŠU.NIGÍN 16 ANŠE 2 (BAN) ŠE  
i-na GIŠ.BÁN ŠE.BA  
up-pu-úš-ma  
10 ANŠE 1 (PI) ŠE 6 2/3 ŠILA ŠE  
i-na GIŠ.BÁN šī-ib-ši

1620 sila of barley calculated in the measure of barley rations  
(being) 1066.66 sila in the measure of the *šibšu*-tax.

The ratio of the first number to the second is 1.519 so the measure of the *šibšu*-tax was about one and a half times larger than the measure for barley rations. I am indebted to Jöran Friberg who pointed out the relationship between these totals in a lecture at Chicago in 1986. If we make the obvious restorations from the copy in lines 1 and 2 of OBTR 316, 80 ANŠE and 6 ANŠE respectively, the resulting total of the entries is 23,583.33 sila. The total given in the text is 14,540 sila and the ratio of these two numbers is 1.622 which is close to the figure in OBTR 314, but not really close enough. However, if we assume that there is a missing *winkelhaken* in the total (1 ME 55 ANŠE instead of 1 ME 45) then the total is 15,540 sila and the ratio of the entries to the total is 1.518, an exact (by Babylonian mathematical standards) match with the ratio in OBTR 314. Thus the entries were made in the measure for barley rations while the total is given in the measure of the *šibšu*-tax (as stated in the text). This procedure is sufficiently unusual to link OBTR 314 to 316. Since OBTR 316 has the *līmu* Ušur-ša-Aššur, we are faced with either moving yet another *līmu* (and the three texts that bear it) down after the death of Šamšī-Adad or keeping the *līmu* of Aḫi-yaya with the rest of group f). The latter seems to me the preferable course.

<sup>153</sup> If we consider moving the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya found at Chagar Bazar up to match the Tell Rimah *līmu*, we are faced with the same problem in reverse. Not only would this make Aḫi-yaya the earliest *līmu* attested at Chagar Bazar by about 15-20 years, but it would also mean separating two almost identical administrative texts by a minimum of 17 years (see above, note 54). The Chagar Bazar *līmu* clearly belongs with the Mari Aḫi-yaya, after the death of Šamšī-Adad. cf. 'Report', note 36.

<sup>154</sup> For a summary of these problems, see: 'Eponyms', pp. 199-200.

more likely that a reasonable reconstruction of the *līmu* of Šamšī-Adad's reign would be an aid in putting the *līmu* from Boghazköy into some sort of perspective (see below).

The *līmu* Aššur-taklāku is more promising for providing a realistic correlation of the Tell Rimah *līmu*. However, I will preface its discussion by pointing out that the name is common and that there are two different *līmu* of this name at Tell Leilan and apparently two occurrences in Kültepe Ib.<sup>155</sup> In the MEC this *līmu* comes after the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim recorded in the *līmu* Atanum. As I stated above, I find no difficulty in identifying the Tell Leilan and Aššur occurrences of Aššur-taklāku son of Ennam-[...] with this *līmu* in the MEC (D:4). If our working assumption stated earlier, that the defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim recorded in the *līmu* Atanum (D:3) refers to his final defeat by Šamšī-Adad, is correct, then the *līmu* Atanum should be about 3–4 years before the conquest of Mari, the *līmu* Aššur-taklāku should be 2–3 years before this event, and the Tell Rimah tablet (which has the *warki līmu*) should be only 1–2 years before it. We have tentatively identified the conquest of Mari with the *līmu* Haya-malik, or, in the present reconstruction, Šamšī-Adad 36\*. The Tell Rimah tablet that has this date is OBTR 322, discussed extensively earlier in this section. If this tablet is to be dated around Šamšī-Adad 34\*–35\* this means that the time between its date and the end of group b) (the Iltani archive) would be about 40–45 years. This would accord quite well with the interconnections that we have found between this tablet and the texts of group b), and I feel quite comfortable in identifying the Tell Rimah Aššur-taklāku with the Tell Leilan, Aššur, and MEC occurrences.

The question that remains to be answered is: How do the other *līmu* from group f) relate to the *līmu* Aššur-taklāku? If one wants the closest possible relationship, then the three remaining *līmu* must be placed after Aššur-taklāku and the possibility that one of these *līmu* actually corresponds to the *līmu warki* Aššur-taklāku found on OBTR 322 must be exercised. This would mean that the *līmu* from group f) are consecutive years and come just before Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari. It would also mean that Haya-malik is the fifth *līmu* after Atanum and that Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Mari came five (eponym) years after his defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim. However, because of the overlap of the Babylonian and the eponym year, events separated by five eponym years could span only four Babylonian years;<sup>156</sup> and the figure of 3–4 (Babylonian) years that should separate these events is only an estimate.<sup>157</sup> On the other hand, the comment made above, about the likelihood of being able to squeeze all of the *līmu* from an archive into a gap and thereby completely fill the gap<sup>158</sup> would seem to apply here, even if one of the *līmu* is in this case attested immediately before the gap.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 9 and p. 197, *sub f*), end.

<sup>156</sup> See above, note 27.

<sup>157</sup> See above, note 82.

<sup>158</sup> See above, note 131.

As far as the likelihood of these *līmu* being consecutive years or which of them might correspond to *warki* Aššur-taklāku is concerned, the internal evidence of the texts is not particularly strong. This is not to say that it refutes the possibility, rather it simply does not offer a basis for making a decision. The text with the *līmu* of Tuttaya (OBTR 315) has no specific connection with any other text, being a very brief note of an issue of subsistence containing no personal names. The text with the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya (OBTR 314) is linked only to OBTR 316 (*līmu* of Ušur-ša-Aššur) by the accounting procedure described above,<sup>159</sup> hardly a basis for claiming that the two *līmu* represent consecutive years. There are reasonably good prosopographic connections between the texts with the *līmu* Ušur-ša-Aššur (OBTR 316-318) and OBTR 322 (*warki* Aššur-taklāku), but this is not a valid reason for identifying the *līmu* Ušur-ša-Aššur with *warki* Aššur-taklāku in the absence of comparable textual material from the other *līmu* on which to base a decision.

In the absence of any specific indications in the texts themselves, we must fall back to the general historical situation in order to draw some conclusions about the position of the remaining *līmu* from this archive. OBTR 317 (*līmu* of Ušur-ša-Aššur) has impressions of the seal of Ilī-Šamaš, servant of an unknown king.<sup>160</sup> I can visualize two historical situations that this fact might reflect:

- (1) The unknown king is the local ruler and Ilī-Šamaš is an official in his service. The *šā-piṭum*<sup>161</sup> could be the 'resident commissioner' of Šamšī-Adad or some other overlord.<sup>162</sup> In this case, Šamšī-Adad could be in control of the city.
- (2) Ilī-Šamaš is the local ruler and the unknown king is an overlord not resident at Tell Rimah.<sup>163</sup> The *šāpiṭum* is the 'resident commissioner' of the unknown king. In this case, Šamšī-Adad cannot be in control of the city.

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<sup>159</sup> See above, note 152.

<sup>160</sup> See above, note 123. There is one fact that I find troublesome in the analysis by Hawkins (OBTR, pp. 197-199) of the personnel of this archive and the characterization of Ilī-Šamaš as an 'official of middle rank', and that is the seal of Niḫmatum (OBTR seal 2) in which she is called GEMÉ Ilī-Šamaš. The translation given for this expression, 'serving-woman of Ilī-Šamaš', obscures the nature of the relationship established by the context, for GEMÉ here is simply the feminine counterpart of ARÁD in seals where the owner is male. 'Serving-women' do not own seals; 'serving-women' do not write expostulatory letters to administrative officials. Dalley, OBTR, p. 32, invokes the rule that ARÁD PN (personal name) in a seal inscription implies ARÁD RN (royal name) in order to show that Aqba-Ḥammu was a ruler at Tell Rimah since this fact is not obvious from his own seal inscriptions (OBTR seals 14 i, 14 ii). The question is does GEMÉ PN also imply GEMÉ RN. At the present time I do not have an answer to this question. Its full study would surely be more detailed and complex than any that could be undertaken here. My impression is that while the *bēlum-wardum* relationship exists between a ruler and his subject, the *bēlum-amtum* relationship may exist not only between ruler and subject but between husband and wife (thus in the correspondence between Zimri-Lim and Šibtum, ARMT 10, *passim*). It is possible that this relationship between husband and wife may not have existed if the husband was not also a ruler; furthermore, a relationship expressed in letters may not have been expressed in seal inscriptions. In any case, a seal inscription with the statement GEMÉ Ilī-Šamaš raises important questions about the position of both the owner of the seal and Ilī-Šamaš that cannot be ignored.

<sup>161</sup> See above, note 123.

<sup>162</sup> See above, note 126.

<sup>163</sup> Compare the seal of Aqba-Ḥammu (OBTR seal 14 ii), servant of Ḥammu-rapi. On the basis of this seal alone, one would never guess that Aqba-Ḥammu was a ruler.



Situation (1) grows out of the interpretation provided by Hawkins<sup>164</sup> and probably reflects the current view. Situation (2) is a departure from this view and requires some further explanation.

The possibility that *Ilī-Šamaš* may have been a local ruler arises from the seal inscription of *Niḫmatum GEMÉ Ilī-Šamaš* discussed above.<sup>165</sup> I find nothing in the letters of group f) that contradicts this possibility. In the 21 letters written by *Ilī-Šamaš* (OBTR 278-298) he obviously speaks with authority and is accustomed to having his orders obeyed.<sup>166</sup> From the two letters written to *Ilī-Šamaš* (OBTR 301-302), Hawkins concluded that he was subject to the orders of *Larim-El* and *Aḫam-arši*.<sup>167</sup> This is not the impression that these two letters give to me.<sup>168</sup> In both of these letters, the senders offer explanations for their requests, something that *Ilī-Šamaš* never does. Furthermore, the implication of OBTR 302, sent by *Aḫam-arši*, seems to be that *Ilī-Šamaš* and *Iškur-mansum*, presumably the *šāpīṭum*, are at about the same level in status. Nor is there anything unusual in a ruler's seal appearing on an administrative text (OBTR 317).<sup>169</sup> The only thing that might argue against *Ilī-Šamaš* being a local ruler is that OBTR 322:i 15' could very easily be restored as *ī-lī-[Sa-ma-á]s*.<sup>170</sup>

There is no conclusive evidence that makes either situation (1) or situation (2) more likely, since each is based simply on differing interpretations of the same evidence. The main difference in the two situations from the point of view of the reconstruction of *Šamšī-Adad's* reign is that in (1) he could have been in control of Tell Rimah at the time of the *līmu* *Ušur-ša-Aššur* and in (2) he could not.

It was stated above in discussing section C of the MEC that because the capture of *Šerwunum* and *Ḫaburatum* is mentioned in this section, it should be around the same time that Tell Rimah came under *Šamšī-Adad's* control. I would expect that, in any case, Tell Rimah was held by *Šamšī-Adad* before his conquest of Mari. Therefore, if *Šamšī-Adad* was in control of Tell Rimah during the *līmu* *Ušur-ša-Aššur*, then this *līmu* can be placed close to the conquest of Mari; otherwise, it should be placed earlier, presumably around the time of the

<sup>164</sup> OBTR, pp. 197-202.

<sup>165</sup> See above, note 160.

<sup>166</sup> Note especially letter OBTR 282 for his reaction to a disobeyed order.

<sup>167</sup> OBTR, p. 198.

<sup>168</sup> There is nothing particularly peremptory about the use of the Akkadian imperative. It is simply one way of making a request. The language surrounding the imperative can change the tone, but there is nothing unusual in Akkadian about a subordinate addressing an imperative to a superior, even if the superior is a ruler, or, indeed, even a deity.

<sup>169</sup> The seals of both *Aqba-Ḫammu* and *Iltani* are found on a number of administrative texts from group b). Note also the seal of *Yakūn-Ašar*, king of Apum, on wine texts at Tell Leilan (see below).

<sup>170</sup> I implied above, note 135, that *Ilī-Šamaš* belonged to the highest level of administration because his name, although prominent in the letters, did not occur in OBTR 322. If his name is in this text, then this entire reconstruction is invalid.

*līmu* from section C of the MEC (whenever that may be).<sup>171</sup> There is nothing that places the *līmu* Aḫi-yaya and Tuttaya with more precision than somewhere between the conquest of Aššur and the capture of Mari.

### The *līmu* from Tell Tāya

During the excavations at Tell Tāya, two tablets of the Old Babylonian period were re-covered.<sup>172</sup> Each tablet has impressions of a seal of Ḥasidanum, servant of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>173</sup> One of the tablets is dated with the *līmu* of Idna-Aššur son of Abi-šalim.<sup>174</sup> It is highly probable that Tell Tāya is to be identified with Zami'ātum of the Tell Rimah texts.<sup>175</sup>

The two administrative tablets do not provide much of a basis for categorical imperatives about their precise dating. However, they do clearly connect the site with Šamšī-Adad and give a clear *līmu* date; larger tablet finds have provided less. Obviously, the seal of a servant of Šamšī-Adad means that the *līmu* must fall within the reign of Šamšī-Adad or shortly afterward.<sup>176</sup> The *līmu* is not attested at Mari so it must be placed either in the gap between section B and E of the MEC or after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

<sup>171</sup> One can note that the *līmu* before Atanum in the MEC is [...]–Aššur (D:2) and an identification of this *līmu* with Ušur-ša-Aššur could be suggested. However, the amount of space covered by the break does not seem adequate to accommodate the signs Ū, ZUR, and ŠA, all of which are fairly long, and such an identification is unlikely.

<sup>172</sup> Published by: J.N. Postgate, Tell Taya Tablets, 1972–73, in: J.E. Reade, Tell Taya (1972–73): Summary Report, Iraq 35, 1973, pp. 155–187, Appendix 1, pp. 173–175 and plates LXXI–LXXII; hereafter cited as 'Taya Tablets' and 'Taya' respectively.

<sup>173</sup> 'Taya Tablets', p. 173:

1	ha-si-da-nu-um	1	Hasidanum
2	dumu an-za-nu-um	2	son of Anzanum
3	ir sa-am-si- <sup>d</sup> IM	3	servant of Samsi-Adad

This seal legend is unaccountably missing from the seals of servants of Šamšī-Adad presented in: A.K. Grayson, Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennium BC (to 1115 BC), RIMA 1, Toronto 1987, as is the seal of Yarim-Adad from the envelope of ARM VIII: 15.

<sup>174</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 24.

<sup>175</sup> One of the Tell Tāya texts (TA 2100) records an administrative transfer of land "in Zami'ātum" from one individual to another (the name of the second person is (H)adniya, written Ad-ni-ia [the first sign of the name is clearly AD in both the copy and the photograph]; for the writing, note 'Documents' 133, and compare: P. Villard, Textes n° 535 à 627, in: G. Bardet et al., Archives administratives de Mari 1, ARMT XXIII, Paris 1984, pp. 453–585, esp. p. 477, note 55, and: I.J. Gelb et al., Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite, AS 21, Chicago 1980, pp. 258–259, s.v. 'DN). Zami'ātum occurs at Tell Rimah in administrative texts from groups c), d), and f). The association of the Tell Rimah references with the place name written *za-mi-ia-tam<sup>ki</sup>* located on the (Lower) Zāb and captured by Šamšī-Adad during the course of the Qabrā campaign (ARM I: 121), as done by: B. Groneberg, Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit, RGTC 3, TAVO B 7/3, Wiesbaden 1980, is not possible. The four occurrences of Zami'ātum at Tell Rimah all refer to local administrative affairs; the probability that these references are to a place like Tell Tāya, which is about eight kilometers from Tell Rimah, rather than a place that is some unspecified distance on the other side of the Tigris does not require elaboration. Furthermore, the Tell Tāya textual reference to Zami'ātum was not included by B. Groneberg. This Zami'ātum can hardly have been more than a village, one of the numerous rural agricultural settlements that surrounded the fortified cities into which their populations and livestock were gathered in the event of a military threat. For our purposes here, the political fate of Tell Tāya must be considered the same as that of Tell Rimah.

<sup>176</sup> This was pointed out by Reade, 'Taya', pp. 172–173. We are faced here with the same problem as that presented by the Tell Leilan *līmu*. The difference is that here there is only a single *līmu* involved so that there is no particular constriction with regard to the amount of time available. A single *līmu* can be inserted into practically any break without unduly upsetting any chronological considerations.

If the *līmu* Idna-Aššur is to be placed after the death of Šamšī-Adad, it must fit into a very narrow span of time. We already know of two (possibly three) *līmu* from Mari that must be placed immediately after the death of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>177</sup> If this *līmu* is placed before any of these, this lengthens the amount of time that Yasmaḥ-Adad held Mari after Šamšī-Adad's death. If it is placed after them, then its earliest date is 3–4 years after the death of Šamšī-Adad. This, however, brings us down precisely to the time of text group a) from Tell Rimah, which consists primarily of letters to Ḫadnu-rapi, an ally of Zimri-Lim and enemy of the 'Assyrians', who resisted Ešnunna and took his share of booty from Šubat-Enlil.<sup>178</sup> Under these circumstances, I would expect servants of Šamšī-Adad sealing administrative documents in this area to be in rather short supply at this time.<sup>179</sup> If this seal was used after Šamšī-Adad's death it must have been before Ḫadnu-rapi gained control of Tell Rimah (and presumably with it the village of Zamīātum), an event that cannot have taken place more than about five years later.

If the *līmu* Idna-Aššur is to be placed between sections B and E of the MEC, it must be placed after Tell Rimah and Tell Taya came under the control of Šamšī-Adad, an event that I would see in the same approximate time frame as the capture of Šerwunum and Ḫaburatum recorded in MEC C:2. This *līmu* could be placed anytime after this, even after the conquest of Mari. We can note again that the *līmu* D:2 in the MEC is [...]–Aššur,<sup>180</sup> but in this case the signs ID and NA would fit comfortably into the break. This is not proof that Idna-Aššur corresponds to MEC D:2; rather it establishes a physical possibility. Whether or not it is a chronological reality remains to be shown; needless to say, eponyms compounded with the deity Aššur are quite common. If Idna-Aššur is placed here (D:2), then Šamšī-Adad was in control of Tell Rimah before the *līmu* Aššur-taklāku (D:4). If he was not in control of the site during the *līmu* of Ušur-ša-Aššur (see above), then this *līmu* obviously belongs before section D of the MEC and the texts of group f) at Tell Rimah span the time that Šamšī-Adad gained control of the area. While there is no indication of this event in the texts, this does not necessarily disprove the possibility since if the local ruler submitted peaceably to Šamšī-

<sup>177</sup> Aḫi-yaya, Pussanum, and possibly [...]–emūq[ī]; see above under the discussion of Mari after the death of Šamšī-Adad.

<sup>178</sup> OBTR, pp. 1–2.

<sup>179</sup> Also found with group a) at Tell Rimah are two letters from a certain Samiya (OBTR 7–8), one addressed to his "lord" and one addressed to Yaddin-Adad (otherwise unknown at Tell Rimah) whom he addresses as his "brother". Both letters refer to troops and express a certain urgency that gives the impression that Samiya is somewhat hard-pressed. If this Samiya is the same as the Samiya that we have identified as being in control of Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamšī-Adad (see above, note 101), what are these letters doing at Tell Rimah among correspondence addressed to his enemy. Samiya's "lord" at this time can hardly have been anyone other than Išme-Dagān, who is not likely to have been at Tell Rimah with Ḫadnu-rapi. I rather suspect that these are letters from Samiya at Šubat-Enlil to his lord and his allies that were intercepted and brought to Ḫadnu-rapi. Tell Rimah is almost ideally situated to intercept traffic between Šubat-Enlil and Ekallātum. Note also that Samiya has earlier complained of having his messengers and tablets intercepted (ARM X: 166–167). The same explanation does not seem likely, however, for the correspondence of Samiya found at Mari (see above, note 106).

<sup>180</sup> See above, note 171.

Adad's authority there is not likely to have been much disruption of administrative procedures. Again, this is just one alternative of many.

It may be possible to gain some impression of the date involved if the *Ḫasidanum* of the Tell Tāya texts can be identified.<sup>181</sup> Postgate unhesitatingly identified him with the *Ḫasidanum* known from the Mari correspondence to have been a governor of a province and to have operated in the vicinity of Karanā and Qaṭarā.<sup>182</sup> It would be helpful to date the activities of this *Ḫasidanum*, but only one text offers an indirect clue to the time that he was functioning. In a letter to Yasmaḥ-Adad (ARM IV: 31), Išme-Dagān mentions the district of *Ḫasidanum* and the district of Nurrugum. Since Nurrugum was not conquered until the *līmu* of Aššur-malik (Šamšī-Adad 52), this letter and its reference to *Ḫasidanum* must be dated after this, or within five years of Šamšī-Adad's death. On the other hand, Charpin and Durand would place the events of ARM IV: 26 in the *līmu* of Ilī-illatī and Rigmānum (Šamšī-Adad 48-49) or 3-4 years earlier than the earliest date for ARM IV: 31.<sup>183</sup> If this is true then the Samu-Adad of ARM IV: 26 was in place before *Ḫasidanum*.<sup>184</sup> Since the sons and daughters of Samu-Adad play an important part in the later history of Tell Rimah, it seems more likely that he was a local ruler rather than an appointed governor. In this case we can revive the scenario outlined above,<sup>185</sup> and suggest that in the last years of Šamšī-Adad's reign Samu-Adad was the local ruler at Tell Rimah and that *Ḫasidanum* functioned as a 'resident commissioner'.<sup>186</sup> Whether the Iškur-mansum of the Tell Rimah texts<sup>187</sup> was the predecessor of *Ḫasidanum* in this position cannot be ascertained from the data presently available.

<sup>181</sup> As pointed out above and note 173, the seal of *Ḫasidanum* occurs on both of the texts. The first (TA 2100, see above, note 175) is a transfer of land or the use of it (administrative rather than legal) from one person to another. The second (TA 2101) is a receipt given by *Ḫasidanum* ([Š]U.TI.A *Ḫa-si-da-nim*) for 28 oxen. Both mark *Ḫasidanum* as a relatively high ranking official since in the first text his seal is apparently sufficient to validate the transfer and in the second, the 28 oxen taken by him represent a considerable amount of wealth.

<sup>182</sup> 'Taya Tablets', pp. 173-174. *Ḫasidanum* was the author of a number of letters to Yasmaḥ-Adad (ARM V: 35-45) and is mentioned in several others (see: M. Birot, J.-R. Kupper, O. Rouault, *Répertoire Analytique* (2<sup>e</sup> volume): Tomes I-XIV, XVIII et textes divers hors-collection, première partie: noms propres, ARMT XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 104). A *Ḫasidanum* occurs in the Tell Rimah texts from group d) (OBTR 244: ii 32') but not in a context that inspires confidence in his identification as a high administrative official.

<sup>183</sup> 'Pouvoir', p. 311. ARM IV: 26 is another letter to Yasmaḥ-Adad from Išme-Dagān in which the latter reports that he went towards Karanā to be able to aid Samu-Adad as a result of a troop movement on the part of Ešnunna (see: 'Pouvoir', p. 311, note 85, for a new translation and collations of the text). It makes quite good sense to move these events to this point in time since it is clear from a number of sources that Ešnunna was allied with Šamšī-Adad at least from the time of the campaign against Qabrā until his death. Furthermore, this alliance probably continued with Išme-Dagān after his father's death since Zimri-Lim was a constant foe of Ešnunna. Given these circumstances, it is difficult to see how Išme-Dagān could have viewed a movement of Ešnunnean troops as a threat within this time period.

<sup>184</sup> This Samu-Adad was presumably the father of both Aškur-Adad and Iltani (see: OBTR, pp. 32-33).

<sup>185</sup> See above, note 126.

<sup>186</sup> *Ḫasidanum*'s 'district' (*ḫaḥṣum*) may have covered more territory than the kingdom centered at Tell Rimah and there may have been parts of it that were under his direct administration. The use of the term 'district of *Ḫasidanum*' (ARM IV: 31:10) might imply that he was responsible for more than one distinct geographical area. We can even speculate that the references to the 'king' (LUGAL) in ARM V: 35:24-29 may refer to the local ruler rather than to Šamšī-Adad, since the administration of local justice may well have been left in local hands (however, the reference to the 'king' in line 16 of this letter does not seem to refer to the local ruler).

<sup>187</sup> See above, note 123.

Personally, I would prefer to place the *līmu* from Tell Tāya before the conquest of Mari rather than after the death of Šamšī-Adad, but I can find little justification for this apart from the fact that the general historical situation after the death of Šamšī-Adad suggests extensive turmoil and upheaval rather than administrative continuity and I suspect that district governors had more on their minds at the time than the routine affairs implied by the Tell Tāya tablets. If the *līmu* Idna-Aššur is to be placed in the earlier time range then the *līmu* [...] -Aššur (D:2) would seem to be in about the right place, and we can tentatively identify the two, but, again, without much justification. This would place the Tell Tāya occurrences of Ḥasidanum about 20 years before the earliest date for him that we can extract from the Mari correspondence. While this is not an inordinately long time for an official to hold the same post, it does conflict with our knowledge of another 'district governor', presumably Iškur-mansum, in this area at about the same time.<sup>188</sup>

### *līmu* from Various Sources

There are two more known *līmu* that either must or reasonably can be placed in the gap between sections B and E of the MEC.

The tablet APM 9220 has the *līmu* Išme-Dagān son of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>189</sup> This *līmu* must be placed after the conquest of Aššur and during the lifetime of Šamšī-Adad because the tablet records the taking of an oath in the names of Aššur, Adad, and Šamšī-Adad. Therefore this *līmu* must go in the gap between sections B and E of the MEC. My first impression is that this *līmu* should come immediately after the conquest of Aššur, since it would have been a nice touch for Šamšī-Adad to have his favorite son selected as *līmu* in the first year after the capture of the city. On the other hand, perhaps we should reserve this spot for a *līmu* "Šamšī-Adad son of Ila-kabkabu".

The other *līmu* that by every indication should belong in this period is Zizāya,<sup>190</sup> found in a tablet published by Durand.<sup>191</sup> The tablet has no archaeological provenience, but Durand

<sup>188</sup> The transactions recorded in the Tell Tāya tablets do not seem to be the type that the 'district governor' or 'resident commissioner' would have been personally involved in. However, Reade, 'Taya', p. 172, has pointed out that the style of the Ḥasidanum seals is not consistent with that of a high ranking official, and it is possible that these were 'working seals' used by subordinates of Ḥasidanum acting under his instructions and with his authority. An equally plausible explanation, and one consistent with the presence of Iškur-mansum, is that these seals were used by Ḥasidanum when he was a young officer on the staff of the 'resident commissioner', a position that he later rose to himself.

<sup>189</sup> K.R. Veenhof, A Deed of Manumission and Adoption from the Later Old Assyrian Period, in: G. van Driel et al. (eds.), *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden 1982, pp. 359-385, esp. p. 361; cf. 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 27.

<sup>190</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 204, no. 48.

<sup>191</sup> J.-M. Durand, Deux tablettes de Mari?, *MARI* 3, 1984, pp. 264-266; cf. above, note 21.

states that it cannot come from Mari.<sup>192</sup> The names found in the text show a mixture of Akkadian, Amorite, and Hurrian extraction very similar to that found in the texts of groups c) and f) at Tell Rimah.<sup>193</sup> In fact, three of the names from this short text are actually found at Tell Rimah in texts from groups c) and f).<sup>194</sup> Durand's conclusion that the text originated at a more northerly site is fully justified and there is nothing unreasonable about dating it to approximately the same time as the texts from groups c) and f) at Tell Rimah.

This *līmu* is also attested at Ališar,<sup>195</sup> but in a text that is not connected with others from the site.<sup>196</sup> Three *līmu* from a single archive at Ališar can be convincingly identified with *līmu* from Mari,<sup>197</sup> but another *līmu*, Ḫana-nārum, from the same archive (d2860) has a counterpart in MEC A:13, which would place it ten years before the reconstructed birth of Šamšī-Adad in MEC A:23. If these *līmu* are correctly matched it would mean that the *līmu* from Ališar span a period of about 75 years. This length of time seems excessive for the archaeological context, especially for tablets from a single findspot, and it seems likely that there should be another *līmu* Ḫana-nārum after the death of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>198</sup>

## A Synthesis

At the beginning of this discussion of the middle part of Šamšī-Adad's reign, we noted that there are 18 *līmu* needed to fill the gap between Šamšī-Adad's conquest of Aššur in the *līmu* Atamar-lštar (Šamšī-Adad 24) and the point where section E of the MEC begins with Ennam-Aššur (Šamšī-Adad 43). This gap was partially filled with the remaining *līmu* from Mari and some from Tell Leilan (Šubat-Enlil) to bring us to the conquest of Mari in the *līmu*

<sup>192</sup> J.-M. Durand, Deux tablettes de Mari?, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 264-266, esp. p. 264. There is indeed no place for this *līmu* between the beginning of section E of the MEC and the death of Šamšī-Adad and no reason to make a place for it between the time of the conquest of Mari and the beginning of section E.

<sup>193</sup> OBTR, p. 38; however, the small number of names in this text can hardly be considered as statistically stabilized.

<sup>194</sup> J.-M. Durand, Deux tablettes de Mari?, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 264-266: Kabanna/u, Zigi, *Ti-zi/še-ḫa-am*. Tiziḫam occurs in group b) at Tell Rimah, but is also found in group f) (OBTR 317: 13, not included in the Index to OBTR). The observations made by Durand about the interchange of š and z are quite valid; cf. my comments in: R. Whiting, Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar, AS 22, Chicago 1987, p. 58, ad 13:10'.

<sup>195</sup> OIP 27, 18A: 23, 18B: 12', written Zi-za-a-a (son of Abi-nara).

<sup>196</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 199.

<sup>197</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 199: RTš-[Šamaš] (Šamšī-Adad 45), Ikūn-piya (Šamšī-Adad 50), and Adad-bāni (Šamšī-Adad 54); cf. I.J. Gelb, Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity, OIP 27, Researches in Anatolia VI, Chicago 1935, pp. 8-9. The tablets with these *līmu* all come from a single hoard (d 2860) found on the floor of one of the rooms.

<sup>198</sup> The *līmu* from Kültepe Ib also favor a later eponym Ḫana-nārum (see below). This observation makes Zizāya the earliest *līmu* from Ališar if it is correctly placed in the gap in the MEC. While there is nothing specific that connects this *līmu* with the reign of Šamšī-Adad, the similarity of the names in the tablet published by Durand to those of group f) from Tell Rimah suggests that it is more likely to be dated in the gap than after Šamšī-Adad's death.

of Haya-malik (Šamšī-Adad 36\*). This left us with 11 *līmū* needed to fill the gap for which we can suggest the following (in alphabetic order):

<i>līmū</i>	Source <sup>199</sup>
Adad-bāni	L
Aḫi-yaya	R
Aššur-taklāku	Aš E L R
Atanum	E
Idna-Aššur	E? T
Išme-Dagān	V
Nami[...]	L
Tari[...]	E
Tuttaya	R
Ušur-ša-Aššur	R
Warad-Sîn	R
Zizāya	Al V
[...]IM	E

The first thing that we notice about this list is that we have 11 slots to fill and 13 candidates.<sup>200</sup> We can eliminate one of the extra *līmū* by moving Warad-Sîn to MEC B:29 as proposed above. We can even eliminate the other by assuming that Nami[...] from Tell Leilan and [...]IM from MEC C:2 are the same and reconstructing the *līmū* as *Na-m[i-ri]-im* (or something similar). This will solve the problem, but it may not be the correct solution. We have also noted above<sup>201</sup> that Tari[...] in MEC C:3 is not necessarily a *līmū*, and simply deleting it from the list is another solution. Alternatively (or additionally), one (or more) of the *līmū* that were placed here on the basis only of some historical probability might belong elsewhere. Furthermore, there is the possibility that the group of five *līmū* from Tell Leilan that is presently placed as Šamšī-Adad 39\*-43 belongs immediately after the death of Šamšī-Adad instead. This would free four spots for additional *līmū*, but I still consider this only a remote possibility. Finally, there is the possibility that the assumed minimum reign of 57 years for Šamšī-Adad is erroneous and that one or more of these *līmū* belongs between the years reconstructed here as Šamšī-Adad 20 and 21. Obviously, there is no evidential method of choosing among these alternatives without more data, so for the purposes of reconstruction, I will

<sup>199</sup> The sources, all of which are documented above, are abbreviated here as follows: Al = Ališar, Aš = Aššur, E = MEC, L = Tell Leilan, R = Tell Rimah, T = Tell Tāya, V = Various sources. I will leave out for the time being the *līmū* from Boghazköy and Kültepe/Kaniš.

<sup>200</sup> If Idna-Aššur from Tell Tāya and [...]Aššur from MEC D:2 do not match, then there are 14 *līmū* to put into 11 spots. Furthermore, moving Idna-Aššur to after the death of Šamšī-Adad does not reduce the number of candidates because [...]Aššur in the MEC cannot be moved.

<sup>201</sup> See above, p. 183 and note 86.

simply pick the one that I like best, which is the first one listed above where Warad-Sîn becomes MEC B:29 and Nami[...] becomes MEC C:2. I prefer this solution here because it keeps all of the *līmu* collected in the previous discussion together and does not require a commitment as to which of them should be moved elsewhere. If one or more of the other alternatives is actually correct this will become evident as additional data are found.

Apart from the *līmu* found in fragments of the MEC there is no sound basis for arranging the *līmu* given above in their proper sequence. Although hypotheses for where some of the individual *līmu* might be placed can be developed, for each hypothesis there is invariably one or more equally plausible alternatives. For discussion purposes we accepted above that the *līmu* of Atanum (MEC D:3) marks the end of Yaḥdun-Lim's reign and therefore should be placed 3-4 years before the conquest of Mari, but this is far from certain. If we consider the physical location of this fragment with respect to the rest of the tablet, the results are still not conclusive. The obverse of the preceding fragment ends with B:30 which equals Šamšī-Adad 23 in this reconstruction. The reverse of the same fragment begins with E:1 which equals Šamšī-Adad 43. There are 19 *līmu* between these two points. If we place the conquest of Mari in Šamšī-Adad 36\* and put Atanum four *līmu* before this in Šamšī-Adad 32\*, then there are seven *līmu* between the end of section B and the first identifiable *līmu* of section D (Idna-Aššur = Šamšī-Adad 31\*) and there are nine *līmu* between the last *līmu* of section D (Aššur-taklāku = Šamšī-Adad 33\*) and the beginning of section E. Obviously this solution would place the fragment containing section D at the very bottom of the obverse of the tablet since its last *līmu* (D:4) would be ten *līmu* from the end of section B and ten *līmu* from the beginning of section E. While this is a reasonable solution in terms of the present placing of the conquest of Mari (assuming that the number of lines per *līmu* is relatively constant in this section of the tablet), it is still valid if we move the four *līmu* from Tell Leilan down after the death of Šamšī-Adad since this would move the date of the conquest of Mari down by the same amount and the fragment with section D would then become the beginning of the reverse of the tablet. Note that this is an all or nothing proposition, since if we try to move only one or two of these *līmu* we reach a point where we would expect the text of section D to be divided between the obverse and the reverse of the tablet, which is not possible. On the other hand, if we wish to consider that the *līmu* Atanum does not represent the final defeat of Yaḥdun-Lim and to move section D farther away from the conquest of Mari, this presents no problem if the conquest of Mari is kept in Šamšī-Adad 36\* since the fragment with section D will simply move up the obverse of the tablet closer to the end of section B. If we keep the solution that we have now, then the fragment with section D should be placed at the very bottom of the obverse of the tablet with the *līmu* Aššur-taklāku being the last one on the obverse. Other positions are possible for this fragment, but will require a different solution.

The *līmu* of section C of the MEC should probably be placed closer to the conquest of Aššur than those of section D. I would expect that one of Šamšī-Adad's highest priorities after the conquest of Aššur would have been to bring as much of the once lucrative trade route from Aššur to Kaniš as possible under his direct control, with a view to reestablishing



this trade. If we assume that he started from Aššur and worked his way westward, then Šerwunum and Ḫaburatum would have been among his first conquests in pursuit of this policy, and Tell Rimah, depending on whether it is East or West of these locations, would have come either shortly before or after. We do not know when Šamšī-Adad came to Šubat-Enlil, but it was probably his attempts to move to the West or Southwest from there that brought him toward the conflict with Yaḥdun-Lim that resulted in the latter's defeat.<sup>202</sup>

For the 11 spots available we have five *līmū* from fragments of the MEC and six 'loose' *līmū*. Although it might be worthwhile to try to keep the *līmū* from the same site together, there is no way to do this because Aššur-taklāku occurs at Tell Rimah, Tell Leilan, and in section D of the MEC. Since section D is more or less fixed in position, the *līmū* from Tell Rimah and Tell Leilan would be competing for the same spots following it. Therefore I will, completely arbitrarily, place section D two *līmū* before the conquest of Mari, place section C two *līmū* before section D, and place the remaining *līmū* between section C and the conquest of Aššur. Equally arbitrarily, I will arrange the 'loose' *līmū* in alphabetic order, except that, in recognition of Šamšī-Adad's paternal pride in his eldest son, the *līmu* Išme-Dagān can be placed immediately after the conquest of Aššur.<sup>203</sup> This yields the following sequence:

- 24 Atamar-Ištar
- 25\* Išme-Dagān
- 26\* Adad-bāni
- 27\* Nam[ir]um (?)
- 28\* Tari[...]
- 29\* Aḫi-yaya
- 30\* Tuttaya
- 31\* Idna-Aššur
- 32\* Atanum
- 33\* Aššur-taklāku
- 34\* Ušur-ša-Aššur
- 35\* Zizāya
- 36\* Ḫaya-malik

There is little likelihood that this sequence is correct. In fact, I would consider it remarkable if it turns out that all 11 of these *līmū* actually belong here.

<sup>202</sup> Alternatively, it may have been Yaḥdun-Lim's attempts to expand to the North and Northeast that brought on the confrontation. In all probability, it was a little bit of each and the result was a collision of two expansionist policies. Cf. 'Pouvoir', p. 295 and note 14.

<sup>203</sup> There is probably more to this *līmu* than meets the eye. I suspect that Šamšī-Adad may have interfered with the *līmu* selection immediately after his conquest of Aššur in order to demonstrate his complete dominance of Assyria and its institutions. Cf. K.R. Veenhof, A Deed of Manumission and Adoption from the Later Old Assyrian Period, in: G. van Driel et al. (eds.), *Zikir Šumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden 1982, pp. 359-385, esp. pp. 384-385.

## AN OVERVIEW

We have seen that the reign of Šamšī-Adad has a firm sequence of *līmu* attested in the MEC at the beginning and another firm sequence attested in the MEC and the texts from Mari at the end with a grey and muddled area in the middle. The *līmu* that belong to the reign of Šamšī-Adad according to the reconstruction developed in the preceding pages are given in Fig. 2. This chart is not meant to be the final definitive version of the chronology of Šamšī-Adad's reign. There are too many sentences with an "if ..., then ..." structure for this to be true. Rather, it is offered as a state-of-the-art solution; an attempt to unify the information provided in 'Eponyms' and the MEC and to integrate the newly found *līmu* from Tell Leilan into this structure. It may prove to be a useful interim tool, but it may equally well be out of date before it is published. The vast amount of unpublished material from Mari is being dealt with in a systematic manner and more is coming out of the ground every season; the continuing excavations at Tell Leilan offer every expectation of additional written materials; and it surely cannot be long before the other ongoing excavations at the large sites in the Khabur plain, such as Tell Barri, Tell Brak, and Tell Hamidi, begin to yield documentation for this period.

The numbers of the regnal years given in Fig. 2 correspond to eponym years and it must be borne in mind that a Babylonian year will correspond to two of these years and vice versa. I have not given any absolute dates for the reign of Šamšī-Adad because of the uncertainties in relating the death of Šamšī-Adad to Hammu-rapi's year dates and the offset between the eponym year and the Babylonian year. However, the range of possibilities is not great. Those who wish absolute dates can choose their favorite chronology (high, middle, or low) and pick a year between Hammu-rapi 10 (last Babylonian date Šamšī-Adad was known to be alive) and Hammu-rapi 18 (accession of Zimri-Lim according to Charpin and Durand<sup>204</sup>) for the death of Šamšī-Adad.<sup>205</sup>

The regnal years marked with an asterisk\* are those where the name of the *līmu* may not (in fact, probably does not) match the actual year. The sequence and identity of the first 20 eponyms seems quite secure. Any *līmu* without an asterisk that follows this point can be adjusted to its correct value by the addition of a constant if it turns out that the reign of Šamšī-Adad was longer than the 57 years postulated. It may be only coincidence that the re-

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<sup>204</sup> 'Pouvoir', pp. 304-308.

<sup>205</sup> My own choice would be to assume that the events of ARM I: 27 and ARM I: 129 refer to the campaign against Malgium recorded in the year Hammu-rapi 10 (for the participation of Babylon in the events of ARM I: 129, see: J.-M. Durand, *Trois études sur Mari*, MARI 3, 1984, pp. 127-180, esp p. 142 and note 88). These events took place between the conquest of Qabrā (Aššur-malik) and the census (Adad-bāni). Therefore the year Hammu-rapi 9 corresponds to the eponym years of either Aššur-malik / Awiliya or Awiliya / Adad-bāni, with the latter being more likely, and the Babylonian year of Šamšī-Adad's death (Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur / warki Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur) corresponds to Hammu-rapi 12 or 13 (with 12 more likely). If the accession year of Zimri-Lim corresponds to Hammu-rapi 18, then there are 4-5 Babylonian years between the death of Šamšī-Adad and the accession of Zimri-Lim, which could correspond to as few as 3-4 eponyms (see above, notes 27 and 73).

<i>līmu</i>	Sources <sup>206</sup>	Events
1 Šarrum-Adad	E	Accession of Šamšī-Adad
2 Šū-Laban	E	
3 Aššur-imittī I	E	Defeat of Šamšī-Adad by Lullum
4 Dādaya I	E	
5 Dādaya II	E	Capture of Arrapha by Ipiq-Adad
6 Aḫī-šalim	E	
7 Ušur-ša-lštar	E	
8 Katta[...]	E	
9 Šū-[DN]	E	
10 Abu-šalim I	E	
11 Šū-Da[...]	E	
12 Šū-Dadim	E	
13 Aššur-tukultī	E	
14 Puzur-lštar	E	
15 Atanaḫ	E	
16 Erišum	E	
17 Aššur-ennam-šalim	E	
18 Inib-lštar	E	
19 Aššur-bēl-malki	E	
20 Be[...]	E	
21 Ibni-Adad I	AKL	Conquest of Ekallātum
22* Warad-Sīn (?)	E (?) R	
23 [...n]išu (?)	E	
24 Atamar-lštar	AKL	Conquest of Aššur
25* Išme-Dagān	V	
26* Adad-bāni I	L	
27* Nam[ir]um (?)	E (?) L	Conquest of Šerwunum and Ḫaburatum
28* Tari[...]	E	
29* Aḫi-yaya	R	
30* Tuttaya	B R	
31* Idna-Aššur	E (?) T	
32* Atanum	E	Defeat of Yaḫdun-Lim and 12 kings
33* Aššur-taklāku	Aš E K L R	
34* Ušur-ša-Aššur	R	
35* Zizāya	Al V	
36* Ḫaya-malik	M	Conquest of Mari
37* Šalim-Aššur I	M	
38* Šalim-Aššur II	M	
39* Abu-šalim II	L	
40* Aššur-emūqī	L	
41* Ikūn-pī-lštar	L	
42* Pussaya	L	
43 Ennam-Aššur	B E K L M	
44 Sīn-muballiṭ	E K L M R (?)	
45 Rīš-Šamaš	Al E M R (?)	
46 Ibni-Adad II	E K M	
47 Aššur-imittī II	E K M	
48 Ilī-illatī	C E K M	
49 Rigmānum	E M	
50 Ikūn-piya	Al C E M	
51 Asqudum	E M	Conquest of Arrapha
52 Aššur-malik	C E K M	Conquest of Qabrā, Nurrugum, and Aḫazum
53 Awiliya	C E K M	
54 Adad-bāni II	Al C M	Census ( <i>tēbibtum</i> ) made
55 Nimer-Sīn	C M	
56 Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur	K M	
57 <i>warki</i> Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur	M	Death of Šamšī-Adad
(= [...]-emūq[ī] ?)	E	

Fig. 2: Chronology of Šamšī-Adad's Reign

<sup>206</sup> The sources are abbreviated here as follows: AKL = Assyrian King List, Al = Ališar, Aš = Aššur, B = Boghazköy, C = Chagar Bazar, E = MEC, K = Kültepe / Kaniš, L = Tell Leilan, M = Mari, *cf.* 'Archives', R = Tell Rimah, T = Tell Tāya, V = Various sources.

construction of a 57 year reign for Šamšī-Adad uses up all the *līmū* available that should belong to his reign, but it seems almost too strong a coincidence that the chronicle of Šamšī-Adad's reign should break off at just the point where the long-sought *līmū* from the AKL would have appeared. Since the utilization of all the available *līmū* required some combining of partially preserved names to make complete ones, although each of these combinations is plausible, it is quite possible that the reign of Šamšī-Adad was actually longer than 57 years, and the reconstruction given here is not put forward as proof that the minimum 57 year reign is correct.

Included in the sources of Fig. 2 are the *līmū* from Boghazköy and Kültepe/Kaniš Ib that can reasonably be said to correspond to their namesakes in the list. I have not done a detailed study of these *līmū* and rely primarily on the information provided by Veenhof.<sup>207</sup>

The *līmū* from Boghazköy present a curious picture. Although four of the seven also occur at Kültepe Ib, only two, Ennam-Aššur and Tuttaya, can be placed within the reign of Šamšī-Adad with any degree of certainty.<sup>208</sup> In view of the fact that the *līmū* Zazabum comes from the same group of tablets as Ennam-Aššur and Tuttaya it is difficult to find an explanation for this that is consistent with the reconstruction given above. While Tuttaya (Šamšī-Adad 30\*) could be much closer to Ennam-Aššur (Šamšī-Adad 43\*) than the reconstruction indicates, there is no trace of Zazabum, and we have to deal with the possibility that this *līmū* belongs in the gap with Tuttaya unless it is placed after the death of Šamšī-Adad at least 15 years after Ennam-Aššur.

The overall context of the *līmū* from Kültepe Ib is not much clearer than that of the *līmū* from Boghazköy. The beginning of the period is obscured by the possible mixing of *līmū* from level II with those from level Ib; the period covered by level Ib is very long, perhaps as much as 100 years; many of the *līmū* are known only from hearsay, and even where the *līmū* themselves are published, supporting information that would aid in placing them often is not. Nevertheless, it has long been a 'basic assumption' that the *līmū* of level Ib begin in the reign of Šamšī-Adad and start about a generation after the end of the *līmū* from level II.<sup>209</sup>

Veenhof<sup>210</sup> has already pointed out that there are five (possibly six) Kültepe level II *līmū* that occur at the beginning of the MEC between A:15 and B:6 and he refers to these as "(early) post level II eponyms". However, without going into excessive detail, a much stronger case than this can be made: Of the 16 *līmū* preserved in section A of the MEC (between A:7

<sup>207</sup> 'Eponyms', pp. 198-200.

<sup>208</sup> Although there are two other Ennam-Aššur's in the MEC (A:12, B:5), the fact that the Boghazköy Ennam-Aššur is linked to a namesake from Kültepe Ib by the patronymic (Aššur-taklāku) makes the identification with Šamšī-Adad 43 most probable.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. I.J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, OIP 27, Researches in Anatolia VI, Chicago 1935, pp. 8-9; K. Balkan, 'Observations', pp. 43-45; 'Eponyms', pp. 192-194. Again, the 'reign of Šamšī-Adad' in this context refers to the 33 years that he ruled Assyria according to AKL.

<sup>210</sup> 'Eponyms', pp. 198-199.

and A:22) there are no fewer than 12 potential matches with level II eponyms; of the seven *līmu* in section B before the beginning of Šamšī-Adad's reign (B:1 to B:7) there are six potential matches with level II eponyms.<sup>211</sup> By contrast, between Šamšī-Adad 1 (B:8) and Šamšī-Adad 14 (B:21) there are only three potential matches with level II eponyms, and from Šamšī-Adad 15 (B:22) to Šamšī-Adad 42\* there are none.<sup>212</sup> The earliest level Ib *līmu* that is found in the MEC (leaving aside Ḫana-nārum [A:13] for the time being) is Aššur-taklāku (D:4, Šamšī-Adad 33\*).<sup>213</sup> Between Šamšī-Adad 43 and Šamšī-Adad 57 there are eight level Ib *līmu* attested and the level Ib *līmu* continue after the death of Šamšī-Adad because both Aḫi-yaya and Pussanum (post-Šamšī-Adad Mari, see above) are found there, as is Šabrum, known from Tell Rimah groups b) and e) (see above).

This distribution of potential matches would seem to rule out coincidence since we would then expect the potential matches to be spread fairly evenly throughout rather than with the level II matches clustered at the beginning of the MEC and the level Ib matches grouped at the end and no matches at all in the middle. The actual distribution suggests that level II came to an end around the time that Šamšī-Adad came to the throne (B:8), but in no case later than Šamšī-Adad 14 (B:21), while level Ib became active around Šamšī-Adad 43 but with nothing earlier than Šamšī-Adad 33\*. This is completely in accord with the chronological framework previously established for Kültepe and would be easily acceptable except for one eponym that seems to be out of place.

The *līmu* Ḫana-nārum, attested both at Kültepe Ib and Alişar, occurs in MEC A:13. Since the next earliest Ib *līmu* is Aššur-taklāku (Šamšī-Adad 33\*), the Ḫana-nārum *līmu* in the MEC is at least 50 years too early. This problem is clearly illustrated by the chart presented by Veenhof<sup>214</sup>, where it can be seen that Ḫana-nārum (no. 21) is separated by 50-60 years from the next earliest datable *līmu* at both Alişar and Kültepe Ib. Furthermore, of the 16 preserved

<sup>211</sup> For the Kültepe level II eponyms I use the list presented by: L. Matouš, *Zum System der Datierung in der Handelskolonie Kaneš*, ArOr 46, 1978, pp. 217-231, esp. pp. 219-226. I have allowed the greatest possible latitude for potential matches such as Mašiam-ilī (A: 7) - Maši-ilī (no. 42); Samanum (A: 9) - Samaya (no. 48); Šū-bēli (B: 7) - Šū-bēlum (no. 55); and even Itūr-Aššur (B: 6) - Itū'a (no. 32b), already suggested by Veenhof, 'Eponyms', p. 199. The level II Ennam-Aššur (no. 23) could match either A: 11 or B: 5; I have tentatively identified it with the earlier occurrence in the MEC, but if it matches B: 5 then all seven of the *līmu* from B: 1 to B: 7 have potential matches at Kültepe. Unfortunately there is little correlation between the sequence of the MEC and the preliminary ordering of the level II *līmu* given by: M.T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies, Mesopotamia* 4, Copenhagen 1976, p. 381. However, here is not the place to go into the resolution of these difficulties. These problems are better left to those who have been collecting and studying the unpublished materials for decades.

<sup>212</sup> The only clear potential match is Puzur-lštar (B: 21; no. 44), but it is possible to restore B: 18 as Šu-da-a-[ia] which could then match Šudāya (no. 56, written Šu-da-a). There are two, possibly different, Aššur-imittī's from level II so there is the potential for them to match both A: 21 and B: 10 (Šamšī-Adad 3). The eponym Ušur-ša-lštar which occurs in K. Balkan, 'Observations', p. 99, no. 12, does not occur in a date and is associated with the *kārum*, so I have left it out of consideration (as did Matouš). Adad-bāni (Šamšī-Adad 26\*) from Tell Leilan is not a potential match because of the different patronymics (Iddin-Aššur at Kültepe against Pussaya at Tell Leilan).

<sup>213</sup> There are apparently two level Ib eponyms with this name; see above, p. 199 and note 155. Because of the patronymic (Tag/kigi), the Aḫi-yaya *līmu* from level Ib clearly belongs with the one from Mari (after the death of Šamšī-Adad) rather than with the one from Tell Rimah (Šamšī-Adad 29\*).

<sup>214</sup> 'Eponyms', p. 216.

*līmu* in the MEC from A:14 to B:7, there are 13 potential matches with Kültepe level II *līmu*. Surely this is too much to blame on the possible mixing of level II and level Ib tablets. The only plausible solution is that Hana-nārum of the MEC is a level II *līmu* (unfortunately, not yet attested at Kültepe) and that there is another Hana-nārum *līmu* after the death of Šamšī-Adad that matches the Kültepe Ib and the Alişar *līmu*.<sup>215</sup>

In general then, the *līmu* from the Anatolian sites conform to the chronology of Šamšī-Adad's reign. Those from Alişar and Boghazköy run parallel to Kültepe level Ib and all begin after the conquest of Aššur by Šamšī-Adad and continue after his death. Obviously, the upheavals that affected northern Mesopotamia following the death of Šamšī-Adad would not have directly affected the Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia. Again, it seems that one of Šamšī-Adad's goals after his conquest of Aššur was the reestablishment of the trading centers in that area. Although the trade apparently never reached the heights that it had during the period of the level II *kārum*, it still must have been sufficiently profitable to be worth pursuing.

Our new chronology for Šamšī-Adad's reign allows us to view this period from a slightly different perspective. We no longer have to think of his reign as beginning with his conquest of Ekallātum or Aššur. Although he ruled Assyria for 33 years, we now know that his total reign was much longer, a minimum of 57 years and quite possibly even longer. This is a very long reign and it makes it possible to understand Šamšī-Adad's accomplishments and the respect that he held among later generations of Assyrian kings. It also makes it clear that his claim in his Nineveh inscription that Ištar had given him a "constantly renewing term of rule" was not an idle boast.<sup>216</sup> If the birth notice in MEC A:23 refers to Šamšī-Adad (see above), then he came to the throne at the age of about 10 or 11. His first battle (a defeat) is recorded in the *līmu* of Aššur-imittī (Šamšī-Adad 3) when he would have been about 13 or 14 years of age.

There is still a long list of questions that need answers before the history of Šamšī-Adad's dynasty can be explored further. Questions such as where was the original seat of the

<sup>215</sup> Even if one assumes that the Kültepe Ib tablet with the *līmu* Hana-nārum is actually a level II tablet, the problem of the Alişar archive remains. Since the other *līmu* of this archive cover only ten years (Šamšī-Adad 45 to Šamšī-Adad 54; see above, note 197), it seems more likely that it continued after Šamšī-Adad's death (three years later) than that it was begun ten years before his birth (55 years earlier).

<sup>216</sup> A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, RIMA 1, Toronto 1987, pp. 51-55, A.O. 39.2 iii 7-9: *INANNA be-el-ti pa-la-a-am ed-de-ša-am lu-ú iš-ru-kam*. This inscription was written late in the reign of Šamšī-Adad since it mentions the conquest of Nurrugum (i 17) which took place in the *līmu* Aššur-malik (Šamšī-Adad 52, see above). I would agree with Eidem, 'Shemshāra', p.101 and note 84, that Nineveh was probably in the territory of Nurrugum. Therefore, Šamšī-Adad's building activities in that city would have taken place a year or two after the conquest of Nurrugum and the references to Nineveh in the Mari letters must be dated after the *līmu* of Aššur-malik. It seems likely, in fact, that the request of Šamšī-Adad to have various types of lumber shipped to Nineveh (ARM I 7) was connected with the building of the temple; this letter is to be dated to the *līmu* of Adad-bāni (Šamšī-Adad 54) or immediately before because it mentions that the census is to be taken (*te-bi-ib-tum iš-ša-ak-ka-an* [ARM I 7: 32]). Furthermore, the presence of Šamšī-Adad in Nineveh, as indicated by the letters ARM I 10 and 60 sent to Yasmaḥ-Adad, was probably connected with the completion and dedication of the temple; these letters date to the very beginning of the Zalmaqum campaign about a year after the census. The placing of these events in the *līmu* of Adad-bāni ('Pouvoir', pp. 316-317) is about one year too early.

dynasty and what city was Šamšī-Adad operating out of when he conquered Ekallātum and Aššur; when did Šamšī-Adad come to Šubat-Enlil and when did he install his sons as sub-kings at Ekallātum and Mari must be answered before we can put much flesh on the bare skeleton that the names of the *līmū* that comprise the reign of Šamšī-Adad provide. Fortunately, the continuing excavations in the Khabur basin offer every hope of finding the answers to these questions and many more.

#### THE POST-ŠAMŠĪ-ADAD *līmū* FROM TELL LEILAN

To round out the new chronological perspectives provided by the recent discoveries at Tell Leilan, a brief discussion of the *līmū* found during the excavations in the lower town is necessary.<sup>217</sup>

Three of the *līmū* from the lower town, Aššur-taklāku, Išme-II, and Niwir-Kūbi, all come from the same archaeological context. The last two are found on a small archive of wine texts that has on some of the tablets the seal of "Yakūn-Ašar, son of Dari-epuḫ, king of the land of Apum".

Charpin<sup>218</sup> has shown that Apum was the name of the area of which Šubat-Enlil was the capital and that the name of Šubat-Enlil before Šamšī-Adad renamed it was Šeḫnā, a name that was gradually reapplied to the city after the death of Šamšī-Adad. Charpin has further shown that the defeat of this Šeḫnā is recorded in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year date of Samsu-iluna. Furthermore, a variant of this year date names a ruler *Ia-ku-u[n-...]* who is probably to be identified with the Yakūn-Ašar whose seal impressions were found at Tell Leilan.

Thus a *terminus ante quem* for Yakūn-Ašar would seem to be the 22<sup>nd</sup> year of Samsu-iluna. Since neither Yakūn-Ašar as king of Apum nor his father Dari-epuḫ are attested at all in the Mari archives, his reign must be dated after Zimri-Lim. The reign of Yakūn-Ašar belongs between the years Ḫammu-rapi<sup>32</sup> and Samsu-iluna 22 and if the ruler whose broken name occurs in the variant to Samsu-iluna 23 is the same as our Yakūn-Ašar it belongs at the very end of this period. This period must also include any time that Dari-epuḫ, Yakūn-Ašar's father, may have ruled as well as the time that may have to be allotted to another otherwise unattested ruler, Mutiya, whose name appears in an ARÁD RN formula on the seal of Ḫar-ramānišu which occurs on numerous sealings found in the lower town at Tell Leilan.

<sup>217</sup> The following discussion is a summary of the information provided in 'Report' and 'Catalog'. For the *līmū* from Tell Leilan, see above, Fig. 1.

<sup>218</sup> 'Apum', pp. 129-140.

Among the interesting features of the wine archive associated with Yakūn-Ašar we note that the tablets are still dated with *līmu* and that the 'Šamšī-Adad' calendar is still in use. This is now confirmed by the date of the tablet found at Qal'at al-Hadi which has the month Kinūnum and the *līmu warki* Nimar-Kūbi.<sup>219</sup>

Finally, there is the possibility that the Aššur-taklāku *līmu* from the lower town matches the second Aššur-taklāku eponym from Kültepe Ib (son of Enlil-nada)<sup>220</sup> which would provide evidence that level Ib at Kültepe extended well into the reign of Samsu-iluna.

For many years now, our knowledge of the history of the Khabur triangle in the Old Babylonian period has been limited almost exclusively to information gathered from the Mari archives. At long last, this area is beginning to provide sources for its own history. Not only do the finds at Tell Leilan offer a welcome supplement to the texts from Mari, but they also expand our temporal horizons in northern Mesopotamia, providing texts that are to be dated not only after Šamšī-Adad but after Hammu-rapi as well. We can expect not just Tell Leilan, but the other sites in the Khabur basin as well to provide yet more sources for the history of Šamšī-Adad and his dynasty and to add local evidence for the events and personalities that affected this area after his death.

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<sup>219</sup> Edited by Hawkins in: D.J.W. Meijer, *A Survey in Northeastern Syria*, UNI 58, Istanbul 1986, pp. 44-45. For the date on the tablet, see: J.-M. Durand, *Tell Qal'at al-Hādī*, NABU, 1987, N° 2 (juin), pp. 20-21, no. 37, esp. p. 20. There seems little doubt that this *līmu* (written *Ni-mar-Kū-bi*) is the same as the *Ni-wi-ir-Kū-bi* found in the lower town at Tell Leilan.

<sup>220</sup> See above, note 155.



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## THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL HAMIDI

Markus Wäfler - Berne

In the second millennium Tell Hamidi lay at the junction of two major trade routes, one of which led from Assyria to the Mediterranean, and the raw material sources in the Amanus and Taurus mountains.<sup>1</sup> In the Khabur Region this route is marked by the large or important tells Hamukar, Qarāṣa, Farfara, Hamidi, Chagar Bazar and Fakhariya, and onwards to Harran. The second route followed the Lower Khabur as far as Haseke from whence it went along the Jaghjagh, by the tells Bazari, Brak, Barri and Hamidi, to Nusaybin/Qamishli and Asia Minor.

Lying directly on a loop of the modern Jaghjagh, the ruins of the ancient city at Tell Hamidi are spread over three distinct areas of varying elevation (Fig. 1):

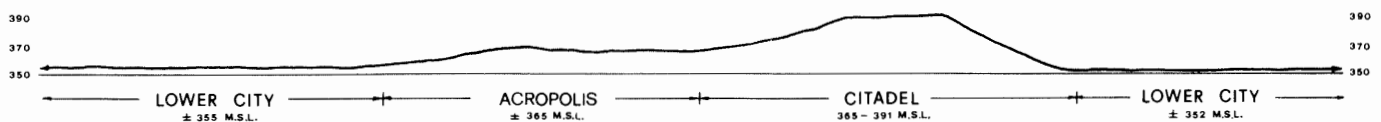


Fig. 1: Tell Section along Ordinate 400

<sup>1</sup> S. Eichler *et al.*, Tall al-Ḥamīdiya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985, p. 52, Fig. 7; hereafter cited as 'al-Ḥamīdiya 1'.

TALL AL-HAMIDIYA 1987

N 36° 49' / E 41° 10'

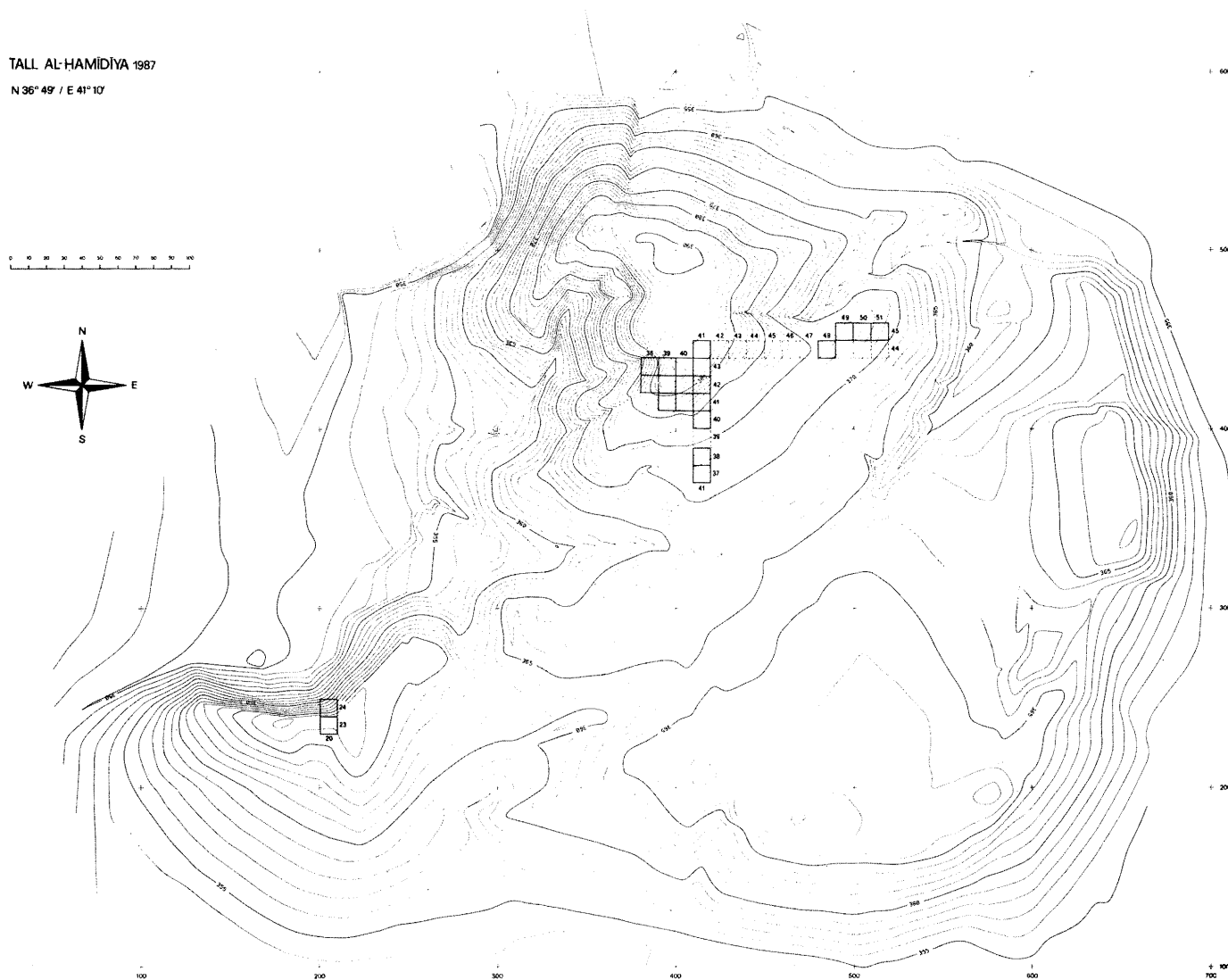


Fig. 2: Contour Plan of Tell Hamidi with Areas Excavated 1984-1987

At ca. 355 m. above sea-level lay the lower city: while not actually a part of the tell itself, it was probably separated from the surrounding countryside by a city wall,<sup>2</sup> itself rather difficult to recognize today, consisting of slight rises in the surface. At present this area has not been excavated, as it is rather intensively cultivated. In the coming summer we nevertheless envisage excavating a city gate or tower recently located, about 700 m. from the southern foot of the tell.

At ca. 365 m. above sea-level was the acropolis: lying to the South and East for the most part, it is about 10 m. above the lower city from which it was likewise separated by a wall system. We have not excavated here either, but anticipate doing so on the south-western

<sup>2</sup>

See e.g.: W.J. van Liere, *Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in their Relationship to Land and Water*, AAS 13, 1963, pp. 109-122, esp. Fig. 3b; D. Oates, *The Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81*, Iraq 39, 1977, pp. 233-244, esp. p. 234.

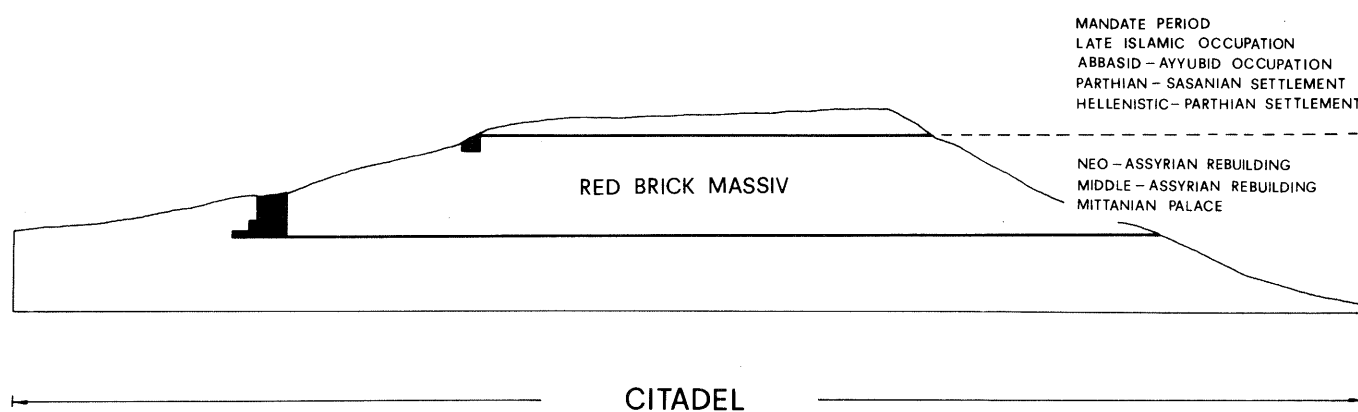


Fig. 3: Cross Section of the Citadel

tongue in the coming spring campaign.<sup>3</sup> Three things convinced us that this would be profitable:

- This area is particularly threatened by the winter rains, due to the steepness of the terrain here.
- A striking concentration of painted Nuzi and Khabur ware along with undecorated wares permit
- the visible building remains in the North slope to be interpreted as a residential area.

Between ca. 365 and 391 m. above sea-level rises the citadel: the following remarks will be confined to this alone (Fig. 2). An impression of the most important phases in the history of the citadel can be provided by a cross section (Fig. 3), where the decisive breaks are perceptible even to the naked eye, revealing the unmistakable reddish soil, giving us precise information about the size, height and extent of this part of the complex, referred to as the 'red brick massiv' or 'palacial area' consisting of three separate phases, which although not visible in this cross section, consist of the original and two phases of renewal and/or enlargement of the structure.

The levels above this represent the Hellenistic, Parthian, Sasanian and Early Abbasid periods, followed by a small cemetery from the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the present one, along with a younger settlement, and crowned with buildings from the period of the French Mandate.

Reviewing the successive phases in the evolution of the tell, we shall proceed from the earliest level yet excavated, that of the 'red brick massiv' to the most recent constructions of the Mandate Period.

### The First Phase of the Palace

The original palace<sup>4</sup> was the earliest phase hitherto uncovered (p. 242, Abb. 3; Plan 1). Our impression of the architecture of the earlier complex is dominated by the results of the excavations in two separate areas: an enormous retaining wall in square 41/37 at the southern end of the long trench on the slope along ordinate 411 and a number of rooms or parts thereof on the citadel above. The mud brick retaining wall in the South, made with standardized bricks (*ca.* 38 x 38 x 8 cm.), is preserved to a height of eight metres today, although the base has not yet been attained, by a width of at least six m. This wall was stepped in order to withstand the incredible pressure, with our present results indicating that a lower step of unknown height but a width of three metres was surmounted by an upper step, one metre in breadth and two metres in height, while the front of the wall itself was divided into niches, of which the one in the eastern part of square 41/37 is better preserved than its counterpart in the West. When our excavation has established the point at which the destruction debris intersects with the hidden base of the wall, an estimate of the original height of the wall will be possible, the reconstruction suggests that this should be more than 14 m. The southern extent of the wall, along with its height and width remain provisionally unknown as our sondage a metre and a half beneath the surface of the lower step was unable to establish any of the relevant parameters. To the North it marks one side of a room, approached by means of a door in the East. The debris filled ash layer falling to the South from the top of the wall can be clearly seen in the East and West sections. The tablet fragments (Plates 17.3, 18.1) and the greater portion of the pottery came from here.

Part of the complex on the citadel was exposed during the first campaign in 1984 when a pavement of small bricks (19 x 19 x 8 cm.) was uncovered in square 41/43.<sup>5</sup> The following year brought an entire wall of such bricks to light. These small bricks were laid in such a manner that the joints were all above one another, forming small unstable columns. This struck us as unusual. The bricks are however not complete bricks but mere quarter bricks, the originals measuring 38 x 38 x 8 cm., each having been laid overlapping the perpendicularly opposed joints of the bricks beneath it. The wall was most probably built while the bricks were still moist, each fracturing along the joints above and below them as the bricks contracted while drying under pressure, providing us with the misleadingly regular bricks a quarter the original size. The sketches (pp. 321–322, Abb. 111–112) show the process, while the photo (Plate 20.2) shows the result. This led to the formation of a wall consisting of smaller

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<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 241–250.

<sup>5</sup> 'al-Ḥamīdiya 1', Plan 2.

bricks, with the joints lying directly above each other, which is of course very unstable. When exposed, vertical columns of quarter bricks tend to peel away from the rest of the wall.<sup>6</sup>

All of the walls in the buildings of the citadel which we have excavated were built with these second-rate bricks. A pair of nearly identical rooms (each *ca.* 8 x 3 m.) with axially displaced entrances present a typical entrance configuration, leading to that larger room in the East, entered through the second, wider portal. The original floor of these rooms has not yet been uncovered anywhere, not even in the intrusive pits (p. 245, Abb. 5) where it was merely established that the wall stood at least four metres high.

The goals of the coming campaigns are thus set:

- establishing the connections between the various areas;
- continuing the excavation of the retaining wall visible in square 41/37;
- establishing the relationships between floors and walls on the citadel;
- the extension of the excavation, to the North immediately, and to the South, East and West in the long term in order to determine the overall size of the complex, which would appear to measure at least 250 x 250 m., based on the red discolouration of the soil.

The citadel has been severely disfigured by intrusive pits of Hellenistic and Abbaside date, as well as by the more recent cemetery. Two inscribed bricks were raised from the lower levels by the successive residents, so that they were eventually found in the soil of the French Mandate phase. While one of these would appear to be illegible (Plate 19.4), the other reads *aš-šur-dan* (Plate 18.3) based on a duplicate (Plate 19.1) discovered on the northern slope at the last minute.<sup>7</sup> As these inscribed bricks were not found *in situ*, the original complex can be dated only by means of the pottery and tablet fragments.<sup>8</sup>

To the South of the large retaining wall, Nuzi and Khabur sherds have been found – two wares which dominated the luxury end of the pottery market. Although a number of small decorated Nuzi sherds have been found on the surface (and in the excavation), unpainted Nuzi goblets form a rather large proportion of the pottery recovered. The relative scarcity of even the smallest decorated Nuzi sherds was equally striking, at least in contrast to the quantities of undecorated fine goblet fragments. This is probably a misleading factor in estimating the composition of the original inventory of decorated goblets, and more a matter of the composition of the soil. It would appear that the double-layer decoration on the thin and well fired Nuzi pottery suffered from surface tension as this pottery was subjected to environmental changes, tending to flake away. Thus a good many of the undecorated goblets will probably have been originally painted.

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<sup>6</sup> See also the article by C. Bellmann, *Probleme am Ziegelmauerwerk*, below pp. 319–323.

<sup>7</sup> See the article by K. Deller, *Keilschrifttexte (HT 1 – HT 11)*, below pp. 330–331.

<sup>8</sup> *Cf.* p. 330, where it is pointed out that the position of the duplicate suggests that this brick originally belonged to one of the three main phases.

The Khabur ware, made with marginally coarser materials, did not suffer from this phenomenon, and is thus well represented. The traditional theory holds that the painted stripes were the later type of decoration, chronologically following the hatched triangles. It is therefore curious that a small percentage of this ware with the triangles has been found associated with the Nuzi and striped Khabur ware, one example shows a surprising combination of Khabur elements with stripes and triangles on the rim, and Nuzi elements on the shoulder (p. 248, Abb. 13).

These luxury wares are of course associated with a rich repertoire of undecorated coarse pottery. Four types can be fully reconstructed:

- carinated bowls (Forms 49-58) with a wide range of variations, almost all made of the fine and well tempered clay characterized by our standard ware 11,<sup>9</sup> with a high proportion of quartz and calcite; based on the high percentage of diopside and gehlenite, it can be assumed that the firing temperatures were quite high, at around 1000°C.;
- wide flaring bowls (Forms 6-18) - likewise with many variations - made of our slightly less fine ware 10, whose less refined microporosity and slightly greater clay density distinguish it from the previously mentioned ware 11, were also fired at around 1000°C. This ware also was used for the manufacture of
- large steep sided dishes with pierced walls (Form 70). Although the variations are not notably numerous, a considerable number of individual pieces was found;
- stands (Form 295) were also produced in both of these standard coarse wares, in almost equal proportions of each. A considerable number of these stands display wavy upper rims, the result of fingertip pressure.

In the same debris to the South of the great retaining wall, from which this pottery repertoire was selected, also came two tablet fragments (HT 3, HT 4).<sup>10</sup>

One item which cannot with certainty be directly attributed to this debris is a tablet fragment with three seal impressions from at least two seals (Frontispiece; Plate 17.1; p. 325, Abb. 113), one of which can be completely reconstructed: a single register is divided into major and subsidiary scenes. The central motif is a presentation scene in Babylonian style with a clear Mitanni element: Babylonian is the accompanying deity with raised hands, the introduced worshipper and the main god, while the Mitanni element is represented by the gazelle whose averted head and oversized eyes are quite typical. The secondary scene consists of the two standing antithetical lions. The tablet is broken so that the thus sealed texts are lost, but the form indicates clearly that this is indeed a tablet fragment.

The pottery, tablet fragments, and seal impressions are the most interesting of the artifacts belonging to the earliest phase hitherto excavated, derived for the most part from the area around the great retaining wall.

<sup>9</sup> For all the mentioned wares, see: 'al-Ḥamīdīya 1', pp. 89-93.

<sup>10</sup> See the article by K. Deller, Keilschrifttexte (HT 1 - HT 11), below pp. 326-328.



## The Second Phase of the Palace

The original building was destroyed, renovated and rebuilt (pp. 250-251, Abb. 18-19). The trench in the intrusive pits (p. 245, Abb. 5) reveals that a new floor was laid after levelling the unsightly debris. The period separating these two phases cannot have been particularly long as,

- the wall consisting of fractured bricks begins to disintegrate within a month of being exposed without the pressure of a roof above it - as our own experience shows. The wall appears to be equally wide above and below the new floor, implying that the wall was not exposed to the elements for any lengthy period. Previously smeared with mud, the walls were now white-washed. Remains of paint - red, yellow, blue and black - found in the debris above the second floor indicate that these were painted as well. The loss is however irreparable as no pattern can conceivably be reconstituted from specks of paint lying in the dust;
- and, equally important, the pottery coming from the acropolis above the second floor is identical to that coming from the debris to the South of the great retaining wall: Nuzi and Khabur ware associated with carinated and wide flaring bowls.

## THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

These walls were probably used once again in the Neo-Assyrian period, in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (pp. 254-255, Abb. 25-26). This level would appear to have been swept away by erosive forces, as what has hitherto been discovered lay on the present day edge of the steep south-western slopes of the tell. No structures have been preserved, with one or at most two courses of bricks belonging to a bit of white-washed floor forming the best preserved architecture from this period. The associated finds form a remarkable contrast on the other hand, comparable with finds from a number of sites, but above all from Nimrud: several dozen fragments of ivory, with - among other things - part of a panel with a procession of tribute-bearers (p. 256, Abb. 27):

- one fragment shows a bearded man's head, the headband combined with the ankle-length kilt and fringed coat indicate that these tribute-bearers came from the West, perhaps Bīt-Adini or Bīt-Agūsi;<sup>11</sup>
- a fragment with a man probably carrying a jewelry tray.

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<sup>11</sup> M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen*, AOAT 26, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975, pp. 196-215.

## THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The earliest preserved house of the Hellenistic Period,<sup>12</sup> although chronologically following the Neo-Assyrian Period, lay directly on the remains of the Middle Assyrian Palace. This level can be dated by means of a broken unguentarium (p. 268, 39/43-96) from a tomb sunk into its walls in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. This date is supported by a Rhodian stamped amphora handle from the level beneath the house (p. 263, Abb. 39).

## THE SUBSEQUENT PERIODS

The less significant finds in the levels above the last Hellenistic level are only mentioned for the sake of completeness:

A partially preserved house which probably belongs to the Sasanian Period (p. 276, Abb. 61-62) and a Roman coin (dated to 337-341 A.D.) which turned up in the disturbed debris on the surface of the tell (p. 317, 49/45: H<sub>0</sub>-22), are the most significant representatives of the subsequent settlement on the tell.

After a hiatus of about 500 years, there was a small Abbasid settlement on the citadel (p. 280, Abb. 66).

A small cemetery with 39 badly preserved tombs (pp. 284-285, Abb. 72-73) was probably opened at the end of the last century and given up early in the Mandate Period, with which a small settlement from the beginning of the present century (pp. 289-290, Abb. 75-76) may be associated.

The most recent level is that of the French Mandate itself (pp. 293-294, Abb. 79-80), which can be reliably dated by the small find 39/43-10.

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<sup>12</sup> Level hellenistic-parthian 3, *cf.* p. 264, Abb. 40.

## ADDENDUM 1988

As it was planned,<sup>13</sup> the South-west tongue (squares 20/23-24) dominated the campaigns of 1987. As expected, the excavation revealed two main phases, beneath five less significant levels with evidence of occupation, use and/or collapse. Rather unexpected was the nature of these two main phases – each consisting of a single very large building – which will be dealt with here briefly.

Three rooms of the earlier building (pp. 297-298, Abb. 81-82) were excavated. Given the width of the walls (*ca.* 3.5 m.), this can hardly have been part of a private residence, but rather probably formed part of a larger complex, extending to the South, East and West. Thanks to the destruction level – which has contributed to the preservation of the contents of the rooms, above all the pottery – it is possible to establish the erstwhile inventories of some of the rooms excavated. Interesting is that the proportion of the different types varies from room to room (pp. 300-301, Abb. 83-84). The date of the building is indicated by a frit cylinder seal (p. 304, Abb. 88) found *in situ* in locus L 4.2, which doubtless belonged to the earlier phase. Despite the state of the seal itself, an erect gazelle with averted head can be recognized as depicted, suggesting that this phase be assigned to the Mitanni/Middle Assyrian Period. This phase ended with a massive destruction.

A new building (p. 305, Abb. 89) was constructed immediately above the destruction level, with rather remarkable foundations. Foundation trenches of varying depth were sunk into the destruction debris, without penetrating into the earlier building. Up to six courses of standard bricks which did not precisely correspond to the lines of the proposed future walls were laid in these trenches. The remaining debris was then spread around to the level of the caps of the newly built walls and the walls erected on this rather dubious foundation. Two sets of rooms separated by a corridor (?) were excavated. As in the earlier building, it was possible to identify the pottery inventories of each of the seven rooms in the two sets. Although the individual finds of these rooms cannot be securely dated, the findspot of HT 8 and HT 9 (Pl. 19.2-3; pp. 331-332, Abb. 117-118) suggests that this building should be dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.

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<sup>13</sup> See p. 221.

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## PLATES

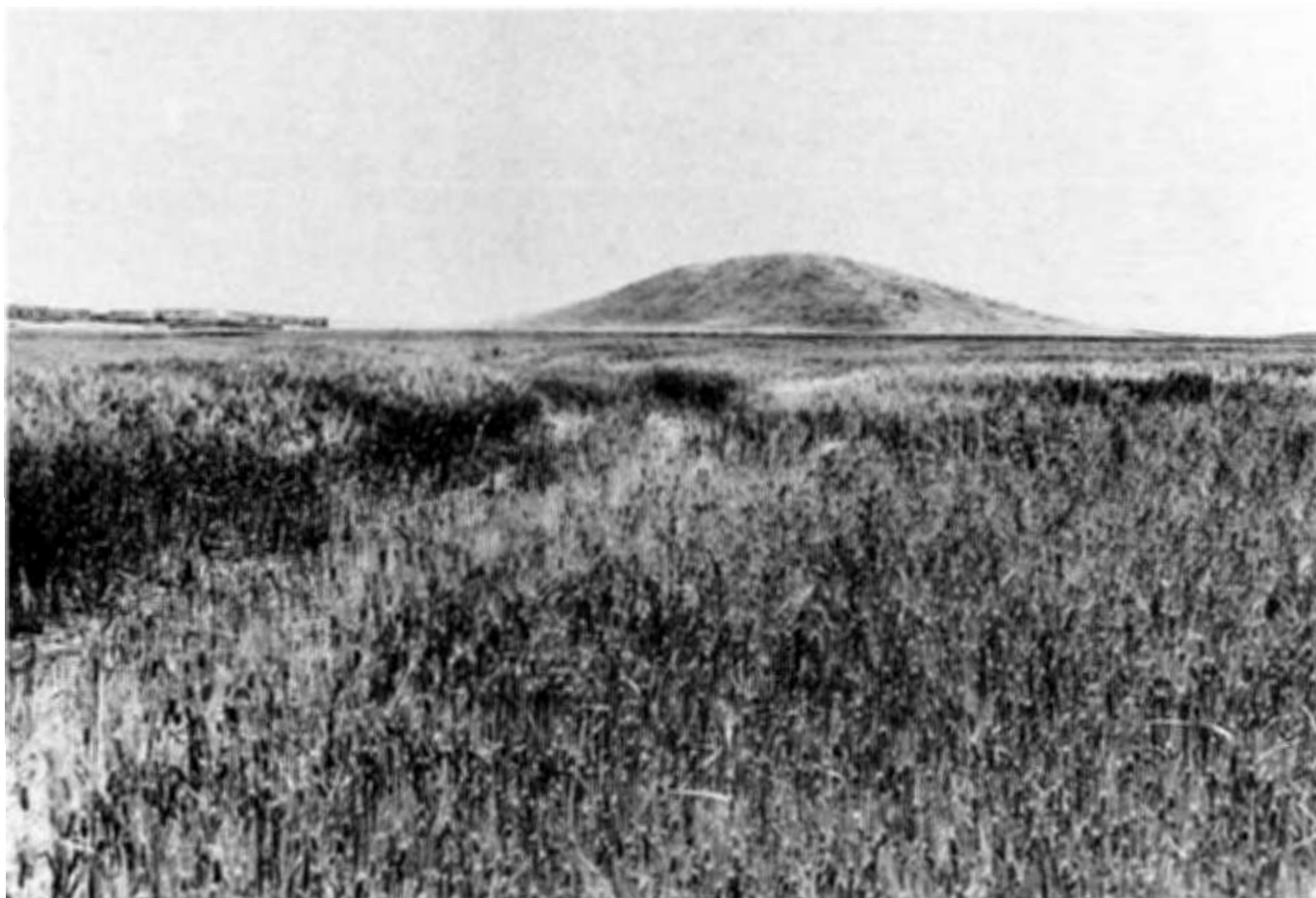
- 1.1 Tell Kashkashuk. (A. Bounni)
- .2 Tell Kashkashuk: Sherds. (A. Bounni)
  
- 2.1 Tell Abu Ḥajira. (A. Bounni)
- .2 Tell Abu Ḥajira: Sherds (A. Bounni)
  
- 3.1 Tell Barri: View from the Southwest. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .2 Tell Barri: Aerial photograph of Tell Barri and the surrounding countryside, by courtesy of the German Mission to Tell Sheikh Hamad in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Agriculture of the Syrian Arab Republic, taken on 1/5/84 by N. Grundman. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .3 Tell Barri: Area E; the building of the Roman-Parthian period from stratum 12. (P.E. Pecorella)
  
- 4.1 Tell Barri: The Western flank with Area B of the excavation. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .2 Tell Barri: Area B; Ninevite V ware with incised decoration. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .3 Tell Barri: Area G; in the foreground the Mitanni levels, and in the background the Middle Assyrian levels. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .4 Tell Barri: Area G; fragments of Khabur ware with geometric and figural decoration (P.E. Pecorella)
  
- 5.1 Tell Barri: Area G; Middle Assyrian pottery of the stratum 1F. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .2 Tell Barri: A fragment of a decorative block from the Neo Assyrian Palace of Tukultī-Ninurta II. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .3 Tell Barri: A bronze belt buckle from Area E, Roman-Parthian level. (P.E. Pecorella)
- .4 Tell Barri: Impressed decorated sherds of the Sasanian period, out of context. (P.E. Pecorella)

- 6 A. 315 + M. 8103. (D. Charpin)
- 7.1 M. 9623. (D. Charpin)
  - .2 Tell Mozan: Spouted Simple ware vessel from the burnt deposit near the wall around the High Mound; Area K, feature 16; 8 cm high. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .3 Tell Mozan: Equid head from the burnt deposit; Area K, feature 16. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
- 8.1 Tell Mozan: Door sealings showing the conical shape with sealings on the exterior (right), wood impression of the door (lower left), rope impressions (upper left). (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .2 Tell Mozan: Hero in tucked up skirt holding dagger facing a rampant animal; behind him a standing animal. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .3 Tell Mozan: Nude hero with upstanding tufted hair between two animals. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .4 Tell Mozan: Snake coil with head of snake facing horned animal. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
- 9.1 Tell Mozan: Stone lion from temple in Area B. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .2 Tell Mozan: Stele; crossed pair of animals with the head of a third animal on the left; stone. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
  - .3 Tell Mozan: Stele; plowman with his draught animal and dog above; stone. (M. Kelly-Buccellati)
- 10.1 Tell Brak: Façade of Eye Temple showing stone foundations excavated by Mallowan and re-exposed in 1986. (J. Oates)
  - .2 Tell Brak: Matt polychrome Halaf sherds (left) and Khabur ware sherd (right) decorated with stylized birds. (J. Oates)
  - .3 Tell Brak: Numerical tablet; 7.0 x 5.6 cm; a thumb print in one of the circular impressions suggests that the tablet was held with the orientation shown; TB 1051, reg. no. 273, CH 103, from the level immediately beneath the level 9, Late Uruk/Jamdat Nasr hearth (section: D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81, Iraq* 44, 1982, pp. 187-204, esp. p. 203, fig. 3), 1978 deep sounding. (J. Oates)
- 11.1 Tell Brak: Area CH, Southeast corner; East section shows area of 1978 sounding (upper right), ED III walls terraced into Late Uruk/Jamdat Nasr tell (left); also visible are the Early Uruk walls of level 14 (bottom right rear) and the area of the 1985 deep sounding (right foreground). (J. Oates)
  - .2 Tell Brak: 'Piedmont Jamdat Nasr' door sealing, bearing three impressions of same seal; 5.3 x 2.4 cm; TB 7039, reg. no. 1618, FS 1173, found in levelling fill consisting largely of 'Jamdat Nasr' ceramic types (casseroles, corrugated rims, etc.). (J. Oates)
- 12.1 Tell Brak: Akkadian 'courtyard building', FS North, with HH columned façade in background; the line of the niche in the North wall of the courtyard is just visible in the section (for plan and reconstruction, see: D. Oates, *Excavations at Tell Brak 1985-86, Iraq* 49, 1987, pp. 175-191, esp. pp. 178-179, figs. 2-3). (J. Oates)
  - .2 Tell Brak: Late Akkadian house, FS South; the post-Akkadian 'tholos' is visible in the background. (J. Oates)

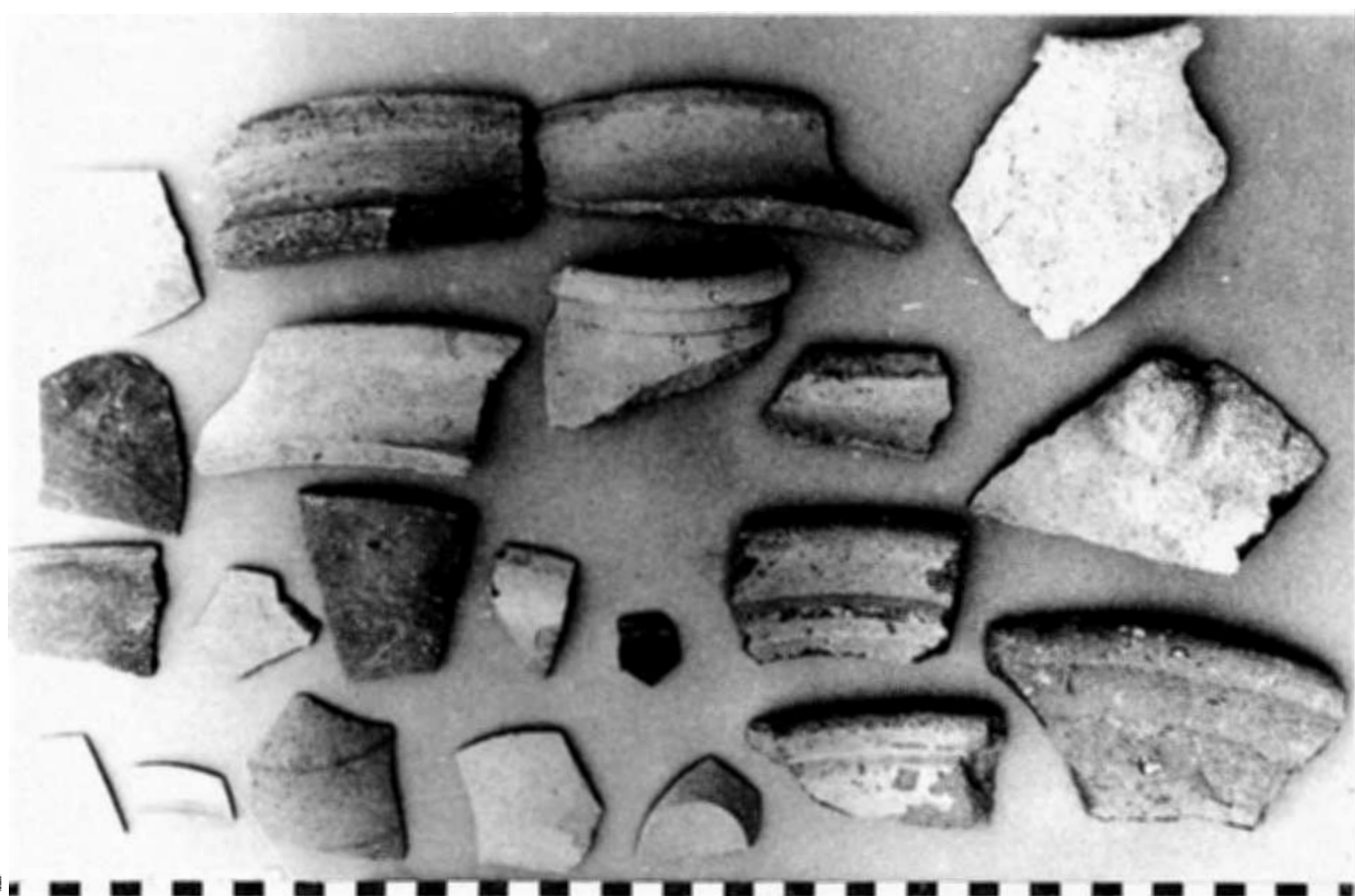
- 13.1 Tell Brak: Lower Akkadian building, Area FS South, showing benches around walls. (J. Oates)
- .2 Tell Brak: Area FS, East section, showing depth of Lower Akkadian building and overlying Late Akkadian and 'interregnum' walls. (J. Oates)
- 14.1 Tell Brak: Area FS North, showing the latest 'red *libn*' house with Mallowan's 1930's trench to the East. (J. Oates)
- .2 Tell Brak: Area FS South, with the post-Akkadian 'tholos' on the right. (J. Oates)
- .3-4 Tell Brak: Stone mould (.3) and impression (.4); 10.3 x 7.1 x 2.4 cm; TB 7049, reg. no. 1900; found on surface in Area FS, but almost certainly of Akkadian date; *cf.* almost identical examples from Aššur, R.-B. Wartke, *Vorderasiatische Gussformen aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, FuB 20, 1980, pp. 223-258, and esp. figs. 3-5; I am grateful to Dr. E. Klengel for information about the very similar moulds in the Staatlichen Museen. (J. Oates)
- 15.1 Tell Brak: Lead figure of naked woman; ht. 6.1 cm, av. thickness 0.4 cm, flat back; 'Anatolian' type, found on surface at east end of mound; TB 7018, reg. no. 1540; *cf.* similar examples in: K. Emre, *Anadolu kurşun figürinleri ve taş ka-ıpları : Anatolian Lead Figurines and Their Stone Moulds*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, VI. Seri. Sa. 14, Ankara 1971; and: J.V. Canby, *Early Bronze 'Trinket' Moulds*, Iraq 27, 1965, pp. 42-61; another 'trinket' type, a lead disc identical with Canby type 8 (Pl. XI) was found in brick debris, Site HH; TB 7020, reg. no. 1558, HH 21. (J. Oates)
- .2 Tell Brak: Mitanni Palace: Glass bottle with inlaid yellow and white festoons in a blue ground; surviving ht. 10.5 cm. (D. Oates)
- .3 Tell Brak: Mitanni Palace: Base of an ivory cosmetic box (*cf.* L. Woolley, *Alalakh*, Oxford 1955, Pl. LXXV); L. 15.2 cm. (J. Oates)
- 16.1 Tell Brak: South end of the Mitanni Palace kitchen, showing cooking installations and drainage channel. (D. Oates)
- .2 Tell Brak: The cella of the Mitanni Temple, from the Southeast. (D. Oates)
- 17.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 1; obverse and reverse of a fragmentary sealed clay tablet. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller); see also Frontispiece.
- .2 Tell Hamidi: HT 2; fragment of a clay tablet, economic text. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .3 Tell Hamidi: HT 3; fragment of a clay tablet, from the house of the *ēntu*-priestess. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- 18.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 4; obverse and reverse of a fragmentary clay tablet, probably a royal letter. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .2 Tell Hamidi: HT 5; fragment of a baked brick, with an inscription of Shalmaneser I. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .3 Tell Hamidi: HT 6; fragment of a baked brick, with an inscription of Aššur-dan I. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- 19.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 7; duplicate of HT 6. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .2 Tell Hamidi: HT 8; fragment of a baked brick, with an inscription of Tukultī-Ninurta II. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)

- 19.3 Tell Hamidi: HT 9; fragment of a baked brick, with an inscription of Aššurnāṣirpal II / Shalmaneser III (?). (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .4 Tell Hamidi: HT 10; fragment of an inscribed baked brick, illegible. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- 20.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 11; Inscription of a fragmentary *hari'u*-container belonging to the god Aššur. (M. Wäfler, K. Deller)
- .2 Tell Hamidi: Wall with fractured bricks. (M. Wäfler, C. Bellmann)

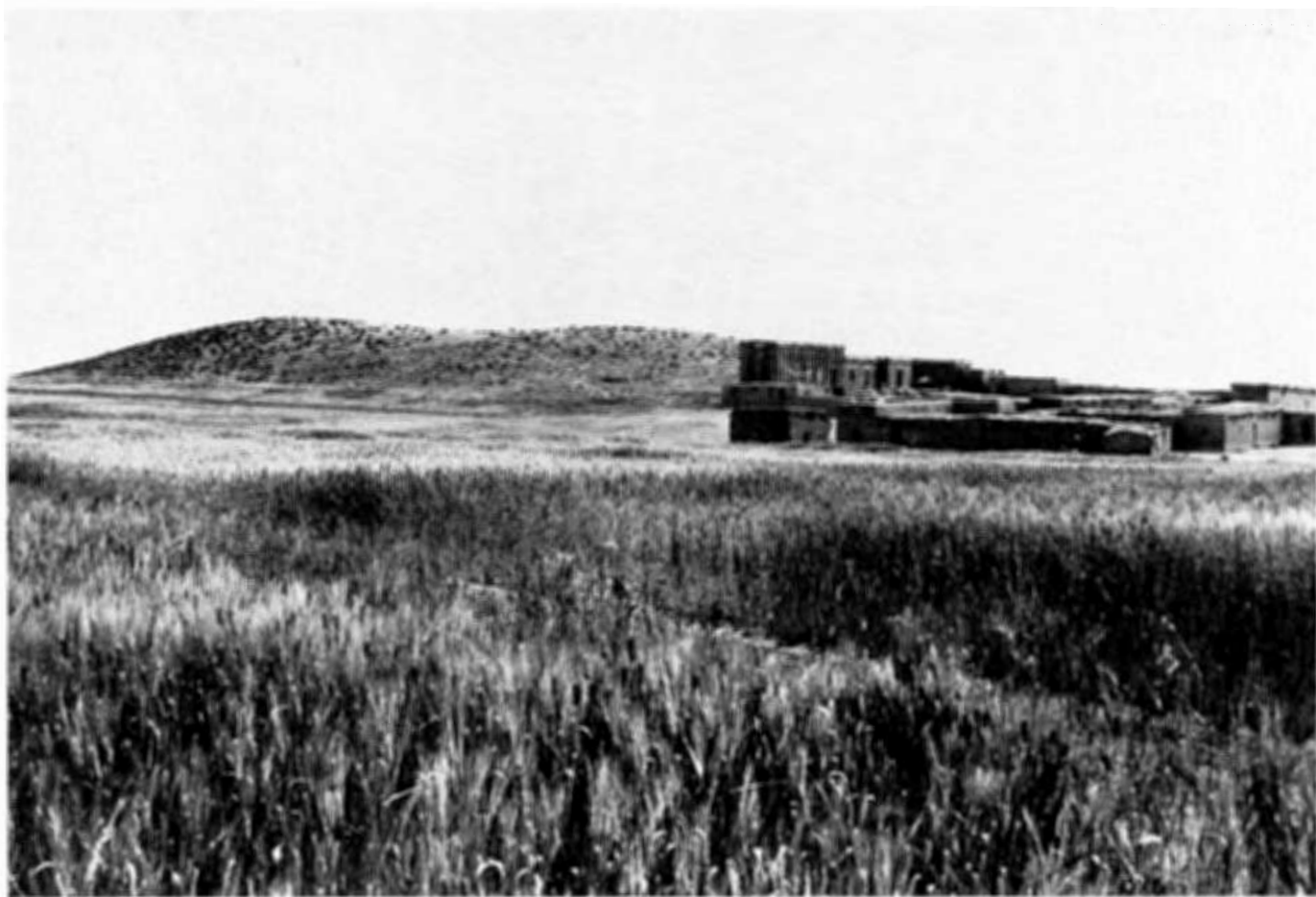




.1 Tell Kashkashuk



.2 Tell Kashkashuk: Sherds



.1 Tell Abu Hajira



.2 Tell Abu Hajira: Sherds



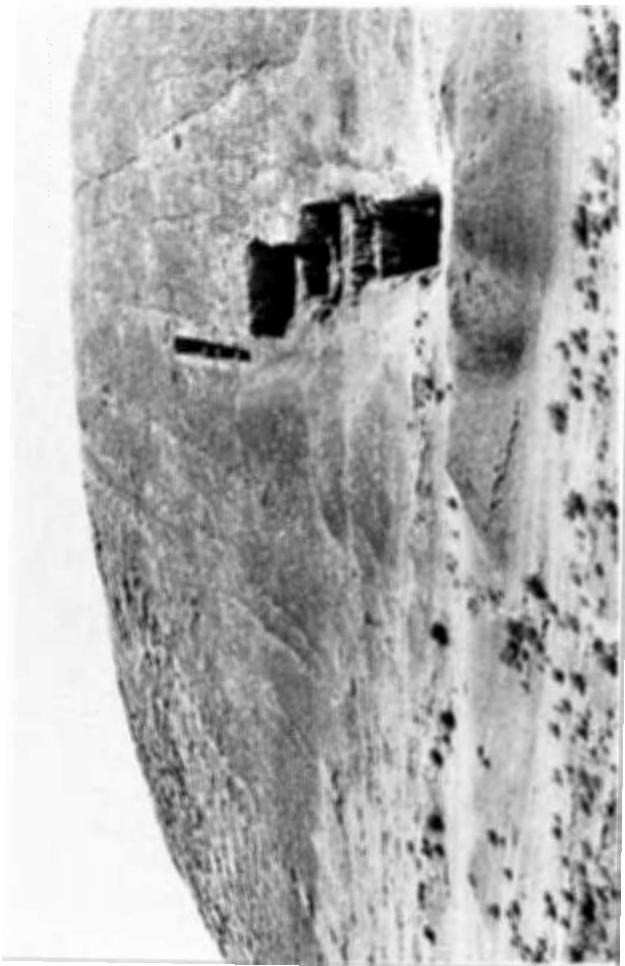
.1 Tell Barri: View from the Southwest



.2 Tell Barri: Aerial photograph



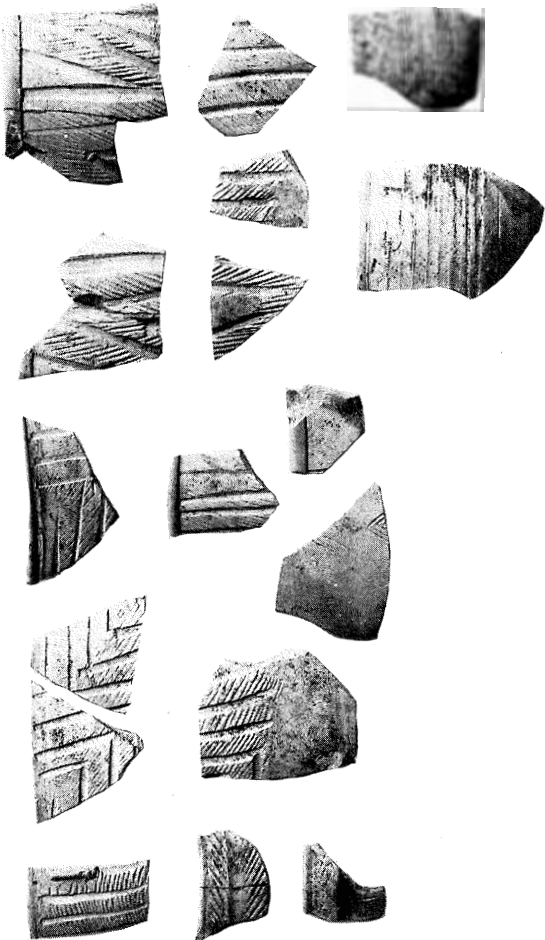
.3 Tell Barri: Area E



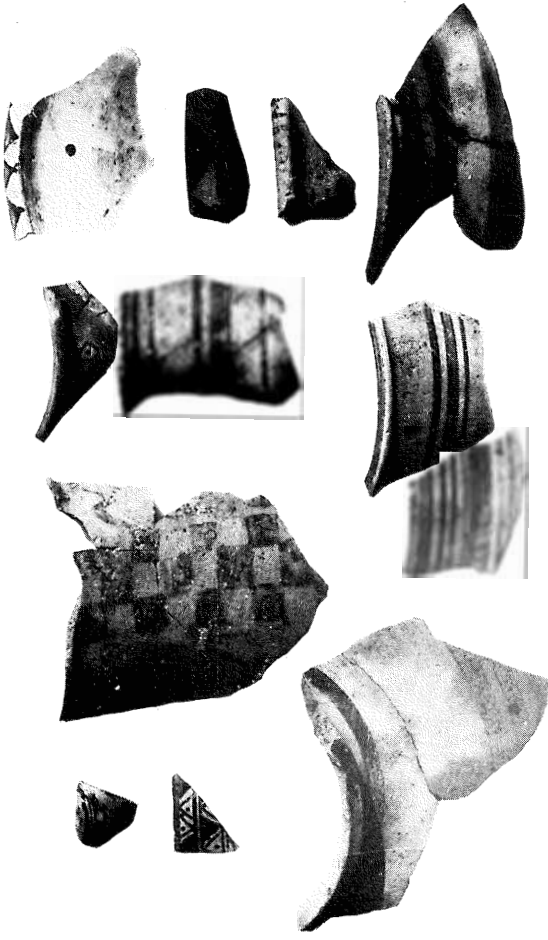
.1 Tell Barri: Area B



.3 Tell Barri: Area G



.2 Tell Barri: Ninevite V ware



.4 Tell Barri: Khabur ware





.1 Tell Barri: Middle Assyrian pottery



.2 Tell Barri: Block from the Neo Assyrian Palace



.3 Tell Barri: Bronze belt buckle



.4 Tell Barri: Decorated Sasanian sherds





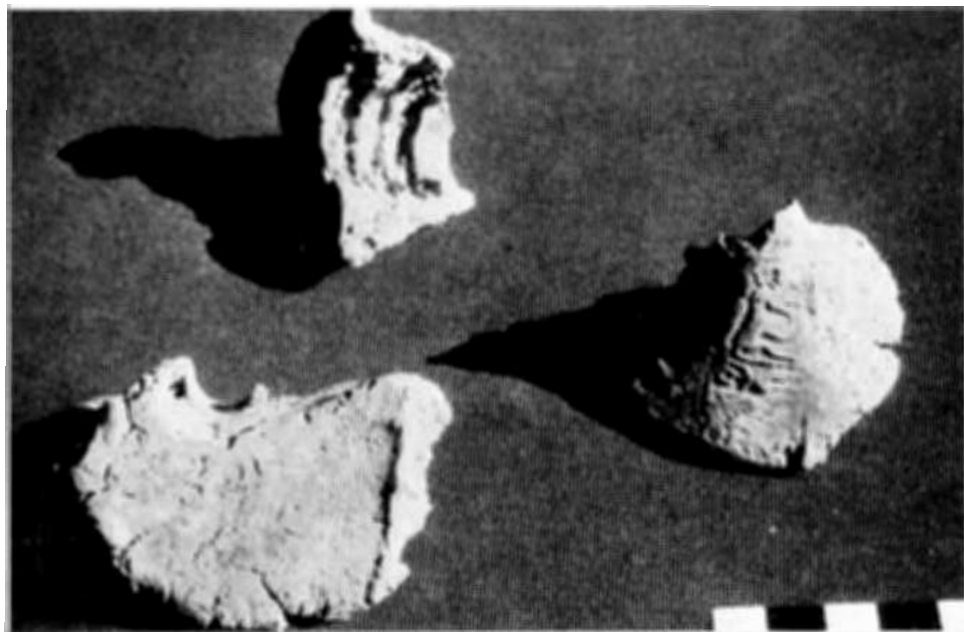
.1 M. 9623



.2 Tell Mozan: Spouted vessel



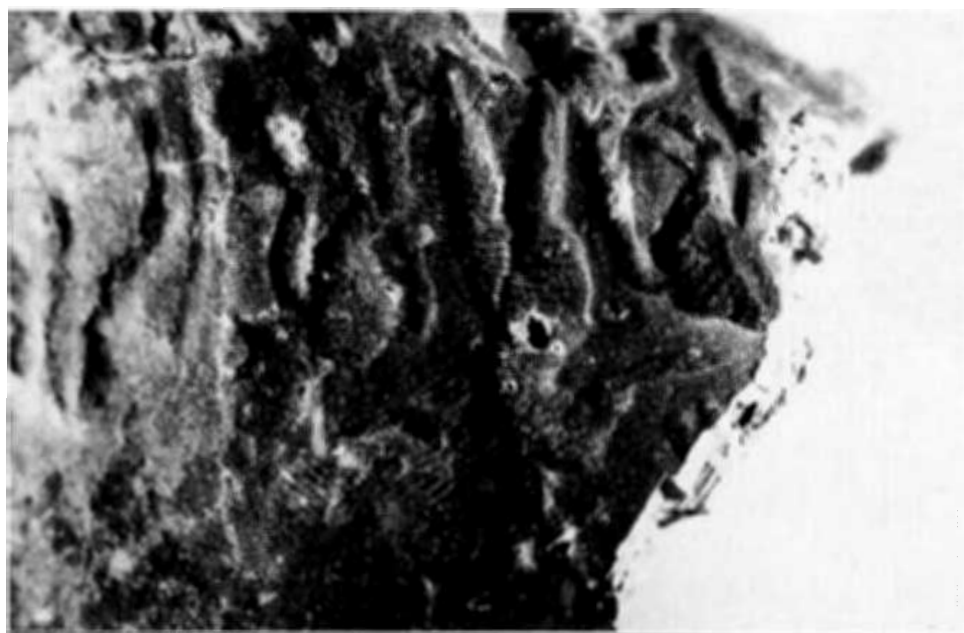
.3 Tell Mozan: Equid head



.1 Tell Mozan: Door sealings



.2 Tell Mozan: Door sealing - hero with animals



.3 Tell Mozan: Door sealing - nude hero



.4 Tell Mozan: Door sealing - snake coil





.1 Tell Mozan: Stone sculpture - lion



.2 Tell Mozan: Stone sculpture - crossed pair of animals



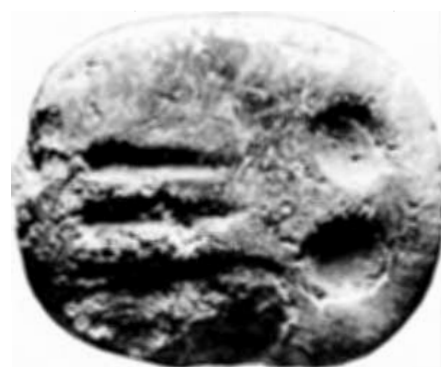
.3 Tell Mozan: Stone sculpture - plowman



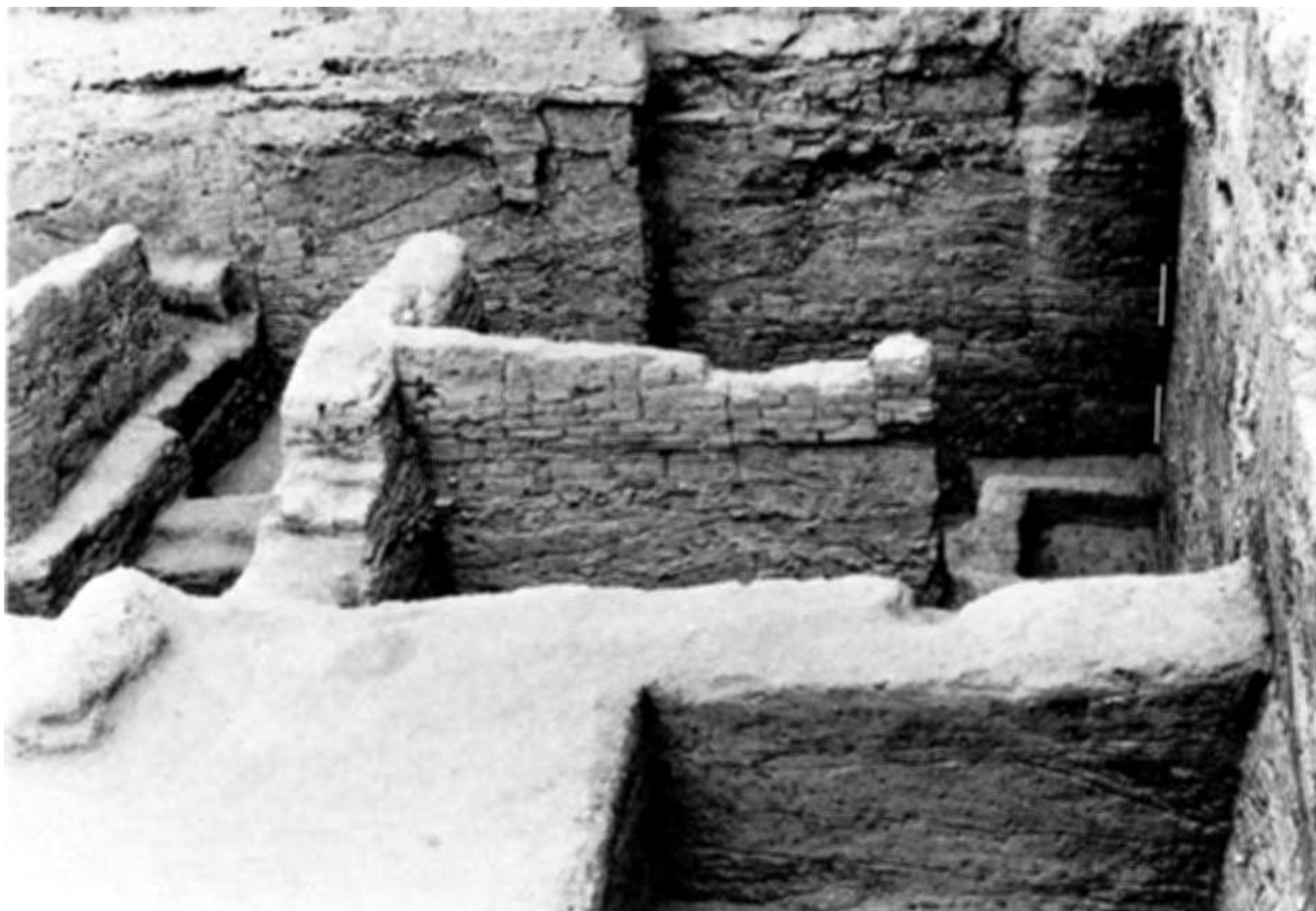
.1 Tell Brak: Façade of Eye Temple



.2 Tell Brak: Halaf sherds (left) and Khabur ware sherd (right)



.3 Tell Brak: Numerical tablet



.1 Tell Brak: Area CH, Southeast corner



.2 Tell Brak: 'Piedmont Jamdat Nasr' door sealing, Area FS

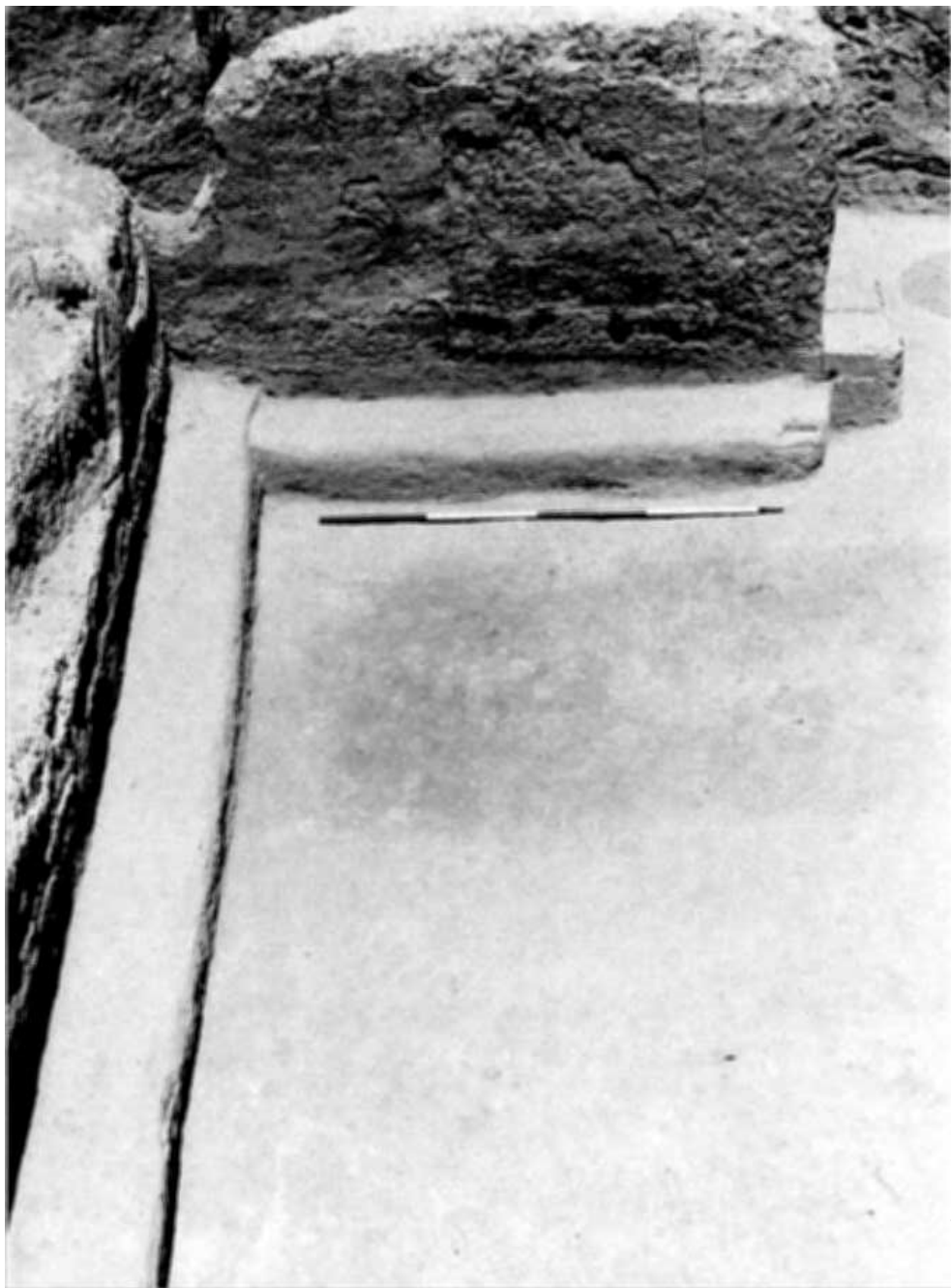


.1 Tell Brak: Area FS North, Akkadian 'courtyard building'



.2 Tell Brak: Area FS South, Late Akkadian house





.1 Tell Brak: Area FS South, Lower Akkadian building



.2 Tell Brak: Area FS, East section



.1 Tell Brak: Area FS North, with the latest 'red libn' house



.2 Tell Brak: Area FS South, with post-Akkadian 'tholos' (right)



.3-4 Tell Brak: Akkadian stone mould and impression



.1 Tell Brak: 'Anatolian' type lead figurine



.2 Tell Brak: Mitanni Palace - glass bottle



.3 Tell Brak: Mitanni Palace - ivory cosmetic box



.1 Tell Brak: South end of the Mitanni Palace kitchen



.2 Tell Brak: The cella of the Mitanni Temple





.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 1 (Obverse and Reverse)



.2 Tell Hamidi: HT 2



.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 1 (Obverse and Reverse)



.3 Tell Hamidi: HT 3



.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 4 (Obverse and Reverse)



.2 Tell Hamidi: HT 5



.3 Tell Hamidi: HT 6



.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 7



.2 Tell Hamidi: HT 8



.3 Tell Hamidi: HT 9



.4 Tell Hamidi: HT 10



.1 Tell Hamidi: HT 11



.2 Tell Hamidi: Wall with fractured bricks

## TALL AL-ḤAMĪDĪYA: VORBERICHT 1985-1987



## 4.1 TECHNISCHE DATEN

Jährlich wurden zwei Kampagnen mit unterschiedlichen Schwerpunkten durchgeführt:

Frühjahr 1985, 14.3. – 4.4.:

S. Eichler, Archäologin  
M. Wäfler, Archäologe

Grabung in den Planquadraten 48/44, 49–51/45. Das im Sommer 1984 angegrabene Ziegel-massiv verlangte weitere Klärungen hinsichtlich der Ausdehnung des dazugehörenden Bau-körpers. Bedingt durch das flach abfallende Gelände war der Unsicherheitsfaktor im Ost-bereich der Zitadelle relativ gross, so dass auf der nordöstlichen Zunge eine Sondage an-gelegt wurde: 48/44, 49/51–45. Die angegrabenen Mauern in 50/45–H<sub>1</sub>–H<sub>2</sub> und 51/45–H<sub>1</sub> ge-hören aufgrund des Befundes zweifellos zum mittanisch-mittelassyrischen Bau<sup>1</sup>; da eine stratigraphische Verbindung zur Grabung auf der Zitadelle (noch) nicht hergestellt ist, kann nicht entschieden werden, zu welcher Bauphase die angegrabenen Mauern gehören; eine Publikation der Architektur wird erfolgen, sobald die Zusammenhänge durch Erwei-terung der Sondage nach Westen – 47–42/44 – geklärt sind.

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<sup>1</sup> *in situ* gefunden:  
50/45–2: Dünnwandiger Becher → 189.3, 1063.2, bemalt → 4002.5–2; gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; H: 7.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 10.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 2.4; H<sub>2</sub>.  
50/45–8: Bauchscherben eines bemalten Gefässes → 4019.11–1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 19; H<sub>2</sub>.  
50/45–9: Bauchscherben mit kombinierter Verzierung → 5000.5–2; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H<sub>2</sub>.  
51/45–1: Gefässfragment → 1017.1, bemalt → 4002.7–2; gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; H: 11.5, Ø: 2.0; H<sub>1</sub>.  
51/45–2: Nuzischerben → 4026.4, weiss auf rotem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; Wandstärke: 0.3; H<sub>1</sub>. (4026.4)

Sommer 1985, 10.8. – 26.9.

K. Bellmann, Architekt  
 Chr. Eichler, Photograph  
 S. Eichler, Archäologin  
 V. Haas, Philologe  
 I. Haas-Wegner, Philologin  
 M. Wäfler, Archäologe  
 D. Warburton, Archäologe  
 U. Zellweger, Assistent

Grabung auf der Zitadelle in den Planquadraten 39/42, 40/42, 40/43: Erweiterung des Schnittes vom Sommer 1984 nach Westen.

Frühjahr 1986, 15.3. – 10.4.

S. Eichler, Archäologin  
 M. Wäfler, Archäologe

Vorbereitende Arbeiten in den Planquadraten 39/40, 39-40/41-42, 40-42/43.

Sommer 1986, 18.8. – 9.10.

S. Eichler, Archäologin  
 M. Wäfler, Archäologe  
 D. Warburton, Archäologe

Grabung auf der Zitadelle in den Planquadraten 38/42-43, 39/41-43, 40/41-42, 41/37-40.

Frühjahr 1987, 15.3. – 9.4.

S. Eichler, Archäologin  
 M. Wäfler, Archäologe

Grabung auf der nach Westen vorspringenden Zunge des Stadtgebietes in den Planquadraten 20/23-24 sowie Nachgrabungen auf der Zitadelle.

Sommer 1987, 14.7. – 12.9.

S. Eichler, Archäologin  
 M. Wäfler, Archäologe

Fortsetzung der Grabung in den Planquadraten 20/23-24, Nachgrabungen auf der Zitadelle sowie Neuvermessung des Hügels.



## 4.2 VORLAEUFIGE STRATIGRAPHIE<sup>2</sup> (Abb. 1)

### 4.2.1 DIE ZITADELLE

Horizonte und Loca sind numeriert in der stratigraphischen Reihenfolge des Grabungsverlaufes - mit wenigen Ausnahmen<sup>3</sup> also in der umgekehrten Reihenfolge ihrer Entstehung; es zeichnen sich dabei die folgenden Benützungs- bzw. Besiedlungsphasen ab:<sup>4</sup>

A: Heutige Oberfläche: in allen Planquadraten als H<sub>0</sub> bezeichnet

B: Benützung in der späten<sup>5</sup> Mandatszeit:

B1: Garnison

39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	40/41-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>0.2</sub>	41/37-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	48/44-H <sub>1</sub>	49/45-H <sub>1</sub>
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	41/40-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>		
		41/41-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>		
		41/42-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>1.1</sub>		
		41/44-H <sub>0.1</sub>		

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<sup>2</sup> Bei den uns besonders interessierenden Phasen K bis M ist die Datierung konventionell - Änderungen sind vorbehalten; vgl. dazu pp. 14, 309.

<sup>3</sup> Die Ausnahmen sind:  
39/43-H<sub>1.1</sub>: zu erklären durch den Grabungsablauf, vgl. dazu p. 266.  
41/41-H<sub>1</sub>: zu erklären durch die stratigraphische Situation; vgl. dazu S. Eichler et al., Tall al-Hamīdiya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985, Plan 2; im folgenden zitiert als: al-Hamīdiya 1.

<sup>4</sup> Zur Gleichsetzung der Horizonte in verschiedenen Grabungsquadraten vergleiche die Begründungen unter 'Horizontenkonzordanz und -beschreibung' der entsprechenden Bauphasen.

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. p. 292, Anm. 37.

C: Benützung in spätsislamischer Zeit (Spätes 19./Frühes 20. Jhd.):

39/43-H<sub>3</sub>      40/43-H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>      41/43-H<sub>1</sub>  
41/44-H<sub>1</sub>

C2: Friedhof

39/42-H<sub>1</sub>      40/42-H<sub>1</sub>      41/44-H<sub>1.1</sub>  
39/43-H<sub>4</sub>      40/43-H<sub>7</sub>

D: Benützung in osmanischer Zeit (16.-20. Jhd.): nur Streufunde

E: Benützung in abbasidischer-ayyubidischer (8.-13. Jhd.), mongolischer, postmongolischer Zeit (13.-16. Jhd.):

39/43-H<sub>5</sub>

E2: Siedlung, abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 2

39/43-H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>6.1</sub>      40/43-H<sub>8</sub>      41/37-H<sub>2.1</sub>-H<sub>2.2</sub>  
 41/43-H<sub>1.1</sub>  
 41/44-H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>

E3: Siedlung (?), abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 3

41/44-H<sub>4</sub>

F: Benützung in omayyadischer Zeit (7.-8. Jhd.): nur Streufunde

G: Besiedlung in parthischer-sassanidischer Zeit<sup>6</sup> (1.-7. Jhd.):

49/43-H<sub>7</sub>-H<sub>8</sub>      40/43-H<sub>9</sub>-H<sub>10</sub>

H: Besiedlung in hellenistischer-parthischer Zeit (4.-1. Jhd.):

39/43-H<sub>9</sub>-H<sub>10</sub>      40/43-H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>

## H2: Siedlung, hellenistisch-parthisch 2

38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub>	39/42-H <sub>1.1</sub>	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> ; H <sub>13.1</sub>	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>

## H3: Siedlung, hellenistisch-parthisch 3

38/42-H <sub>1</sub>	39/42-H <sub>2</sub>	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	41/43-H <sub>2</sub>
38/43-H <sub>1</sub>	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> ; H <sub>12,1</sub>	40/43-H <sub>15</sub>	

H4: Siedlung, hellenistisch-parthisch 4

39/43-H<sub>13</sub>; H<sub>13.2</sub>

## H5: Siedlung, hellenistisch-parthisch 5

39/43-H<sub>14</sub>

## H 6: Siedlung, hellenistisch-parthisch 6

39/43-H<sub>15</sub>

J: Benützung in medischer-achaimenidischer Zeit<sup>7</sup> (7.-4. Jhd.): nur Streufunde

6 So bezeichnet, da die vorherrschenden kulturellen Einflüsse orientalisch sind; auch eine mögliche römische Besiedlung / Benützung wird unter G subsumiert.

<sup>7</sup> So bezeichnet, da nachhaltige spätbabylonische Einflüsse im Hābūrbecken kaum zu erwarten sind.





### 4.3 DIE GRABUNGEN

#### 4.3.1 DIE ZITADELLE

Seit Beginn der Arbeiten ist die Zitadelle der Hauptgrabungsbereich; sie weist - entlang der Ordinate 400 - den folgenden, schematischen Aufbau auf (Abb. 2):

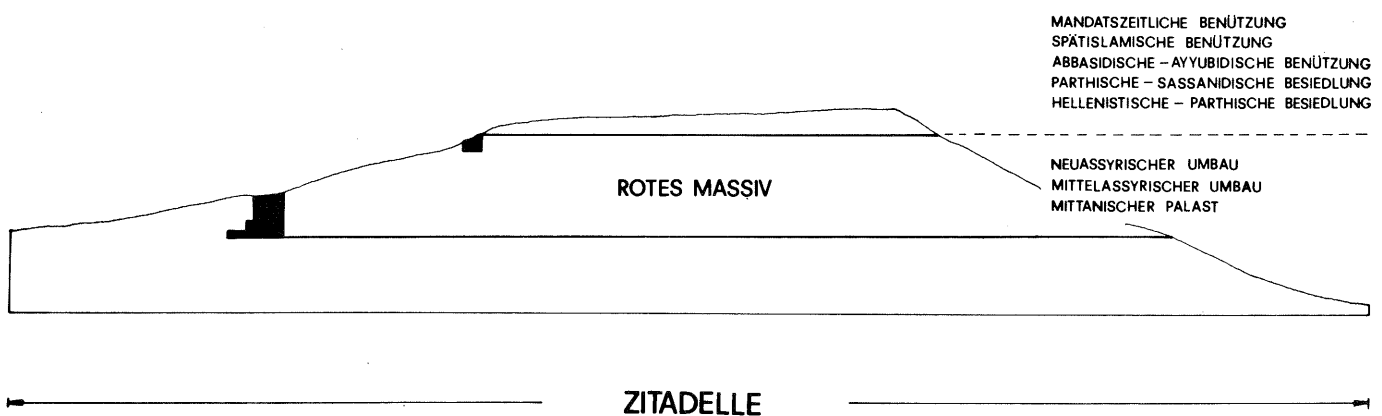


Abb. 2: Zitadellen-Schnitt entlang der Ordinate 400 mit zum Teil extrapolierten Benützungs-/Besiedlungsschichten

##### 4.3.1.1 Der mittanische Palast (Abb. 3; Plan 1)

Dominierendes Bauwerk der Zitadelle ist der Palast, dessen auffallendstes Merkmal ein terrassenförmiger Aufbau<sup>8</sup> sein dürfte - so zu schliessen aus der bis jetzt beobachteten Höhen-

differenz von nahezu 22 m<sup>9</sup> sowie einer über 6 m dicken und nahezu 8 m hohen Mauer<sup>10</sup>, die nur als Stützmauer interpretiert werden kann. Die flächenmässige Ausdehnung dürfte aufgrund des Oberflächenbefundes – intensive Rotverfärbung des Bodens durch Ziegel und Ziegelbruch – auf  $\pm 250 \times 250$  m zu veranschlagen sein.

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DER MITTANISCHE PALAST: 15.-13. JHD.

38/42 - H<sub>4</sub>  
38/43 - H<sub>4</sub>  
39/41 - H<sub>2</sub>  
39/42 - H<sub>4</sub>  
39/43 - H<sub>10</sub>  
40/41 - H<sub>2</sub>  
40/42 - H<sub>2</sub>  
40/43 - H<sub>10</sub>  
41/37 - H<sub>2-4</sub>  
41/38 - H<sub>1-2</sub>  
41/41 - H<sub>1</sub>  
41/42 - H<sub>2</sub>  
41/43 - H<sub>2</sub>

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

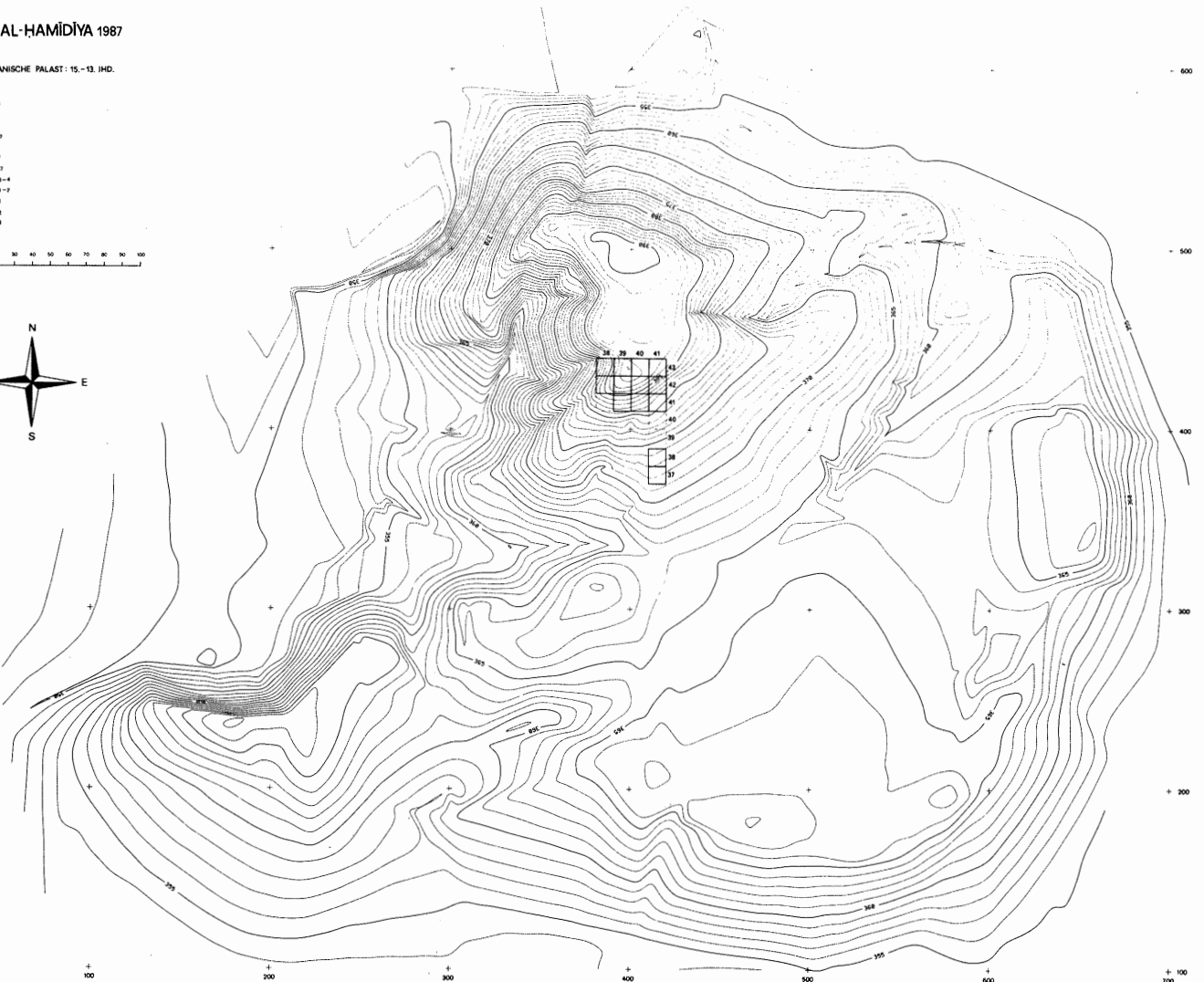


Abb. 3: Grabungsareale des mittanischen Palastes

<sup>9</sup> Höchster Punkt in 39/42 bei 387.215; tiefster Punkt in 41/37 bei 365.640.

<sup>10</sup> Zur Mauer in 41/37-38 vgl. p. 244.

#### 4.3.1.1.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

38/42-H<sub>4</sub>  
 38/43-H<sub>4</sub>  
 39/41-H<sub>2</sub>  
 39/42-H<sub>4</sub>  
 39/43-H<sub>17</sub>  
 40/41-H<sub>2</sub>  
 40/42-H<sub>7</sub>  
 40/43-H<sub>17</sub>  
 41/37-H<sub>3</sub>  
 41/38-H<sub>1</sub>  
 41/41-H<sub>1</sub>  
 41/42-H<sub>2</sub>  
 41/43-H<sub>3</sub>

Die aufgeführten Horizonte stellen Oberkanten<sup>11</sup> von Mauern aus ungebrannten roten Lehmziegeln des Standardformates  $\pm 38.0 \times 38.0 \times 8.0$  cm dar. Diese sind so vermauert, dass sich die Ziegel im Mauerverband – mit Ausnahme der Mauerkanten und Ecken – je zu einem Viertel überdecken. Die Ziegel wurden offensichtlich in noch feuchtem Zustand vermauert; die beim Trocknen unter Druck entstandenen Schwundrisse bildeten sich entlang der Fugen der darüber- bzw. darunterliegenden Ziegellage, so dass Viertelziegel entstanden.<sup>12</sup> Da Fugen und Schwundrisse übereinander zu liegen kamen, zerfiel der beabsichtigte Ziegelverband in wenig stabile Säulen mit dem Querschnitt eines Viertelziegels (Abb. 4).

Die Gleichzeitigkeit der Horizonte in 38–40/41–43 und 41/41–42<sup>13</sup> ist durch den Verlauf der Mauern gegeben; das isolierte Mauerstück in 41/43 dürfte – da ebenfalls in Viertelziegel<sup>14</sup> zerfallen und in gleicher Höhe liegend – mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkeit dazugehört haben; schwieriger ist die Zuweisung der entsprechenden Horizonte in 41/37–38 – lediglich eine Beobachtung spricht für eine Zugehörigkeit zum mittanischen Palast: In den zu diesem Zweck präparierten Quadraten 41/39–40 konnte bislang keine Baufuge festgestellt werden, die uns berechtigen würde, die in 41/37–38 ausgegrabenen Räume als Teil eines Neu- bzw. Anbaus des ersten oder gar zweiten Umbaus zu betrachten.

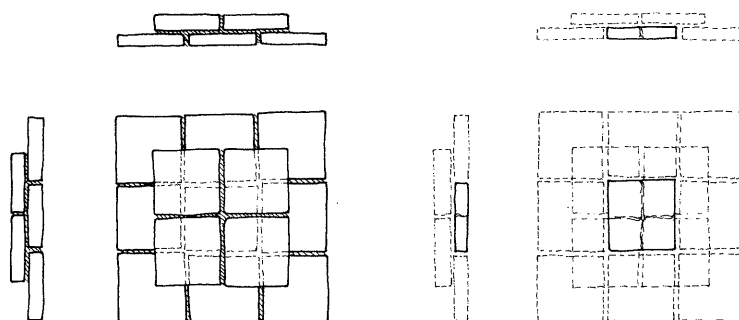


Abb. 4: Schematische Zeichnung des Mauerverbandes mit Fugen und Schwundrissen

#### 4.3.1.1.2 Baubeschreibung

Vom ursprünglichen Gebäude wurden bislang zwei nicht zusammenhängende, im Verhältnis zum Gesamtumfang sehr bescheidene Bereiche aufgedeckt:

<sup>11</sup> Die noch nicht erreichten, entsprechenden Unterkanten in 41/37 bzw. 41/38 sind als H<sub>4</sub> bzw. H<sub>2</sub> in der vorläufigen Stratigraphie (Abb. 1) eingetragen.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. dazu den Beitrag von C. Bellmann, pp. 319–323.

<sup>13</sup> Dazu: al-Ḥamīdīya 1, Plan 2.

<sup>14</sup> Entsprechend zu korrigieren ist: al-Ḥamīdīya 1, Plan 2 im Quadrat 41/43.

- 41/37-38: Die Südmauer der beiden in Achse liegenden Räume R 109 und R 110 ist in Form und Ausmass ungewöhnlich: die abgetreppte, mit Nischen versehene Mauer baut sich aus den folgenden Elementen auf:
  - Hauptmauer: 6 m dick und gegenwärtig 7.76 m hoch,
  - erste genischte Abtreppe: 1 m breit, 1.60 m hoch,
  - zweite Abtreppe von noch unbekanntem Ausmass: bis jetzt ergraben sind 3 m Breite und 0.9 m Höhe.

Angesichts von Ausmass und Form kommt eine Interpretation als normale Mauer oder als Aussenmauer des Palastes kaum in Frage – eher dürfte es sich um eine Stützmauer für höher gelegene Palastbereiche handeln.

Die beiden Räume R 109 und R 110 sind durch eine asymmetrisch angeordnete, zweiflügelige Türe miteinander verbunden; von der ehemaligen Konstruktion sind nur noch die Löcher der beiden Türangelsteine erhalten geblieben. Konzentrationen von Ziegelbruch weisen darauf hin, dass beide Räume ursprünglich einen Boden aus gebrannten Ziegeln besessen haben.

- Am Südrand des Zitadellenplateaus wurden acht Räume an- bzw. ausgegraben; an keiner Stelle konnte der Boden erreicht werden: ein 4 m tiefer Schnitt bei  $\frac{39/42}{39/41} + \frac{40/42}{40/41}$  (im Bereich der Störungen 39/41 – S1+S2, 39/42 – S8+S10, 40/41 – S1–S3, 40/42 – S10+S15<sup>15</sup>) brachte nicht nur keine Klärung, sondern komplizierte den Befund durch eine unterschiedlich tiefe Mauer auf der Aussenseite (Abb. 5).

Im Zentrum des Grabungsareals liegen drei, funktional wohl zusammenhängende Räume R 101, R 102, R 103: R 101 ist ein langgestreckter Saal von – soweit ausgegraben – 16 m Länge und 8 m Breite. Ihm sind im Westen zwei Breiträume von je 3.20 x 8.00 m vorgelagert: R 102 öffnet sich zentral mit einem 3.40 m breiten Portal nach R 101; R 102 und R 103 werden erschlossen durch Türen mit gegeneinander verschobenen Achsen, was auf eine Eingangssituation hindeutet.

R 104-108 ergeben sich aus angegrabenen Quermauern oder aus festgestellten Türanschlüssen.

Alle Wände waren – soweit feststellbar – mit Lehm verputzt.

#### 4.3.1.1.3 Keramik

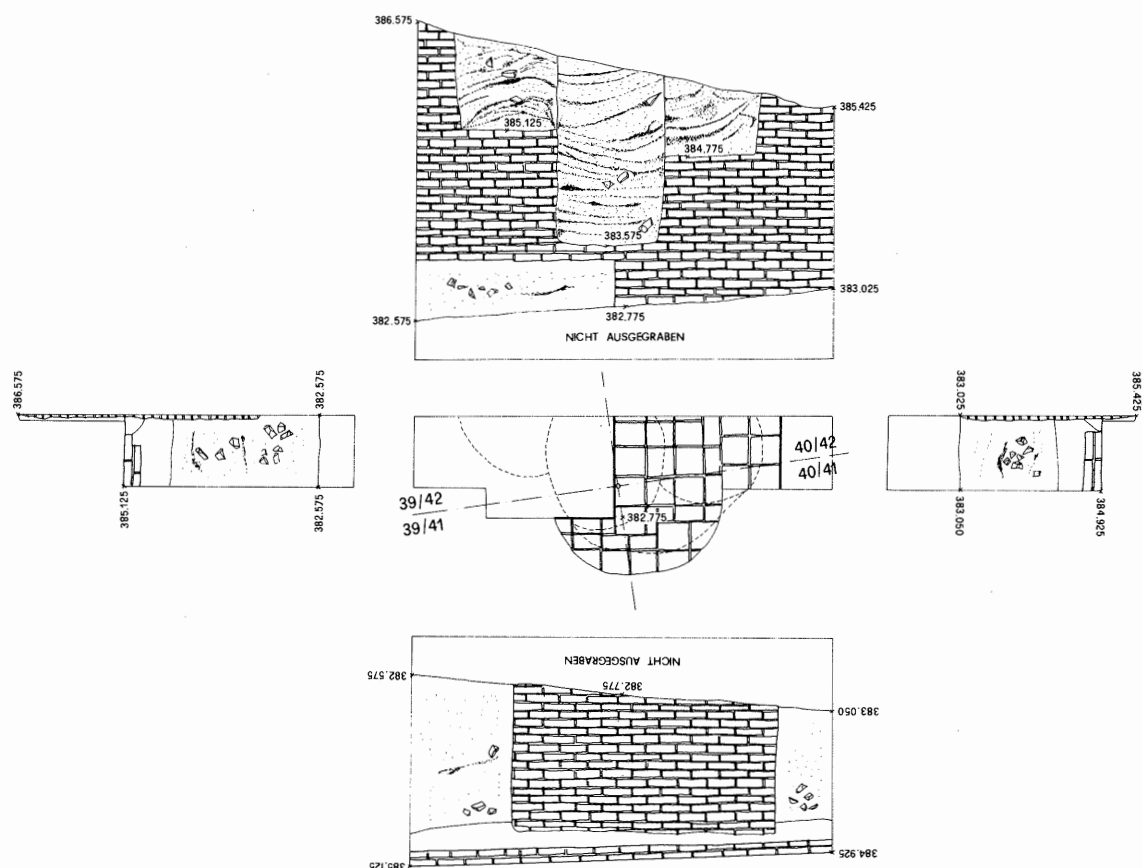
Räume und Stützmauer in den Planquadraten 41/37-38 sind mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit im Zusammenhang mit dem ursprünglichen Bau entstanden;<sup>16</sup> wie lange sie verwendet worden

<sup>15</sup> Die Störungen sind auf Plan 1 und auf Abb. 19 detailliert verzeichnet.

<sup>16</sup> Zur Begründung vgl. p. 243.



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SCHNITT BEI  $\frac{39/42}{39/41} \mid \frac{40/42}{40/41}$ Abb. 5: Schnitt bei  $\frac{39/42}{39/41} \mid \frac{40/42}{40/41}$ : Planum in der Mitte, die vier Profile ausgeklappt.

sind, entzieht sich unseren Kenntnissen; nur unter Vorbehalt kann daher die Keramik dieser ältesten Benützungsphase zugeschrieben werden:

0.1-2	20.2	50.1-2	81.1	127.1-7	153.1, 3
1.1-2	21.3	51.3-51	89.1	128.1-3	154.1-2
3.2	24.10	52.1-3	90.1-2	130.1	156.1
4.1-3, 7	25.1, 5	53.1-2, 6, 9	91.1	132.1	158.1-3, 6, 11
5.1-3, 5-9	26.1-2, 5-6	54.1-6	96.1-3	133.1	159.1, 4
6.1-8	27.1	55.1, 3	97.1-2	134.1-2	166.2-4, 6, 8-9
7.1	28.1	56.1-5	98.1	135.2	167.1
8.1-2	29.1	57.2	100.1	136.1-3, 6-7	168.1
9.1-2, 4-5	31.4	59.1-2	101.1-4, 6-14	138.1	171.1, 3-4
10.2-4	32.2	60.1, 3	105.1	139.1, 3-4	173.1
11.1-2	33.2, 4	66.1	107.1-3	140.1-2	174.1-4
12.1	35.1	68.1-3, 5	108.1-7	141.1, 3	175.1
13.1-5	36.2-3	70.3-6	109.1-2	142.1-11, 13-16	176.1-2
14.1-4, 7-9, 11-13	37.1-4	71.1-3	110.1	145.1-2	177.1-2
15.1	38.2	73.1	112.1-2	147.1	179.1
16.1	39.1, 6	75.1	114.1	148.3	185.1
17.1-2	40.1-2, 4	77.1	121.1	149.1, 3	188.1
18.1-2, 4	41.1-3	78.1	122.2	150.1, 3-4, 6-8	189.1-4
19.1-2, 4	42.1-3	79.1	126.1, 3, 7-9, 11-13	151.4	191.2
	49.4	80.1, 3-4		152.1-2, 7-10	193.1

195.1	215.1	231.1-2, 4	244.1-2	255.1-2	277.2
196.1-4	219.1-3	233.1-2	245.1	258.1	279.1
198.1-2	220.1	234.2-4	247.1	260.1	280.1-2
201.1	222.1, 3-4	235.1-5, 8	248.1, 5	263.2	288.1
204.2-3	223.1	236.1	249.1	265.1	289.1
211.5	224.1	237.1	250.1, 3	267.1	295.2-8
212.1	225.1-3	238.2	251.1	269.1	303.3
213.1, 7	226.1	241.1-3	252.1	271.1-3	307.1
214.1	227.1	242.1-3	253.1	276.1	
1000.1, 4	1016.2-6	1028.1-4	1042.1-2	1054.1	1072.1
1001.1-2	1017.2-5	1029.1-3	1043.1-2	1055.1-2	1073.1
1004.1, 3-33	1018.1-5	1030.1-9	1044.1	1056.1	1075.1
1005.2	1019.1-2	1031.1	1045.1-2	1058.1	1076.1-2
1006.1-2, 4-7	1020.1, 6	1032.2	1046.1-2	1059.2-3	1077.1-3
1007.1	1021.1	1033.1-3	1047.1-2	1060.1-2	1078.1
1008.1-2	1022.1	1036.1	1048.1-2	1061.1-3	1079.1, 3-5
1010.1	1023.1-2	1037.1	1049.1-2	1063.3	1084.1-2
1011.1, 3, 5	1024.1-2	1038.1-10	1050.1-2	1065.1-2	1085.2
1012.1-3	1025.1-2	1039.1	1051.1-2, 4	1066.1	1086.2-3
1014.2	1026.2, 4	1040.1	1052.1-2	1068.1-2	1091.1
1015.3-5	1027.2	1041.1-3	1053.1, 3	1070.1	1092.1
3001.1	3014.2-3	3022.2	3030.1-3	3032.1-2	3036.1-3
3002.2-3, 5-6, 8	3018.1	3026.1	3031.1-4	3033.1-3	3037.1, 3-6
3012.3, 5-6	3020.1	3027.1, 3-5, 8			
4000.1, 5	4003.1	4006.2-3	4010.2, 4	4022.2-3	4027.1
4001.2	4004.4	4007.3-4	4014.1	4025.5	
4002.1-3, 5-6, 8	4005.1, 5	4008.1	4019.2, 7	4026.15, 19-23	
5000.1, 3					
5001.1-2					
5003.1					

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 41/37-3, -4, -6, -7, -10, -24, -25, -26, -27, -28, -30.

Im Zitadellenbereich wurde mit Ausnahme des Schnittes bei  $\frac{39/42}{39/41} | \frac{40/42}{40/41}$  und des Planquadrates 41/42 nur bis zum Fussboden der ersten Wiederverwendung in mittelassyrischer Zeit gegraben; Keramik, die eindeutig dem ursprünglichen Bau zugewiesen werden kann, liegt dementsprechend (noch) nicht vor.

#### 4.3.1.1.4 Kleinfunde<sup>17</sup>

Für die Kleinfunde gelten bei gleichem Grabungsbefund die gleichen Vorbehalte wie für die Keramik:

41/37-2: Konischer Tonstift, unten wohl ursprünglich mit einem Wulst versehen; Teil einer Bauplastik?; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 17.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 5.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.2; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>17</sup> Ist ein Gefäss, eine Lippe, ein Fuss oder ein Bauchscherben Vorlage für den Keramikatalog, wird - ähnlich eines Abbildungsnachweises - unmittelbar unter der Fundnummer darauf verwiesen; in anderen Fällen erfolgt der Verweis nur mit →; als Abkürzungen gelten: L = Länge, B = Breite, H = Höhe, D = Dicke,  $\varnothing$  = Durchmesser.

- 41/37 -3: Becher → 189.4, 1005.2, unbemalt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 10.0; Ø: 8.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (189.4)
- 41/37 -4: Deckel → 303.3; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 3.8, Ø: 17.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (303.3)
- 41/37 -5: Steinzylinder; schwarzer Stein mit weissen Adern; H: 1.0, Ø: 1.7; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37 -6: Fragmentarischer Becher → 1004.8, unbemalt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 5.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37 -7: Fragmentarischer Becher → 1004.19, unbemalt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 7.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37 -8: Pfeilspitze; Kupfer?; L: 8.8, B: 2.0, D: 0.15; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.6)
- 41/37-10: Ritzverzierte Schüsselöse; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H: 4.5, B: 5.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-11: Einlegearbeit; Perlmutt und Elfenbein; D<sub>1</sub>: 0.6, D<sub>2</sub>: 0.2, Ø: 3.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.7)
- 41/37-12: Dünnes Goldplättchen; Ø: 2.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-13: Sichelfragment; Kupfer?; L: 15.0, B: 2.4, D: 0.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-14: Pfeilspitze; Kupfer?; L: 4.5, B: 1.1, D: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.8)
- 41/37-15: Vierkant, abgebrochen; Kupfer?; L: 7.0, Querschnitt: 0.6 x 0.6; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-16: Fragmentarische Nadel; Kupfer?; L: 5.0, Ø: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-17: Perle, durchbohrt; gelbliche Fritte; D: 0.9, Ø: 1.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.9)
- 41/37-18: Stempelsiegel, durchbohrt; Fritte; H: 0.7, Ø: 1.7; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.10)
- 41/37-19: Zylinder, in der Längsachse durchbohrt; Gips; H: 1.2, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-20: Pfeilspitze; schwarzer Silex; L: 3.1, B: 2.5, D: 0.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.11)
- 41/37-21: Fragmentarische Tierterrakotta, Zeburind; gebrannter Ton; L: 4.2, H: 2.5, B: 1.8; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-22: Zylinderfragment, in der Längsachse zentral durchbohrt, Rohmaterial für ein Rollsiegel?; schwarzer Stein; H: 2.1, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.9, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-23: Nadelfragment; Kupfer?; L: 5.5, Ø: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-24: Nuzischerben → 4026.19, weiss auf rotem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (4026.19)

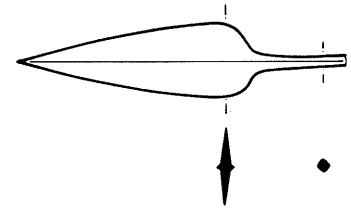


Abb.6: Pfeilspitze  
41/37-8

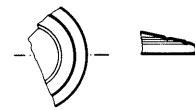


Abb.7: Einlegearbeit  
41/37-11

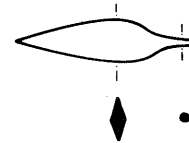


Abb.8: Pfeilspitze  
41/37-14

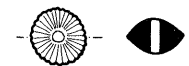


Abb.9: Fritteperle  
41/37-17



Abb.10: Stempelsiegel  
41/37-18

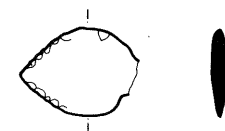


Abb.11: Pfeilspitze  
41/37-20

- 41/37-25: Nuzischerben → 4026.20, weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.  
(4026.20)
- 41/37-26: Nuzischerben → 4026.21, weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.  
(4026.21)
- 41/37-27: Nuzischerben → 4026.22, weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.  
(4026.22)
- 41/37-28: Nuzischerben → 4026.23, weiss auf braunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.  
(4026.23)
- 41/37-29: Zylinder, oben abgerundet, verziert; gelbliche Fritte; H: 1.4, Ø: 1.15; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)  
(Abb.12)



Abb.12: Frittezylinder  
41/37-29

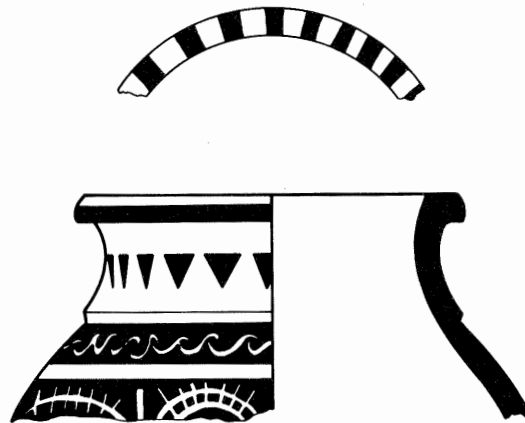


Abb.13: Gefässfragment 41/37-30

- 41/37-30: Gefässfragment → 127.3, bemalt → 4006.3-2 + 4026.15-2; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 6.0, Ø: 10.0.; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)  
(Abb.13)
- 41/37-31: Tafelfragment, erhalten ist die rechte, obere Ecke; Ton, verbrannt; 3.0 x 3.5 x 1.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → pp. 327-328 (HT 4)
- 41/37-32: Tafelfragment, erhalten ist die linke Seite; Ton, verbrannt; 3.8 x 2.4 x 1.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → pp. 326-327 (HT 3).
- 41/37-33: Bruchstück eines Bergkristalls, unbearbeitete Spitze; H: 2.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-35: Bruchstück eines Bergkristalls, unbearbeitete Spitze; H: 2.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-36: Fragmentarische Bauplastik; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 8.0, B: 7.5, D: 7.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-37: Fragmentarische Bauplastik; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 11.0, B: 17.0, D: 9.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-38: Stift, unregelmässig konisch sich verjüngend; gebrannter Ton, Ware 9; L: 11.0, Ø: 4.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-39: Rad; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; D: 3.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 9.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-40: Rad; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; D: 3.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-41: Rad; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; D: 2.2, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-42: Rad; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; D: 3.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

- 41/37-43: Rad mit Spuren schwarzer Bemalung; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; D: 0.7,  $\varnothing_1$ : 4.2,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.9; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-44: Fragmentarischer Vierbeiner; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 5.5, H: 3.0, B: 4.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-45: Knauffragment, durchbohrt; gelblicher Kalkstein; H: 3.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : unbestimmbar,  $\varnothing_2$ : 1.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/37-46: Schalenfragment, dreibeinig; grober Basalt; H: 11.0,  $\varnothing$ : 23.0, Wandstärke: 3.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

Aus den im Sommer 1984 angegrabenen Quadraten 41/42-43<sup>18</sup> dürften die folgenden Funde *in situ* dem ursprünglichen Palastbau zuzuordnen sein:

- 41/42 -1: Dreifüßige Schale; mittelkörniger Basalt; H: 19.5,  $\varnothing$ : 33.0; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/42 -2: Blechfragment; Gold; L: 1.2, B: 0.2, D: 0.05; H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/42 -3: Pfeilspitze; Kupfer ?<sup>19</sup>; L: 7.0, B: 1.5, D: 0.4; (Abb.14) H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 41/42 -4: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; Ton; H: 0.8,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.3; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.15)
- 41/43-21: Mittelteil einer menschlichen Terrakotta, aus dem Model gepresst; gebrannter Ton; Masse der Figur: H: 3.5, B: 2.3, D: 2.0 (Grund: 0.5, Reliefhöhe: 1.5); H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.16)
- 41/43-22: Fragmentarische Tierterrakotta; gebrannter Ton; L: 5.3, H: 4.5, B: 3.5; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (M 1:2) (Abb.17)
- 41/43-23: Nadel mit breitem Kopf; Kupfer ?; L: 15.3,  $\varnothing$ : 0.5, Kopfquerschnitt: 0.8 x 0.3; H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/43-24: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; Serpentin; H: 0.9,  $\varnothing_1$ : 2.6,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.8; H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-25: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; Serpentin; H: 0.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.9,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>.

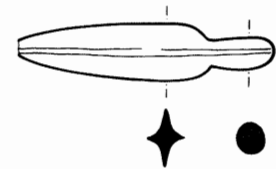


Abb.14: Pfeilspitze  
41/42-3



Abb.15: Tonperle  
41/42-4



Abb.16: Terrakotta  
41/43-21



Abb.17: Terrakotta  
41/43-22

<sup>18</sup> Vgl.: al-Ḥamīdīya 1, pp. 107-108.

<sup>19</sup> Zu korrigieren in: al-Ḥamīdīya 1, p. 107.

## 4.3.1.1.5 Datierung

Zwei Momente lassen uns gegenwärtig eine Datierung ins 15.–13. Jahrhundert vermuten:

- Der mittanische Duktus der Tafel HT 3.<sup>20</sup>
- Die relative Datierung bezüglich des mittelassyrischen Umbaus<sup>21</sup> mit der folgenden Präzisierung der Zeitspanne zwischen dem Ende des ursprünglichen Baus und dieser ersten Wiederverwendung: sie muss sehr kurz gewesen sein, da Mauern aus Säulen gebrochener Viertelziegel ausserordentlich instabil werden, sobald der Druck des Daches wegfällt; unseren Beobachtungen entsprechend (Abb. 5) sind die Mauern des ursprünglichen Baus und die der ersten Wiederverwendung gleich dick, können also nur ganz kurze Zeit freigestanden haben<sup>22</sup>; ein Unterschied besteht lediglich in der Behandlung der Mauern: im ursprünglichen Bau besaßen sie einen Lehm-, in erster Wiederverwendung einen Gipsverputz.

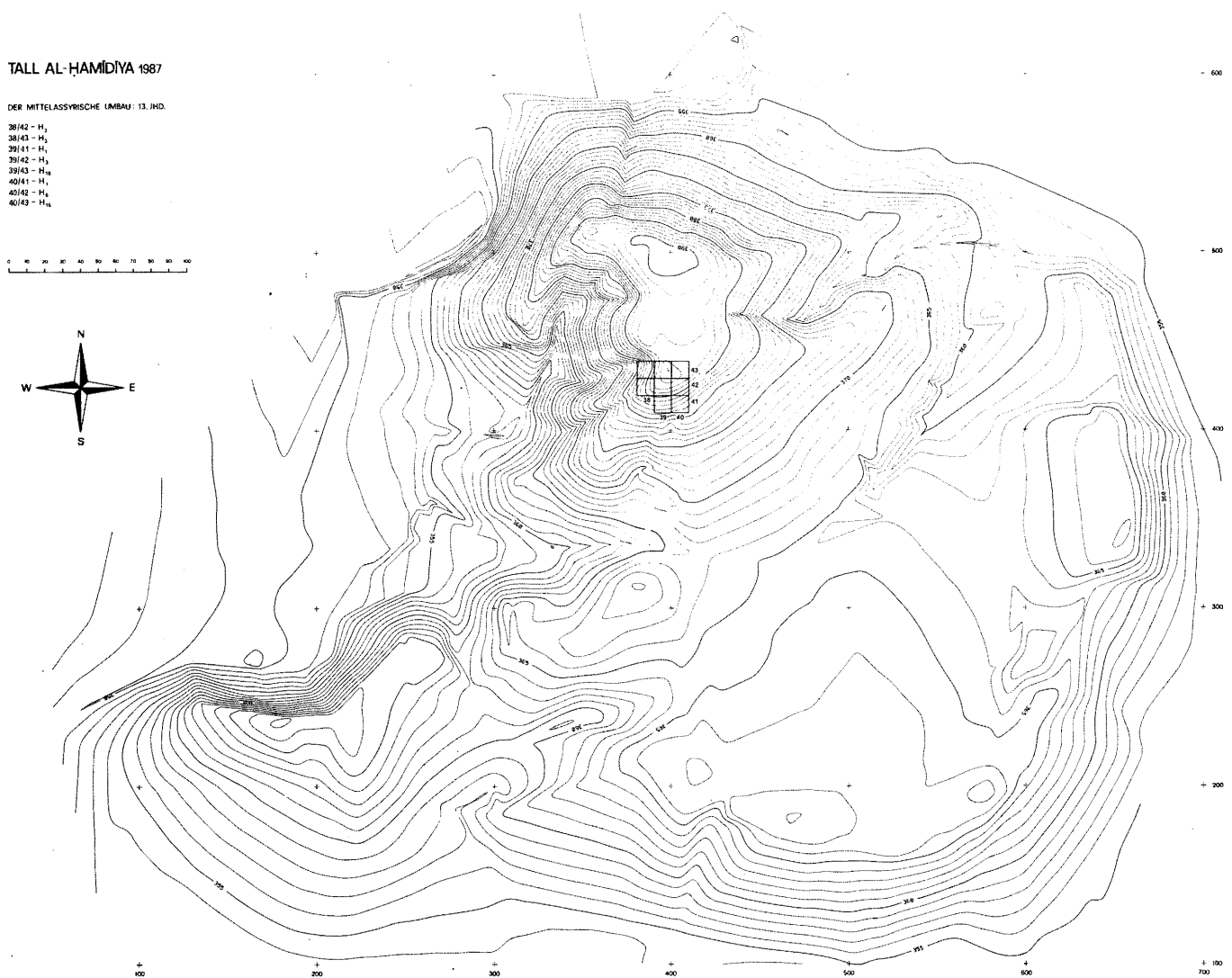


Abb. 18: Grabungsareale des mittelassyrischen Umbaus

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. p. 326.

<sup>21</sup> Zur Datierung, vgl. p. 254.

<sup>22</sup> Dass sie freistanden, schliessen wir aus der Konsistenz des planierten Schuttes.

#### 4.3.1.2 Der mittellassyrische Umbau (Abb. 18, 19)

Der am Südrand des Zitadellenplateaus ausgegrabene Palastbereich wurde geringfügig umgebaut: der angefallene Schutt wurde planiert, darüber ein neuer Boden aus ungebrannten Ziegeln verlegt, die Wände weiss verputzt und bemalt.

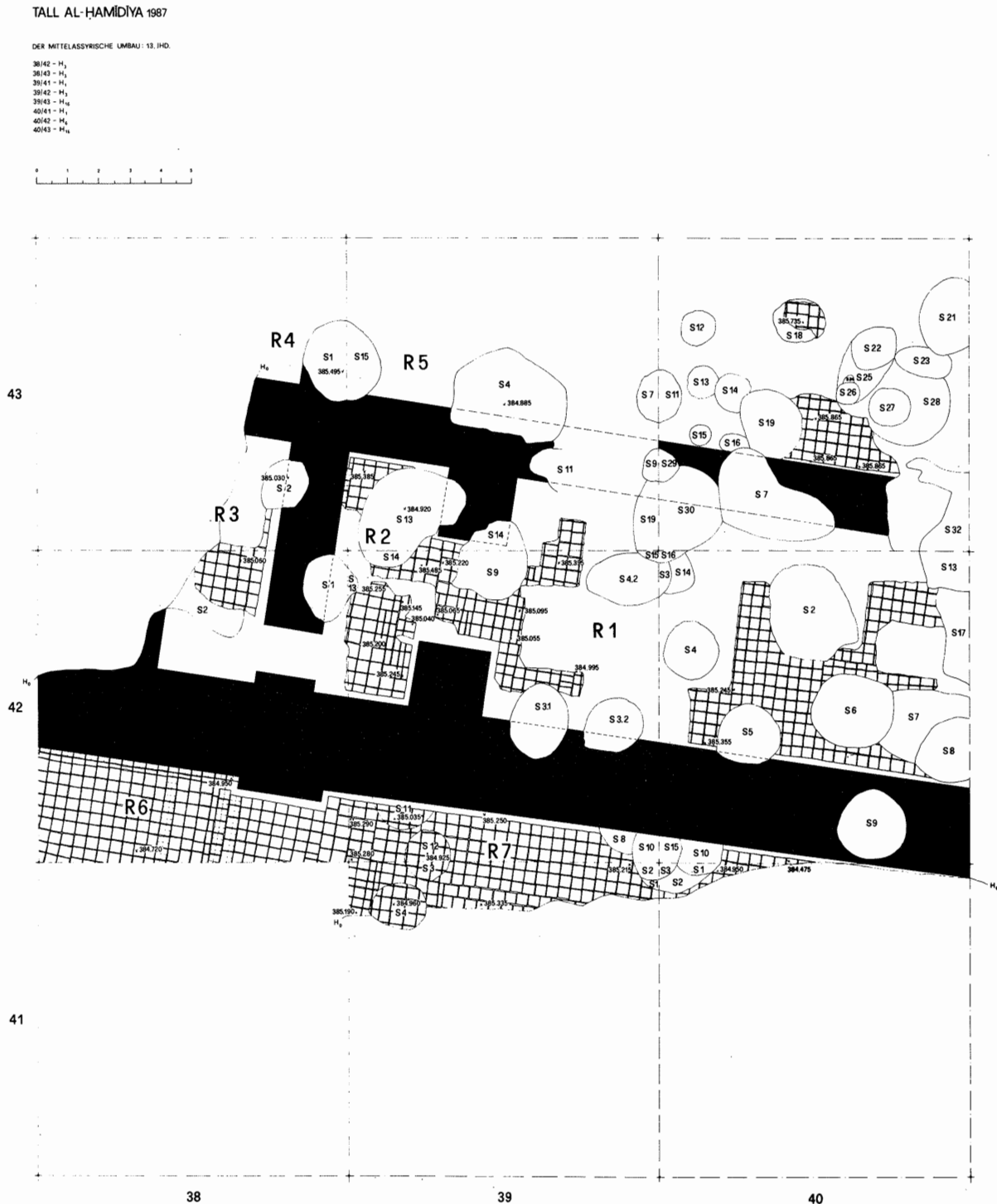


Abb. 19: Der mittellassyrische Fussboden

## 4.3.1.2.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

38/42-H <sub>3</sub>	Oberkante eines Bodenpflasters aus ungebrannten Ziegeln des Standardformates ( $\pm 38.0 \times 38.0 \times 8.0$ ), 2-4 Lagen stark (Abb. 5), nachträglich durch Gruben stark zerstört.
38/43-H <sub>3</sub>	
39/41-H <sub>1</sub>	
39/42-H <sub>3</sub>	
39/43-H <sub>16</sub>	
40/41-H <sub>1</sub>	
40/42-H <sub>6</sub>	
40/43-H <sub>16</sub>	

## 4.3.1.2.2 Baubeschreibung

Die Mauern des ursprünglichen Baus wurden mit Ausnahme der Quermauer in 39/41 und 40/41-42 ohne Änderungen beibehalten, so dass die Raumeinteilung weitgehend erhalten blieb; geändert hat sich das Niveau der Räume: nach dem gegenwärtigen Befund wurden sie über 1.5 m mit Schutt aufgefüllt, der nach der Planierung als Substruktion für einen neuen Boden aus Ziegeln des Standardformates, in R 6 auch aus wiederverwendeten Ziegeln, diente; sie sind zum Teil unregelmässig verlegt und reichen mit Ausnahme von R 2 und R 6 nicht bis zur Wand.

Die Räume R 6 und R 7 laufen im Steilabfall nach Süden aus. Sie sind durch die Erosion weitgehend zerstört und nicht mehr rekonstruierbar.

Die Wände wurden mit Gips verputzt – bis zu 1 cm Dicke – und dann bemalt: Farbspuren von Rot, Gelb, Blau und Schwarz fanden sich in unterschiedlicher Häufung im Verfallschutt unmittelbar an den Mauern – eine Rekonstruktion im bisher aufgedeckten Teil ist nicht mehr möglich.

## 4.3.1.2.3 Keramik

Bedingt durch die zahlreichen Störungen, ist Keramik, die *in situ* gefunden worden ist, nicht sehr zahlreich:

R 1: 4026.11,18

R 2:	11.1	54.6	134.2	232.1	1008.1-2	1051.2	3002.2	4002.9
	14.4	62.1	140.3	235.4	1012.1	1052.1	3026.1	
	26.4	75.1	142.1	263.1,2	1029.2	1053.1	3027.7	
	41.2	101.6	152.1,7	277.1	1030.2	1059.2		
	42.2	114.2	211.1		1042.2			
	49.1	121.1	219.1		1050.1			
R 3:	14.1	98.1	149.1	238.1	1012.1	4026.18		
	17.1	128.2	150.2,5-6	255.1	1030.2			
	51.3,26	136.1	152.1		1073.1			

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 39/42-7, 40/42-6



## 4.3.1.2.4 Kleinfunde

38/42-55: Pfeilspitze; Kupfer ?; L: 9.8, B: 1.4, D: 0.5; Wādī in H<sub>3</sub>. (M 1:2)

39/41 -1: Elfenbein, sekundär verwendet; von der ursprünglichen Verzierung ist nur noch das Kapitell einer Säule erhalten; die sekundäre Ritzung mit einer um 50° gedrehten Standlinie könnte Teile eines Gewandes wiedergeben; L: 4.1, B: 2.1, D: 0.4; H<sub>1</sub>-R 7. (M 1:1)

39/41 -2: Tierterrakotta, leicht beschädigt; gebrannter Ton; L: 7.8, H: 4.5, B: 4.0; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>. (M 1:2)

39/42 -7: Nuzischerben → 4026.18, beige auf rotem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>3</sub>-R 1, auf dem Fussboden bei 385.355 im ungestörten Schutt des Wandverputzes.

40/42 -6: Gefäss, handgemacht → 139.4, 1011.7; gebrannter Ton, Ware 3; H: 5.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 7.0; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>. (M 1:2)

40/42 -7: Rasselfragment ? mit Oese; Kupfer ?; H: 2.5, D: 0.1, Ø: 1.5; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

40/42 -8: Konische Scheibe mit zentraler Durchbohrung; polierter Serpentin; H: 1.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 5.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.0; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

40/42 -9: Gewicht in Form einer abgestumpften Pyramide, oben asymmetrisch durchbohrt; gebrannter Ton; H: 6.4, Basisquerschnitt: 3.7 x 3.5; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

40/42-10: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; schwarzer Stein; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.2, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.2; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

40/42-11: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; Karneol; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 0.8, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.1; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

40/43-82: Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 3.5; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

40/43-84: Stössel in Zylinderform; Granit; H: 5.5, Ø: 6.0; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

40/43-86: Muschelfragment; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

40/43-87: Perle, in der Längsachse durchbohrt, Muster hellbraun eingelegt; beige Fritte; H: 1.9, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 0.9, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.25; H<sub>16</sub>. (M 1:1)

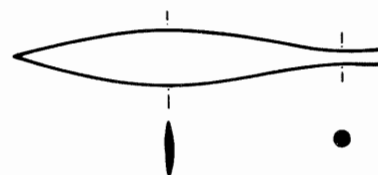


Abb.20: Pfeilspitze  
38/42-55

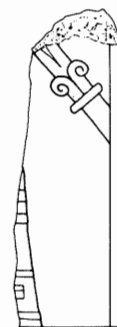


Abb.21: Elfenbein  
39/41-1

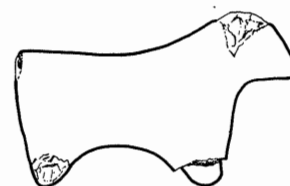


Abb.22: Terrakotta  
39/41-2

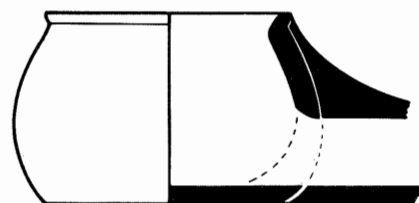


Abb.23: Tongefäss  
40/42-6



Abb.24: Fritteperle  
40/43-87

## 4.3.1.2.5 Datierung

Die Fundumstände von HT 5 (43/40: H<sub>0</sub>-4)<sup>23</sup> lassen vermuten, dass diese Bauinschrift zum mittellassyrischen Umbau gehört hat; unter dieser Voraussetzung datiert diese zweite Bau- und Benützungsphase ins 13. Jahrhundert.

## 4.3.1.3 Der neuassyrische Umbau (Abb. 25, 26)

Zumindest östliche Teile der Anlage wurden in neuassyrischer Zeit wieder-/weiterverwendet: der Fussboden ist nur in den Räumen R 03 und R 06 erhalten, unmittelbar am westlichen Steilabfall der Zitadelle – übriggeblieben sind nur wenige m<sup>2</sup>.

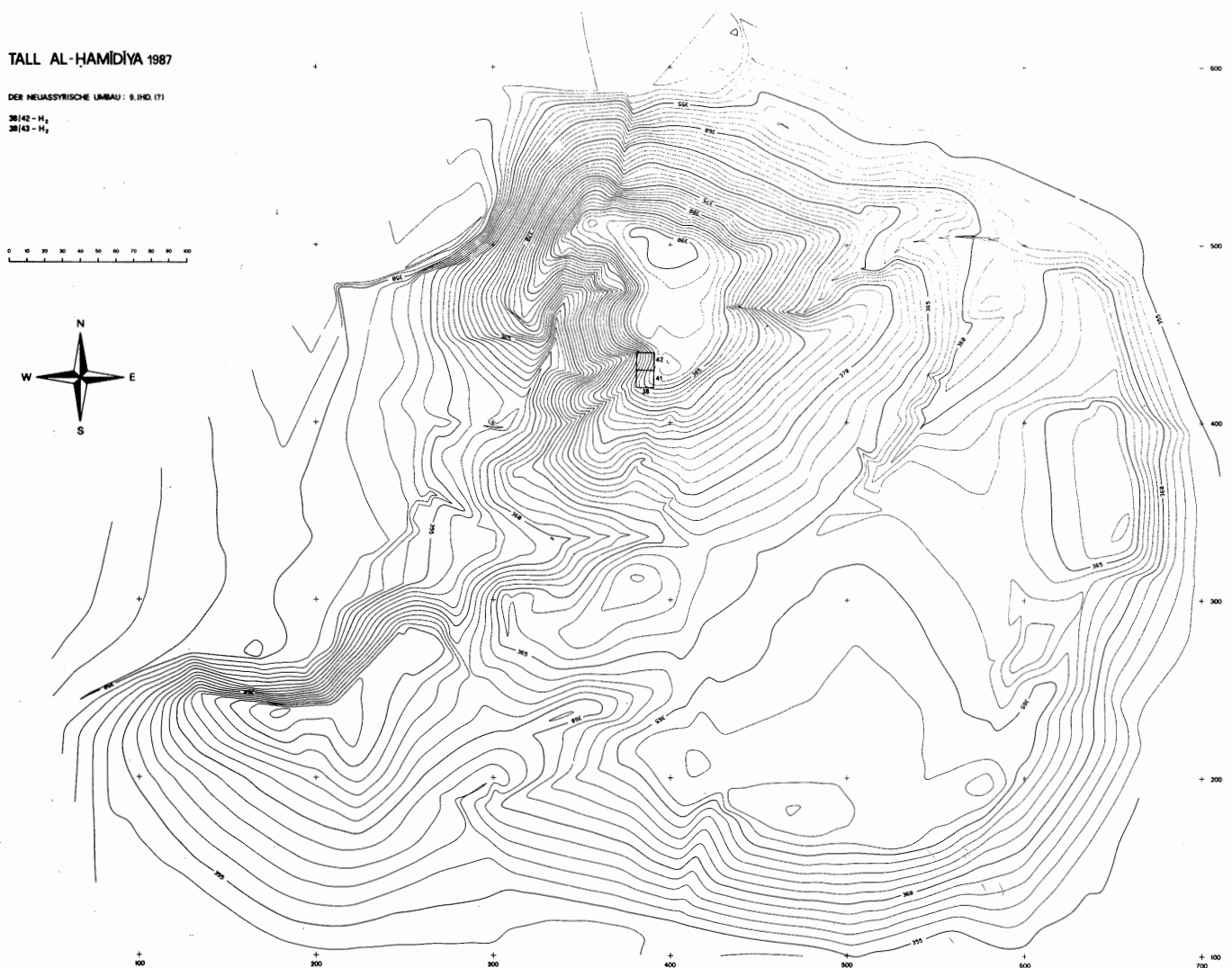


Abb. 25: Grabungsareale des neuassyrischen Umbaus

<sup>23</sup> Zur Bearbeitung vgl. pp. 328-329.

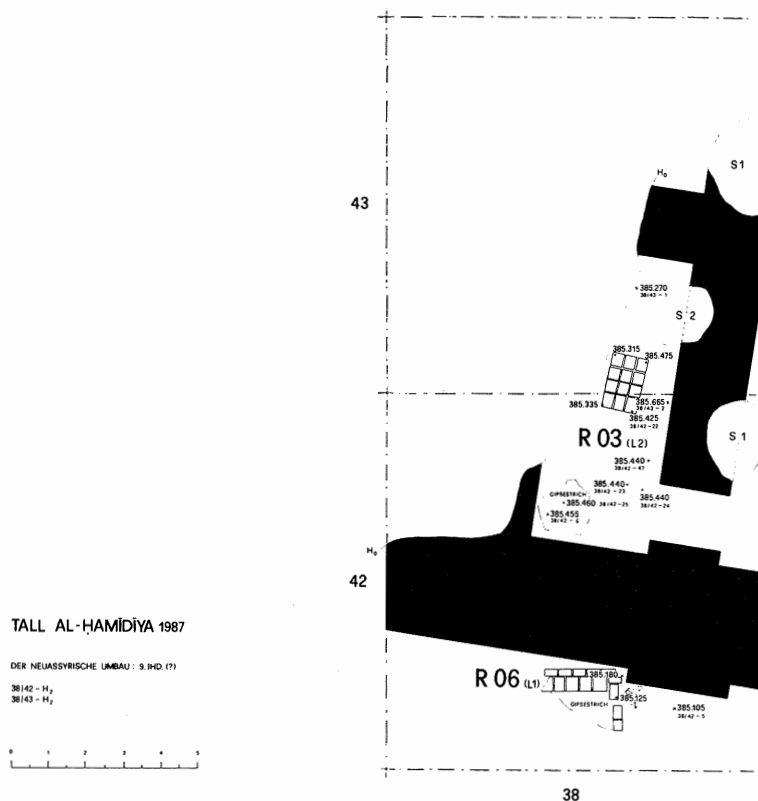


Abb. 26: Der neuassyrische Fussboden

## 4.3.1.3.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

38/42-H<sub>2</sub> Oberkante des neuen Bodenpflasters aus 3 Lagen ungebrannter Lehmziegel des  
 38/43-H<sub>2</sub> Formates 35.0 x 35.0 x 8.0, überzogen mit einem Gipsestrich.

## 4.3.1.3.2 Baubeschreibung

Im Bereich der Räume R 03 und R 06 wird – soweit bis jetzt beobachtet – die mittelassyrische Bausubstanz beibehalten; erneuert wird lediglich der Fussboden: über das alte Pflaster werden 3 Lagen ungebrannter Ziegel neu verlegt und mit einem Gipsestrich überzogen.

Ungeklärt bleibt die Funktion des Türangelsteines in L 1, ungewöhnlich das Format einiger verwendeter Ziegel: 25.0 x 35.0 x 8.0.

## 4.3.1.3.3 Keramik

R 03:	1.1	52.2	154.1,2	190.1	1006.1	1059.1	3030.1	4002.2
(= L 2)	8.1	54.3	167.9	200.1	1007.1	1062.1	3032.1	4009.1
	15.1	101.3,4	176.1	223.1	1030.1,3	1077.1	3036.3	4013.1
	18.1	108.3	179.1	235.1,3	1038.1			
	26.1,3	126.1	185.1,2	270.1	1048.2			
	30.2	150.6	186.1		1051.1			
	51.1	151.3	188.1		1056.1			
R 06:	27.2	124.1	152.1,8		1011.1			
(= L 1)	54.4	126.1	154.1		1075.1			

## 4.3.1.3.4 Kleinfunde

R 03 (= Locus 2):

38/42 -6: Elfenbeinpanel ?; gefunden wurden 85 Fragmente: 57 verziert, 28 unverziert. Das Panel dürfte mindestens drei Friese mit westlichen Tributbringern bzw. mythologischen Darstellungen sowie drei Trenn- bzw. Standfriesen umfasst haben: zwei in Form von Lebensbäumen, einen dritten in Form von Bergmustern. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit gehört das Elfenbeinfragment → 38/42-47 (Abb. 29) mit zu diesem Panel; möglicherweise dazu gehören die Niete → 38/42-8, -9, -56. (M 1:1)

38/42 -7: Pfeilspitze; Knochen; L: 7.9, B: 1.7, D: 0.7. (M 1:2)

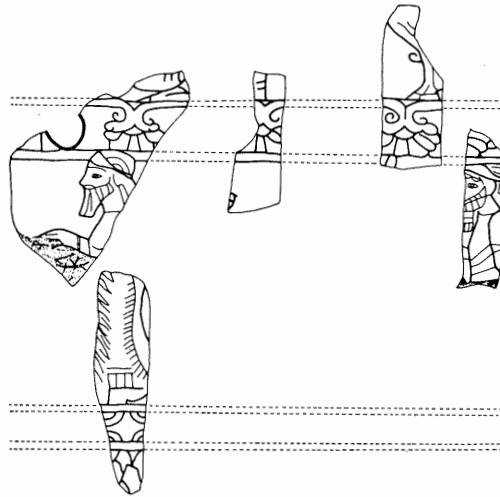


Abb.27: Fragmente des Panels (?)  
38/42-6

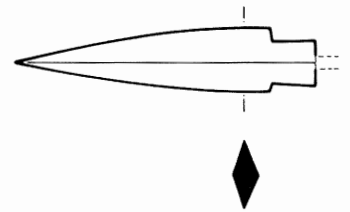


Abb.28: Pfeilspitze  
38/42-7

- 38/42 -8: Nietefragment; Kupfer ?; L: 1.6,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.3; möglicherweise zu → 38/42-6.
- 38/42 -9: Nietefragment; Kupfer ?; L: 1.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.3; möglicherweise zu → 38/42-6.
- 38/42-10: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.8, B: 1.7, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-11: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 7.0, B: 2.3, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-12: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.85, B: 1.5, D: 0.7.
- 38/42-13: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.8, B: 1.5, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-14: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.7, B: 1.4, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-15: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 7.2, B: 1.5, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-16: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.3, B: 1.45, D: 0.8.
- 38/42-17: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 4.3, B: 1.35, D: 0.3.
- 38/42-18: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.5, B: 1.4, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-19: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.8,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.35.
- 38/42-20: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.05,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.9,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.4.
- 38/42-21: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.45,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.25.

- 38/42-22: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.3,  $\emptyset_1$ : 1.1,  $\emptyset_2$ : 0.35.
- 38/42-23: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.3, B: 1.5, D: 0.6.
- 38/42-24: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.55, B: 1.55, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-25: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.2, B: 1.4, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-26: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.5, B: 1.4, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-27: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 7.6, B: 1.9, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-28: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.2, B: 1.3, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-29: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.8, B: 2.1, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-30: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 4.2, B: 1.5, D: 0.3.
- 38/42-31: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 7.7,  $\emptyset$ : 1.1.
- 38/42-32: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 4.7, B: 1.4, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-33: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.1, B: 1.8, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-34: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 2.7, B: 1.25, D: 0.5.
- 38/42-35: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 1.5,  $\emptyset$ : 0.5.
- 38/42-36: Ovale Perle, deren eine Seite flach abgeschliffen ist, zentral durchbohrt; rot-weiss gefleckter Halbedelstein; L: 2.3, B: 1.5, D: 1.2,  $\emptyset$ : 0.2.
- 38/42-39: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.0, B: 1.6, D: 0.8.
- 38/42-40: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.6, B: 1.75, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-41: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 4.3,  $\emptyset$ : 1.0.
- 38/42-42: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 3.3, B: 1.1, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-43: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 3.0, B: 1.5, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-44: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 2.8, B: 1.3, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-45: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 1.8, B: 1.35, D: 0.35.
- 38/42-46: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 2.8, B: 0.8, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-47: Zwei joinende Elfenbeinfragmente, figürlich verziert; (Abb.29) L: 2.5, B: 0.6, D: 0.35; mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit zum Panel →38/42-6 (Abb. 27). (M 1:1)
- 38/42-48: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.1, B: 1.3, D: 0.3.
- 38/42-49: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.2,  $\emptyset_1$ : 1.0,  $\emptyset_2$ : 0.35.
- 38/42-50: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 7.1, B: 1.5, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-51: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.1, B: 1.4, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-52: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.5, B: 2.6, D: 0.4.
- 38/42-53: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.1,  $\emptyset$ : 1.0.



Abb.29: Elfenbein  
38/42-47

- 38/42-54: Webgewicht in Form einer oben gerundeten, durchbohrten Pyramide; gebrannter Ton; H: 7.6, Grundfläche: 4.1 x 4.0.
- 38/42-56: Nietenfragment; Kupfer ?; L: 1.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.4; möglicherweise zu → 38/42-6.
- 38/42-58: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.0,  $\varnothing$ : 0.8.
- 38/42-59: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 6.5,  $\varnothing$ : 0.7.
- 38/42-60: Kaurischnecke, beschädigt; L: 2.2, B: 1.7, D: 1.0.
- 38/43 -1: Pfeilspitze; Knochen; L: 8.0, B: 1.6, D: 0.5.  
(Abb.30) (M 1:2)
- 38/43 -2: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.7, B: 1.7, D: 0.5.

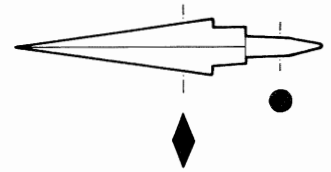


Abb.30: Pfeilspitze  
38/43-1

#### R 06 (= Locus 1)

- 38/42 -1: Lampe; Kalkstein; L: 15.5, H: 7.2, B: 11.5.
- 38/42 -2: Bündel von 11 fragmentarischen Nadeln; Kupfer ?; L: 7.1,  $\varnothing$ : 0.9.
- 38/42- 3: Fragmentarischer Tierkopf; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 2.3, H: 2.9, B: 1.7.
- 38/42 -4: Fragment einer hohlen, handgemachten Terrakotta; erhalten ist das Bein eines Pferdes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 4.9, B: 2.2, D: 2.0. (M 1:2)
- 38/42 -5: Zwei joinende Fragmente eines barrenförmigen Elfenbeines, verziert mit eingeritzten, konzentrischen Kreisen, die mit einem Zirkel angefertigt worden sind; in der Mitte eine Durchbohrung; H: 5.1, B: 3.1, D: 0.5. (M 1:2)

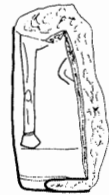


Abb.31: Terrakotta  
38/42-4

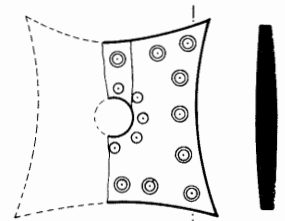


Abb.32: Elfenbein  
38/42-5

#### 4.3.1.3.5 Datierung

Die *in situ* gefundenen Elfenbeinfragmente des Panels (?) 38/42-6 lassen aufgrund der Parallelen aus Kalhu vermuten, dass zumindest Teile des Palastes auch im 9. Jahrhundert noch verwendet worden sind.

#### 4.3.1.4 Besiedlung in hellenistischer-parthischer Zeit (Abb. 33)

Wie lange der Palast in zweiter Wiederverwendung der alten Bausubstanz genutzt worden ist, lässt sich (noch) nicht bestimmen.<sup>24</sup>

Unmittelbar über den zum Teil mehr als 2 m hoch erhaltenen Mauerstümpfen – gelegentlich in sie eingetieft – liegt eine über 2 m dicke hellenistische-parthische Siedlungsschicht, die in 6 Benützungsphasen unterteilt werden kann – im besten Fall von bescheidenen Dimensionen wenig bedeutender Dorfsiedlungen.

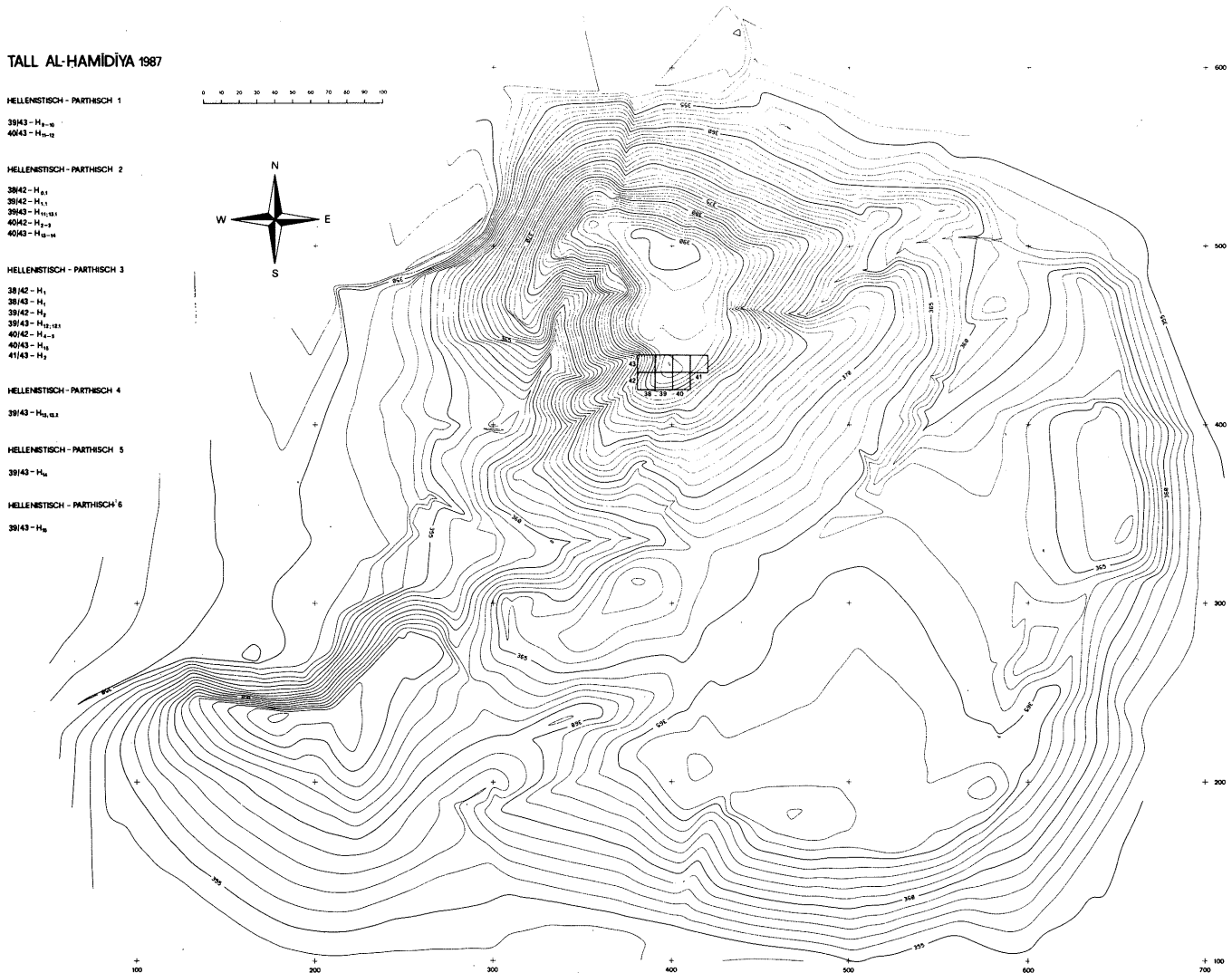


Abb. 33: Grabungsareale der Besiedlung in hellenistischer-parthischer Zeit

<sup>24</sup> Die jüngsten bisher ergrabenen Funde dürften in das 9. Jhd. v. Chr. datieren (→38/42-6,-47; dazu pp. 256, 257) – sie können jedoch keinen definitiven Terminus abgeben, da die ausgegrabene Fläche zu klein ist.

## 4.3.1.4.1 Hellenistisch-parthisch 6 (Abb. 34)

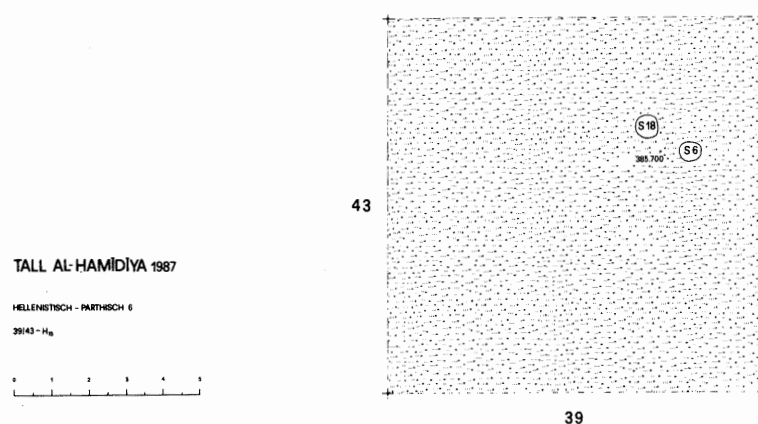


Abb. 34: Benützung hellenistisch-parthisch 6

## 4.3.1.4.1.1 Horizontbeschreibung

39/43-H<sub>15</sub>: Begehungshorizont aus fester Erde, von dem aus zwei Gruben - S 6 und S 18 - eingetieft sind.

## 4.3.1.4.1.2 Keramik

101.1	142.3	236.1	1027.1	1071.1
133.1	150.1		1029.2	
136.1	235.4		1061.1	

## 4.3.1.4.1.3 Kleinfunde

39/43-35: Fragmentarisches Blech; Kupfer ?; L: 4.3, B: 3.0, D: 0.3; H<sub>15</sub>-S 6.

## 4.3.1.4.2 Hellenistisch-parthisch 5 (Abb. 35)

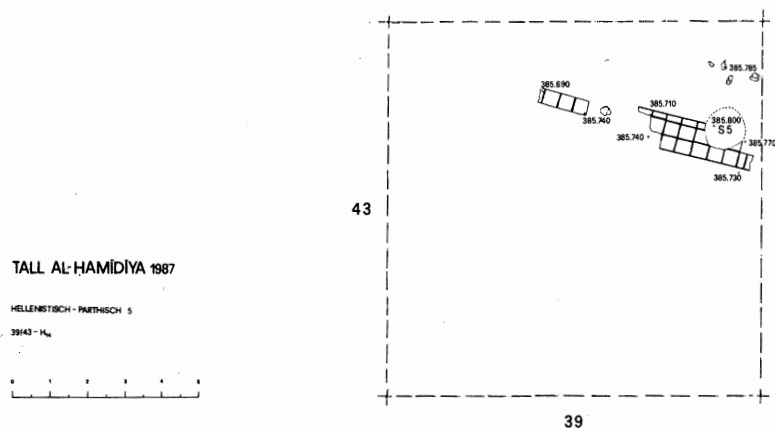


Abb. 35: Besiedlung hellenistisch-parthisch 5



#### 4.3.1.4.2.1 Horizontbeschreibung

39/43-H<sub>14</sub> Unterkante einer nur noch in einer Ziegellage erhaltenen, stark gestörten Mauer von zweieinhalb Ziegeln Breite sowie ein dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont mit Resten eines Steinplasters.

#### 4.3.1.4.2.2 Keramik

1.1	42.1	105.1	154.1-2	213.2,6	1008.1	1058.1	2003.1
5.2	50.2	108.4	160.4	219.2	1009.1	1059.1	2012.1
7.1	53.8	126.8-9,11	161.1	223.1	1012.3	1061.1	
12.1	54.2-3	128.4	167.2,10	229.1	1014.1	1062.1-2	
14.3,4	55.1	130.1	170.5-8	233.2	1020.2	1064.1	3031.1,3
18.2	56.1,4	133.1	171.2	235.1,3-4	1026.1	1065.1	3036.1
20.1	62.1	136.6	174.1	237.1	1028.2	1072.1	
21.1	68.1	139.4	184.1	271.1	1030.4	1077.2	
24.2,5	70.2	142.1,3-4,	185.1	278.1	1038.1-3	1078.1	4007.2
26.3-4,6	71.1	12-13	186.1	279.1	1039.1		4011.1
27.1-2	75.2	144.1	187.1		1042.1		4012.1,3
28.1	78.1	147.1	189.1		1045.1		4013.1
33.4	80.1	148.1,3,5	190.1		1051.2		4014.1
38.2,6	84.5	149.2	196.1		1054.1		4015.1,3
40.5	101.4	152.1,3,5-9	206.1		1056.1		

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 39/43-92, -93.

#### 4.3.1.4.2.3 Kleinfunde

- 39/43 -92: Lippenfragment → 24.2, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 12.0, Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43 -93: Lippenfragment → 4.12, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Ø: unbestimmbar, Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43 -94: Scheibe, einseitig rot bemalt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; D: 0.5, Ø: 3.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43 -95: Fragmentarischer Spinnwirtel; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; D: 2.8, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.4, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43 -98: Spinnwirtel; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; H: 2.9, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 3.6, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.75; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43 -99: Schalenfragment, rechteckig; feinkörniger Basalt; L: 5.9, H: 2.9, B: 7.1, Mulden-tiefe: 0.8; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43-102: Metallscheibe, Reste einer Münze?; Kupfer?; D: 0.35, Ø: 1.35; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43-103: Perle elipsoïder Form, in der Längsachse durchbohrt; Glas; H: 0.9, B: 0.45, Ø: 0.1; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43-104: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.4, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.2; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 39/43-106: Mörtserfragment; Basalt; L: 8.0, H: 7.0, B: 15.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.

## 4.3.1.4.3 Hellenistisch-parthisch 4 (Abb. 36)

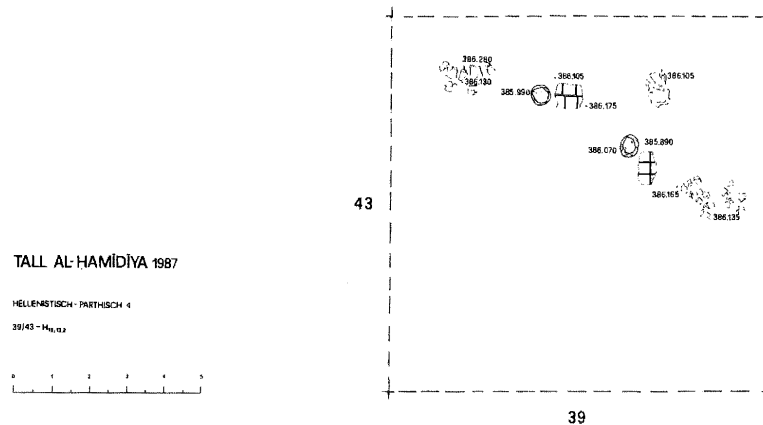


Abb. 36: Besiedlung hellenistisch-parthisch 4

## 4.3.1.4.3.1 Horizontbeschreibung

39/43-H<sub>13</sub> Unterkante eines stark gestörten Pflasters aus Bruchsteinen und Ziegeln (H<sub>13</sub>) so-  
 39/43-H<sub>13.2</sub> wie dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont mit zwei Öfen (H<sub>13.2</sub>).

## 4.3.1.4.3.2 Keramik

6.1	56.1	152.1,7-8	269.1	1002.2	1060.1	2012.1	4006.2
13.1	97.1	154.1-2	271.1	1011.1	1062.2		4007.1
14.3-4	102.1	158.1	280.1	1012.1-2	1064.1		4010.1
19.1	142.1	159.2	282.1	1015.2	1072.1	3027.7	4012.1-3
24.1-2,5	145.1	162.3	288.1	1016.1	1077.1	3030.1	4013.1
28.1	147.1	166.3	289.1	1020.1	1078.1	3031.1	4014.1
36.1	148.5	223.1	293.1-2	1030.2		3036.4	4015.1,5
40.6	149.1	232.1	294.1	1038.1-2			4017.3
54.2	150.6	233.1		1041.1			
55.1,3	151.1	235.3		1046.1			

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 39/43-79, -81, -84, -86, -89, -90, -91, -101.

## 4.3.1.4.3.3 Kleinfunde

- 39/43-79: Lippenfragment → 204.1, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0 und geglättet → 6001.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 18.0; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 39/43-80: Fragmentarischer Ring; feinkörniger Basalt; D: 4.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 2.5; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 39/43-81: Tülle; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 4.1, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.9, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.7; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 39/43-82: Bohrer, dreieckig; braun patinierter Silex; L: 4.4, Querschnitt: 1.0 x 1.0 x 1.0; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 39/43-84: Bauchscherben mit plastischer Verzierung in Form zweier Wülste; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 4.0, B: 6.4, Wandstärke: 0.7; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 39/43-85: Zwei joinende Fragmente eines ursprünglich schwarz bemalten Gegenstandes unbekannter Funktion; gebrannter Ton, Ware 9; L: 7.0, H: 3.0, B: 3.6; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.

39/43 -86: Bodenfragment → 1037.2, beidseitig rot überzogen → 7000.1-5, aussen reliefiert → 3055.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; Ø: 3.0; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>. (M 1:2)

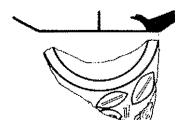


Abb.37: Bodenfragment  
39/43-86

39/43 -87: Spinnwirtel; gebrannter Ton; H: 2.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 3.7, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.3; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.

39/43 -88: Fragmentarische Applike in Form einer Fratze; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 2.8, B: 3.8, D: 1.5; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>. (M 1:2)



Abb.38: Tonapplike  
39/43-88

39/43 -89: Bodenfragment, Typ nicht mehr bestimmbar, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.

39/43 -90: Lippenfragment → 4.12; beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 18.0, Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.

39/43 -91: Fragmentarischer Henkel einer rhodischen Amphora, gestempelt: Ἐπὶ Ξενοφάνεος Πανᾶ[μου]; um 220/180; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; L: 9.0, B<sub>max</sub>: 5.0, B<sub>min</sub>: 3.5, D<sub>max</sub>: 3.5, D<sub>min</sub>: 3.0; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>; vgl. auch p. 274, sub 4.3.1.4.8. (M 1:1)



Abb.39: Amphorenstempel  
39/43-91

39/43-100: Radfragment; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; D: 4.6, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 2.2, Ø<sub>3</sub>: 0.5; H<sub>13</sub>.

39/43-101: Bauchscherben, beidseitig rot überzogen → 7000.1-5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Wandstärke: 0.3; H<sub>13</sub>.

#### 4.3.1.4.4 Hellenistisch-parthisch 3 (Abb. 40)

##### 4.3.1.4.4.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

38/42-H<sub>1</sub> Unterkante einer nur noch eine Ziegellage hoch erhaltenen Mauer (± 40.0 x 40.0 x 12.0), in die das Grab Ghp 2.2 (→ p. 267, Abb. 44) eingetieft ist; setzt sich fort in 39/42-H<sub>2</sub>.

38/43-H<sub>1</sub> Begehungshorizont, der zum fragmentarischen Haus in 38/42, 39/42-43 gehört.

39/42-H<sub>2</sub> Unterkante der in 38/42-H<sub>1</sub> aufgedeckten Mauer, die sich in 39/43 fortsetzt sowie dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont.

39/43-H<sub>12</sub>  
39/43-H<sub>12.1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante der Mauer aus 39/42-H<sub>2</sub>; eingetieft ist das Grab Ghp 2.1 (→ p. 267, Abb. 44); zum gleichen Begehungshorizont gehört eine parallele, stark gestörte Mauer im Norden.

40/42-H<sub>4</sub>  
40/42-H<sub>5</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante einer grauen Stampflehmschicht, die den östlichen Begehungshorizont des Hauses darstellt; dazu gehören zwei Oefen, von denen der nordwestliche teilweise von einem unregelmässigen Steinpflaster umgeben ist.

40/43-H<sub>15</sub> Begehungshorizont mit zwei Oefen und einer angeschnittenen Tonmulde.

41/43-H<sub>2</sub> Fortsetzung des Begehungshorizontes aus 40/43-H<sub>15</sub> mit einem Ofen.



## 4.3.1.4.4.3 Keramik

## Ausserhalb des Hauses:

1.1	76.4	144.1	191.1	1003.1	1074.1	2001.1	4006.2
4.1	84.6	145.1-2	207.1	1006.1	1077.1	2002.1	4007.1
6.1	89.1	147.1	223.1	1011.1		2011.1	4009.1
11.1	94.1	148.1,5	231.3	1012.2-3			4010.1
14.3-4,9	97.1-2	150.1	233.1-2	1016.2			4011.1
19.3	101.1	152.1,6,8	234.1	1017.1		3008.2	4013.1
24.1-2	107.2	154.2	235.2-3	1020.1		3012.2,5	4014.1
25.1	108.1	158.1-3,8	247.1	1029.2		3027.7	4015.1-3
28.1	129.2	160.3	277.1	1030.1-2		3028.2	
36.1	132.1	161.1,9	279.4	1039.1		3031.1	
37.4	133.3	169.1	280.1	1050.1		3032.2	
38.2	134.1	170.2,6	294.3	1051.1			
41.1	135.2-3	184.1-2	301.3	1052.1			
49.4	136.1	186.1	303.1	1059.1-2			
56.2	141.1	188.1	304.1	1062.2			
68.1	142.1,4	190.1		1073.1			

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 38/42-61  
 39/42-6  
 39/43-68,-77,-78,-83  
 40/42-18

## 4.3.1.4.4.4 Kleinfunde

- 38/42-61: Fussfragment → 1059.4, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Ø: 18.0, H<sub>1</sub>; vgl. auch p. 274, sub 4.3.1.4.8.
- 39/42 -6: Bodenfragment einer Schale → 1059.1, innen dunkelbraun überzogen → 7000.1-1 und gestempelt: zentrale Rosette, umgeben von 4 symmetrisch angeordneten Palmetten; 3./2. Jhd.; gebrannter Ton, Ware 4; Ø: 6.0; H<sub>1.1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>; vgl. auch p. 274, sub 4.3.1.4.8. (M 1:2)
- 39/43-68: Lippenfragment → 6.1, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Ø: 14.0, Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-71: Fragmentarischer Armreif; flaches, zweischichtiges Glas: schwarz-weiss; B: 1.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 7.0; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-72: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, zweischichtiges Glas: schwarz-weiss; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.7; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-73: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, grünes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.8; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-74: Schalenfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; Ø: 18.0, Wandstärke: 1.8; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-75: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung: Spielstein?; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-76: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung: Spielstein?; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-77: Bauchscherben mit Spuren von Barbotin-Technik?, beidseitig rot bemalt → 4013.1-5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.

Abb.41: Bodenfragment  
 39/42-6

39/43-78: Bauchscherben mit plastischer Verzierung in Form eines Skorpions (Reliefhöhe: 0.6); gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; H: 4.4, B: 5.1, Wandstärke: 0.6; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>. (M 1:2)

39/43-83: Lippenfragment → 4.8, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0 und geglättet → 6001.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 16.0, Wandstärke: 0.5; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.

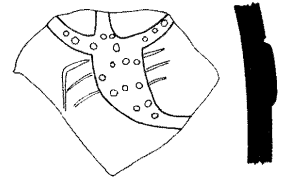


Abb.42: Bauchscherben 39/43-78

40/42-12: Hohlkugel; Ton, Ware 10; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 3.7, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 2.7; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-13: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes schwarzes Glas mit weissen Fäden; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.8; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-14: Kalottenförmiger Anhänger, in der Längsachse durchbohrt; schwarzer, polierter Stein; H: 1.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-15: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; milchig-weisser Stein, geschliffen und poliert; D: 0.8, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.2, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-16: Zu einem Doppelring gedrehter Draht; Kupfer?; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.3; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-17: Längliche Perle, in der Längsachse durchbohrt; Achat; H: 1.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 0.8, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.5, Ø<sub>3</sub>: 0.2; H<sub>4</sub>.

40/42-18: Bodenfragment → 1059.2, innen braun überzogen → 7000.1-2, aussen unregelmässig bemalt → 4015.2-1, im Innern gestempelt mit 3 identischen, symmetrisch zum Zentrum angeordneten Stempelabdrücken; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 6.8; H<sub>5</sub>. (M 1:1)



Abb.43: Stempel auf 40/42-18

40/43-80: Tonknauf, Phallus?; gebrannter Ton; H: 5.5, Ø: 5.0; H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-81: Nagel mit rundem Kopf; Eisen; L: 5.7, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.3, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-83: Fragmentarischer Wetzstein; grauer Granit?; L: 10.0, Querschnitt: 9.0 x 3.0; H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-85: 8 miteinander verbackene Spinnwirtel; gebrannter Ton; durchschnittliche Grösse: H: 3.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>15</sub>.

#### 4.3.1.4.5 Hellenistisch-parthisch 2 (Abb. 44)

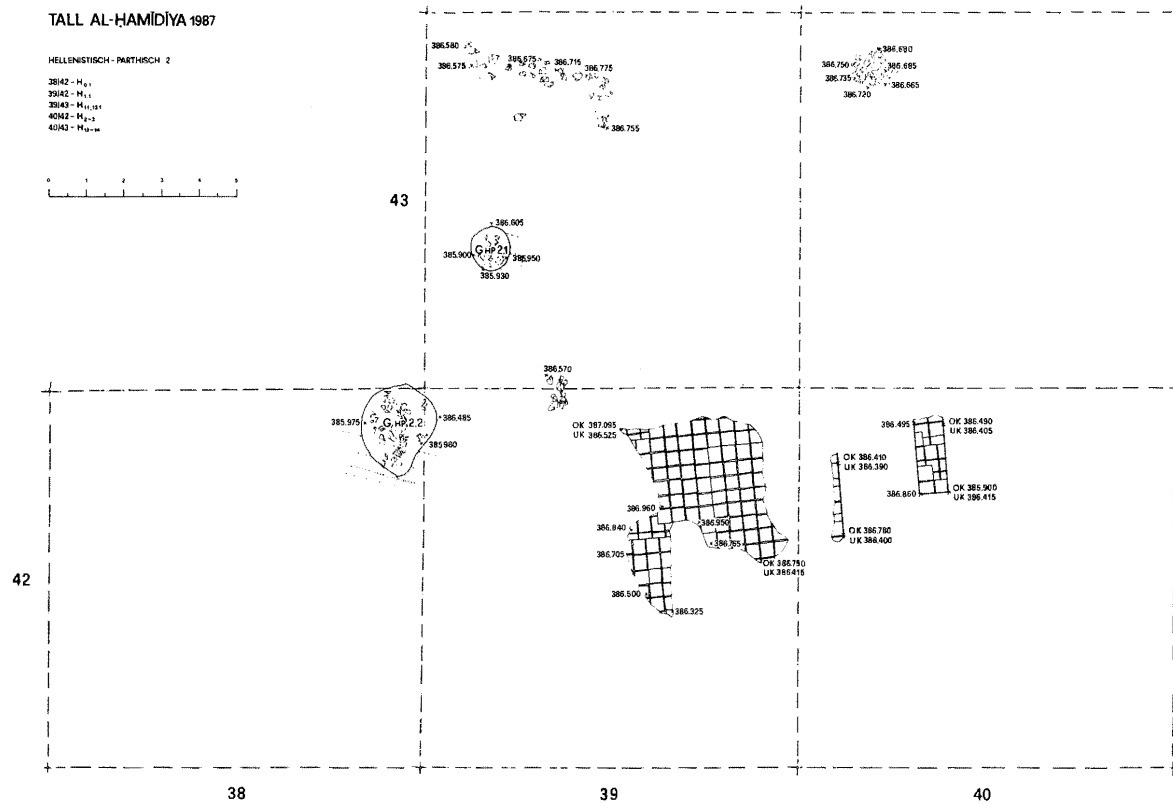
##### 4.3.1.4.5.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

38/42-H<sub>0,1</sub> Begehungshorizont mit Grab G hp 2.2, eingetieft in die Mauern von Hellenistisch-parthisch 3.

39/42-H<sub>1,1</sub> Reste eines Fussbodens (?) aus ungebrannten Ziegeln.

39/43-H<sub>11</sub> Begehungshorizont mit Resten eines Steinpflasters.

39/43-H<sub>13,1</sub> Zum Begehungshorizont (H<sub>11</sub>) gehörendes Brandgrab (G hp 2.1), eingetieft in die Mauern von Hellenistisch-parthisch 3.



40/42-H<sub>2</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante von Resten paralleler Mauern sowie dazugehöriger Bege-  
 40/42-H<sub>3</sub> hungshorizont.

40/43-H<sub>13</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante eines Steinpflasters.  
 40/43-H<sub>14</sub>

#### 4.3.1.4.5.2 Keramik

Grab G hp 2.1: 26.5 136.4,7 306.2

Vergleiche auch den Kleinfund: 39/43-96.

Grab G hp 2.2:

13.2	94.1	141.3	159.5	278.1	1017.1	3012.2	4004.4
17.3	97.2	144.1	160.1	294.1	1051.2	3027.7	4013.1
24.2	126.8	148.4	177.2	306.2	1053.1	3031.1	4015.1
25.1	132.1	152.4,8,9	184.1				
33.2	133.1	154.2	232.1				
53.1,3	134.1	158.3	235.2		2002.1		

Vergleiche auch den Kleinfund: 38/42-57.

Ausserhalb des Hauses:

1.1	18.1-2	36.1	59.2	126.9,11	145.1	159.2	180.1
2.2	19.1-3	37.1-2	62.1,2	131.1	148.1,3-4	160.1,3-4	185.1
4.1,3,7	20.1	40.4	91.1	132.1	149.1	161.1,7,10	189.1
5.1	23.3	41.2	93.1	135.2	150.1-3	162.1	191.1
6.1	24.1-2,4-7	49.2	101.1	136.1,3	152.1-3,5,	166.3-4,9	196.1,6
7.1	25.1	51.1	107.3	140.1,3	8-9	168.1	201.1
8.1	26.1,3-4	54.1-2,4	108.1,3-5	142.1,5-6,	154.1-2	171.1,4	206.1
13.1	28.1	55.3	119.1	8	156.1-2	172.1	213.1,3
14.3-4	30.1	56.3	120.1	144.1	158.1-3,8	174.1	219.2

223.1	265.1	1002.2	1026.1	1065.1	2002.1	4002.2	4017.3
226.1	277.1	1006.2-3	1030.3	1066.1	2005.1	4004.5-6	4018.1
230.1	279.1,3	1007.1	1033.1	1068.1	2013.1	4006.2	
233.1	287.1	1008.1	1040.1	1072.1	2017.3	4007.1	
234.3	293.2	1011.1	1042.2	1075.1		4009.1	5007.1-3
235.3	294.1	1012.1,3	1050.1	1077.1-2		4010.1	
238.1		1015.3	1051.2	1081.1	3003.1	4011.1	
240.1		1017.1	1053.2		3014.1	4012.1-2	
242.1		1020.2	1059.1-2		3027.1,10	4013.1	
251.2		1021.1	1060.1		3028.2	4014.1	
261.1		1023.1	1062.1-2		3031.1	4015.1-3	

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde: 39/43-33,-53,-54,-58,-64,-65,-67,-97,-105  
40/43-62,-78,-79.

#### 4.3.1.4.5.3 Kleinfunde

##### Grab G hp 2.1:

39/43-96: Fragment eines Unguentariums: Hals und Stiel weggebrochen; 2. Jhd.; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 13.0,  $\varnothing_{\max}$ : 5.6; vgl. auch p. 275, sub 4.3.1.4.8.

##### Grab G hp 2.2:

38/42-37: Lanzettförmiges Elfenbein, fragmentarisch erhalten; L: 9.5, B: 2.1, D: 0.2. (M 1:2)

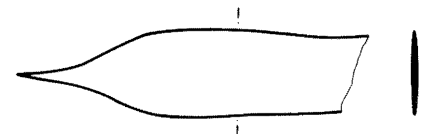


Abb.45: Elfenbeinfragment  
38/42-37

38/42-57: Bodenfragment eines Fischtellers → 1065.1, innen hellrot überzogen → 7000.1-6 und gestempelt: zentrale Palmette; 3./2. Jhd.; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1;  $\varnothing$ : 8.0; vgl. auch p. 275, sub 4.3.1.4.8. (M 1:2)



##### Ausserhalb des Hauses:

39/43-33: Lippenfragment → 14.14, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2;  $\varnothing$ : 22.0, Wandstärke: 0.8;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .

39/43-52: Aus Draht geformtes Omega; Kupfer?; H: 2.0, B: 2.7;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .

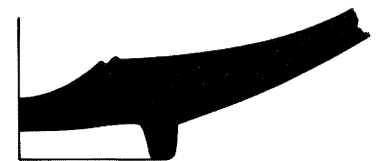
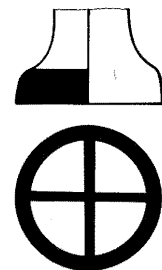


Abb.46: Bodenfragment  
38/42-57

39/43-53: Pokalfuss → 1018.6 mit Kreuz auf der Standfläche und Streifenbemalung → 4001.2-3; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 2.5,  $\varnothing$ : 3.8;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ . (M 1:2)

39/43-54: Schüssel → 70.7, 1011.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 5; H: 2.8,  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.6,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.6;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .

39/43-56: Fragmentarischer Drahttring; Kupfer?;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.4;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .



39/43-57: Knochenfragment, geschliffen und in der Längsachse durchbohrt; L: 2.2,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.3,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.25;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .

Abb.47: Pokalfuss  
39/43-53

39/43-58: Lippenfragment → 6.1, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2;  $\varnothing$ : 21.0, Wandstärke: 0.6;  $H_{10}$ - $H_{11}$ .



- 39/43 -59: Hammer, Stiel abgebrochen; mittelfeiner Basalt; (Abb.48) L: 12.3, H: 6.0, D: 4.5; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 39/43 -60: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung; Spielstein ?; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -61: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung; Spielstein ?; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -62: Fragment einer Glasscheibe mit Knopf; dunkles Glas; D: 0.6, H (des Knopfes): 0.4, Ø (des Knopfes): 1.0; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -63: Fragment eines konischen Stiftes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; L: 8.5, Ø<sub>max</sub>: 3.3; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -64: Krug →167.11, 1000.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; H: 38.0, Ø: 14.0; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -65: Krugfragment →135.1, 2005.1, ritzverziert und bemalt →3033.1, 4008.3; gebrannter Ton, Ware 9; Ø: 14.0; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -66: Schalenfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; 47.0 x 38.0, Wandstärke: 6.0; H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -67: Lippenfragment →4.12, beidseitig schwarz überzogen →7000.1-0 und poliert →6001.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 14.0, Wandstärke: 0.3; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -70: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes Glas, zweischichtig: innen schwarz, aussen weiss; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 4.4; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -97: Gefässapplike in Form eines Widderkopfes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; L: 5.4, H: 4.8, Ø: 4.0; S 5 ab H<sub>11</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 39/43-105: Fragment einer handgemachten Tülle; gebrannter Ton, Ware 5; L: 6.6, Ø<sub>1,0</sub>: 5.0, Ø<sub>1,1</sub>: 3.0, Ø<sub>2,0</sub>: 1.5, Ø<sub>2,1</sub>: 0.9; S 5 ab H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43-112: Zylinder mit kalottenförmiger Vertiefung; feiner gelber Kalkstein; H: 8.0, Ø: 8.2; S 5 ab H<sub>11</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 40/43 -46: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, grünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.4; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -47: Scheibe; gebrannter Ton; D: 0.7, Ø: 2.0; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -48: Elfenbeinstab: Spitze und Ende abgebrochen, verziert mit zwei Rillen; L: 17.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 0.9, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>14</sub>.
- 40/43 -49: Nagelfragment ?; Eisen; L: 5.0, Querschnitt: 1.4 x 1.8; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -50: Spinnwirtel; Ton; H: 3.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.5; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -51: Scheibe, beidseitig rot bemalt; gebrannter Ton; D: 0.4, Ø: 2.5; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -52: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.8; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.
- 40/43 -53: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelblaues Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.6; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.

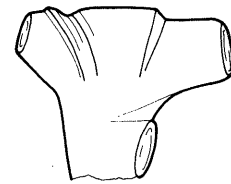


Abb.48: Basalthammer  
39/43-59

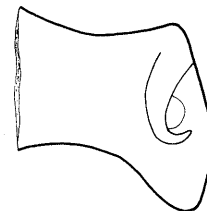


Abb.49: Gefässapplike  
39/43-97

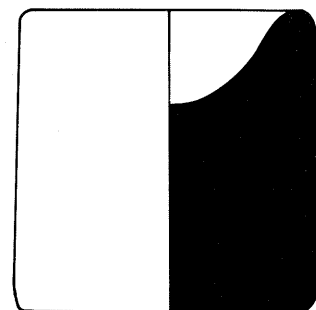


Abb.50: Steinzylinder  
39/43-112

- 40/43-54: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.6;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-55: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas, hellgrün patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.6;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-56: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.5, B: 2.2, D: 0.4;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-57: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 4.6, B: 2.3, D: 0.5;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-58: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, gelb patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.5;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-59: Blechfragment; Eisen; L: 2.8, B: 1.8, D: 0.4;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-60: Fragmentarischer Teller; grünes Glas; H: 1.1,  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 8.0;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-61: Fragment einer Reibschale; grobkörniger Basalt; 9.0 x 5.0 x 5.5;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-62: Bauchscherben mit Applike in Form eines Männerkopfes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 5; H: 6.0, B: 4.3, D: 2.2;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ . (M 1:2)
- 40/43-63: Nagelfragment; Eisen; Kopfquerschnitt: 5.0 x 3.5;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-64: Nagelfragment, erhalten ist nur die Spitze; Eisen; L: 4.4, Querschnitt: 0.8 x 0.8;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-65: Nageifragment; Eisen; L: 5.2,  $\varnothing$ : 0.9;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-66: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.4;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-67: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.8;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-68: Scheibe; schwarzer Stein; D: 0.3,  $\varnothing$ : 1.6;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-69: Ring; Eisen;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.2, Querschnitt: 1.0 x 1.6;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-70: Perle, in der Längsrichtung durchbohrt; Karneol; L: 1.2,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.8,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.15;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-71: Fragmentarische Klinge; schwarzer Obsidian; L: 1.8, B: 1.5, D: 0.3;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-72: Gemme, deren eine Seite flach geschliffen und figürlich verziert ist, in der Längsrichtung durchbohrt; Karneol; H: 1.2, B: 0.95, D: 0.55,  $\varnothing$ : 0.1;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ . (M 1:1)
- 40/43-73: 6 miteinander verbackene Spinnwirtel; Ton; durchschnittliche Grösse: H: 3.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 4.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.55;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-74: Fragmentarischer Schaber ?; Silex; 2.4 x 2.1 x 1.1;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-75: Obsidianfragment, wohl kaum von einem Gerät; schwarzer Obsidian; 3.3 x 1.9 x 1.8;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-76: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung; Spielstein ?;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .
- 40/43-77: Kugel; grauer Sandstein;  $\varnothing$ : 2.4;  $H_{12}$ - $H_{13}$ .



Abb.51: Tonapplike  
40/43-62



Abb.52: Karneolgemme  
40/43-72

40/43-78: Bodenfragment → 1059.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Ø: 10.0; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>.

40/43-79: Bodenfragment einer Schale → 1059.2, innen rot überzogen → 7000.1-5, gestempelt: zentrale Palmette; gebrannter Ton, Ware 2; Ø: 8.0; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>13</sub>. (M 1:2)

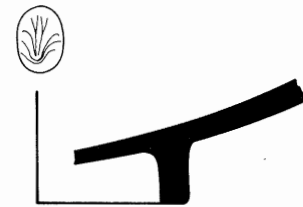


Abb. 53: Bodenfragment 40/43-79

#### 4.3.1.4.6 Hellenistisch-parthisch 1 (Abb. 54)

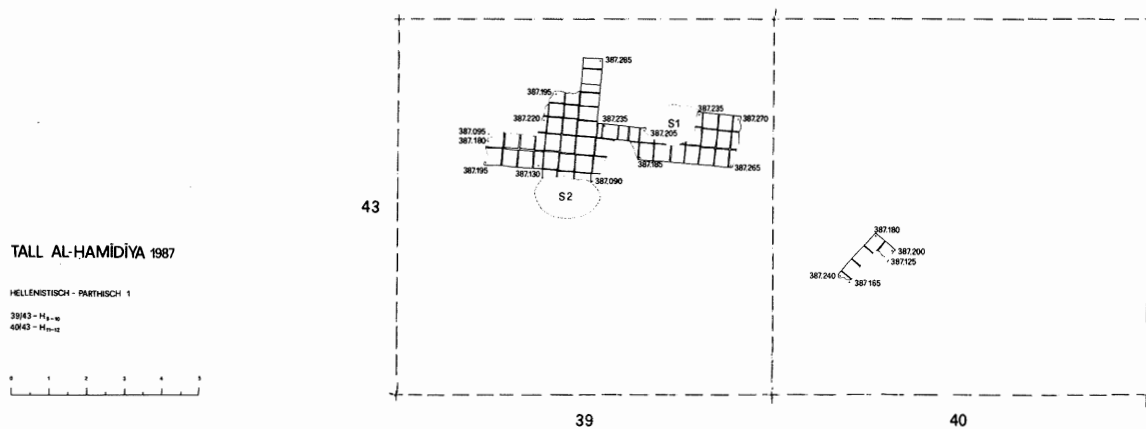


Abb. 54: Besiedlung hellenistisch-parthisch 1

#### 4.3.1.4.6.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

39/43-H<sub>9</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante von Mauerresten sowie dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont.  
 39/43-H<sub>10</sub>  
 40/43-H<sub>11</sub>  
 40/43-H<sub>12</sub>

#### 4.3.1.4.6.2 Keramik

3.2	68.4,7	158.1	233.1	1012.3	1073.1	2001.1	4002.1
4.1	88.1	159.4	235.5	1023.2	1074.1	2023.1	4007.3
5.1	97.2	160.2	236.1	1029.2	1077.1		4010.1
13.2	129.2	163.1	237.1	1041.2	1078.1		4012.1
14.4	133.1	166.2	238.1	1045.1	1079.1	3004.1	4013.1
16.1	142.1	186.1	240.1	1047.1	1084.1	3032.2	
18.2	143.1	191.1	258.1	1051.2			
19.2	148.1-2	197.1	273.1	1052.1			
24.2-3,5-6	150.1	199.1	277.2	1058.1			
28.1	152.2	213.4	278.1	1059.2			
29.1	154.1-2	214.4	279.1	1065.1			
53.2	156.1	231.1	282.1	1072.1			

## 4.3.1.4.6.3 Kleinfunde

40/43-44: Fragmentarischer Vierbeiner; gebrannter Ton;  
L: 6.5, H: 3.5, B: 3.5; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.

40/43-45: Gewicht; grauer Stein; H: 7.5, Basisquerschnitt:  
(Abb.55) 4.0 x 4.0; H<sub>11</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>. (M 1:2)

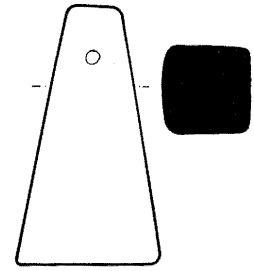


Abb.55: Steingewicht  
40/43-45

#### 4.3.1.4.7 Nicht präzise einzuordnende Kleinfunde der Besiedlung in hellenistischer-parthischer Zeit

Dieser Besiedlung können noch die folgenden Kleinfunde zugewiesen werden:

- 38/42 -38: Ring; Kupfer ?;  $\varnothing_1$ : 2.1,  $\varnothing_2$ : 1.1,  $\varnothing_3$ : 0.5; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 39/42 -1: Gefäss → 96.4, 1011.6, handgemacht; gebrannter Ton, Ware 3; H: 7.3,  $\varnothing_1$ : 3.8,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.5; S 3.
- 39/42 -2: Fragment eines Vierbeiners; gebrannter Ton, Ware 6; L: 7.5, H: 5.5, B: 3.8; S 3.
- 39/42 -4: Fragmentarische Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.8, B: 1.7, D: 0.3; S 3.
- 39/42 -5: Krug → 128.1, 1023.2, 2006.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 14; H: 14.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 11.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 9.0; S 3.
- 39/42 -8: Lampe, rot überzogen → 7000.1-5, Schnabel abgebrochen; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; L: 8.9, H (ohne Henkel): 2.8, B: 5.4; S 7.
- 39/42 -9: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; Serpentin; D: 0.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 2.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.4; S 3.
- 39/43 -51: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung; Spielstein ?; H<sub>9</sub>-H<sub>11</sub>.
- 39/43 -55: Metallscheibe, Reste einer Münze ?; Kupfer ?; D: 0.5,  $\varnothing$ : 2.4; H<sub>10</sub>.
- 39/43 -69: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, zweischichtiges Glas: innen dunkelgrün, aussen weiss;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.8; H<sub>10</sub>-H<sub>12</sub>.
- 39/43-107: Nagelfragment; Eisen; L: 7.2,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.4,  $\varnothing_2$ : 2.0; H<sub>14</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.
- 39/43-108: Randfragment einer Schale; feinkörniger Basalt;  $\varnothing$ : 30.0, Wandstärke: 2.2; H<sub>14</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.
- 39/43-109: Bauchscherben mit plastischem Dekor; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; Wandstärke: 0.8; H<sub>14</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.
- 39/43-110: Bauchscherben, innen schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0 und in Barbotin-Technik (?) verziert; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Wandstärke: 0.5; H<sub>14</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.
- 39/43-111: Fragmentarischer Tonstift, konisch durchbohrt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 16; L: 4.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 1.8,  $\varnothing_2$ : 1.0,  $\varnothing_3$ : 0.5; H<sub>14</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.
- 40/42 -1: Knopf, glatt gearbeitet; Elfenbein; D: 0.2,  $\varnothing$ : 1.0; S 8 + 10.

40/42 -2: Fragmentarisches, lanzettförmiges Elfenbein; L: 6.9, B: 2.6, D: 0.1; S 8+10. (M 1:2)

40/42 -3: Zwei nicht joinende Fragmente einer handgemachten, hohlen Terrakotta mit plastisch modelliertem Pferd; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; Fragment 1: H: 5.0, B: 5.1, D: 1.0; Fragment 2: H: 7.3, B: 3.9, D: 2.0; Störung ab H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)

40/42 -4: Weiblicher Terrakottakopf, hohl modelliert; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 7.8, B: 4.9, D: 3.4; Störung ab H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)

40/42 -5: Fragment einer handgemachten Terrakotta; fragmentarisch erhalten sind Pferd und Reiter; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 6.7, H: 4.7, D: 0.5, Reliefhöhe: 0.3; Störung ab H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)

40/43-88: Nagelfragment; Eisen; L: 3.8, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 3.1, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-89: Scheibe, beidseitig dunkelbraun bemalt; gebrannter Ton; D: 1.0, Ø: 2.3; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-90: Bodenfragment, Typ nicht mehr bestimmbar; Glas; Ø: 4.2; H<sub>12</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-91: Fragment einer Reibschale; grobkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 5.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-92: Schalenfragment; mittelkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 4.0; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-93: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spielstein ?; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-94: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spielstein ?; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-95: Klingenfragment; Eisen; L: 4.8, B: 1.8, D: 0.5; H<sub>13</sub>-H<sub>15</sub>.

40/43-96: 17 miteinander verbackene Spinnwirtel; Ton; durchschnittliche Grösse: H: 3.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

40/43-97: Lippenfragment → 0.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Ø: 32.0; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

40/43-98: Fragment eines Wetzsteines; rötlich-brauner Sandstein; L: 10.5, B: 2.8, D: 1.2; H<sub>15</sub>-H<sub>16</sub>.

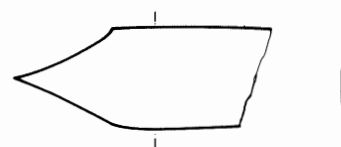


Abb.56: Elfenbeinfragment  
40/42-2

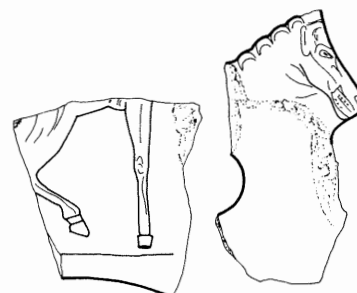


Abb.57: Terrakotta  
40/42-3



Abb.58: Terrakotta  
40/42-4

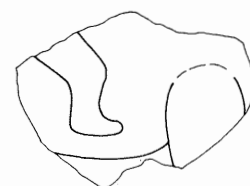


Abb.59: Terrakotta  
40/42-5

Entweder hier oder unter 4.3.1.5.4 einzuordnen sind:

39/43-39: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; Karneol; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.15; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.

39/43-40: Perle, zentral durchbohrt; Karneol; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 0.6, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.15; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.

39/43-41: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung; Spielstein ?; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.

39/43-44: Schalenfragment mit Fuss; feinkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 4.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.

- 39/43-45: Randfragment einer Schale; feinkörniger Basalt;  
Ø: 18.0, Wandstärke: 1.3; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.
- 39/43-46: Fragment einer kleinen, rechteckigen Schale:  
(Abb.60) ganz erhalten ist eine Längsseite, fragmentarisch zwei Schmalseiten, auf allen Seiten sind Pferde eingekerbt; Speckstein; L: 4.7, H: 2.3, B: 3.1, D (Boden): 1.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 39/43-48: Bearbeiteter Stein, Funktion nicht ersichtlich;  
grauer Kalkstein; H: 8.2, B: 5.0, D: 3.8; H<sub>7</sub>-H<sub>10</sub>.

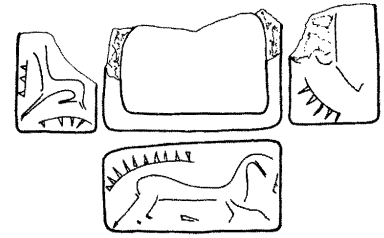


Abb.60: Specksteinschale  
39/43-46

#### 4.3.1.4.8 Datierung <sup>25</sup>

Der Grabungsbefund zeigt sechs deutlich voneinander geschiedene Schichten, die unmittelbar aufeinander folgen. Die Rahmenbedingungen für eine Datierung sind gegeben durch Funde aus den Schichten hellenistisch-parthisch 4, 3 und 2:

##### Hellenistisch-parthisch 4:

39/43-91: Fragmentarischer Henkel einer rhodischen Amphora (p. 263, Abb. 39):

Der Rechteckstempel sichert nicht nur die Herkunft aus Rhodos, sondern ermöglicht auch eine annähernde Datierung der Amphora. Der hier genannte eponyme Heliospriester Xenophanes lässt sich ins ausgehende 3. Jahrhundert setzen, da er in einem geschlossenen, in die Jahre 220-180 zu datierenden Depot in Pergamon vertreten ist. <sup>26</sup>

##### Hellenistisch-parthisch 3:

38/42-61: Bodenfragment eines Tellers (p. 265):

Da der Rand grösstenteils fehlt, lässt sich die Tellerform nicht rekonstruieren und somit auch nicht sicher einstufen. Dafür legt das konzentrische Rädchenmuster auf der Innenseite eine Datierung ins 3. oder 2. Jahrhundert nahe. <sup>27</sup> Aufgrund des beidseitig angebrachten, schwarzen Ueberzuges dürfte es sich um ein Importstück handeln (Herkunft vorläufig nicht näher bestimmbar, nach dem Ton nicht attisch).

39/42-6: Bodenfragment einer Schale, 3./2. Jahrhundert (p. 265, Abb. 41):

<sup>25</sup> Für die Datierung der Einzelstücke danken wir Herrn R. Kaenel, Basel.

<sup>26</sup> Vgl.: V. Grace, Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931-1932, *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 197-310, bes. p. 219; D. Pinkwart, W. Stammnitz, *Peristylhäuser westlich der Unteren Agora*, AvP XIV, Berlin 1984, p. 141, K 258 mit Literatur; zu den rhodischen Amphoren allgemein siehe den Forschungsbericht von: J.-Y. Empereur, Y. Garlan, *Bulletin archéologique: amphores et timbres amphoriques*, REG 100, 1987, pp. 58-109, bes. pp. 81-83.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl.: H. Walter (ed.), *Alt-Aegina II.1*, Mainz 1982, p. 60, Nr. 385-386, Taf. 29.

## Hellenistisch-parthisch 2:

38/42–57: Bodenfragment eines Fischtellers (p. 268, Abb. 46):

Kennzeichen dieser speziellen Tellerform ist die halbkugelartige Vertiefung des Bodens. Diese im 4. Jahrhundert vorwiegend in Unteritalien beheimatete Gattung<sup>28</sup> breitete sich in hellenistischer Zeit über die ganze Mittelmeerwelt aus, wobei sie vielerorts lokal, nur mit einfachem Ueberzug hergestellt wurde.<sup>29</sup> Die fast gerade Gefäßswandung spricht für eine Datierung ins 3., allenfalls frühe 2. Jahrhundert.<sup>30</sup>

39/43–96: Fragment eines Unguentariums (p. 268):

Obwohl Hals und Fuss des Salbgefäßes fehlen, lässt sich das Fragment zeitlich einstufen, da die Form des Bauches das entscheidende Datierungskriterium darstellt.<sup>31</sup> Der nur wenig ausladende Bauch, der allerdings eine schwache Schulter bildet, spricht für eine Datierung ins (frühe ?) 2. Jahrhundert.

In den dadurch gegebenen Rahmen einzuordnen ist wohl auch der Fund:

39/43–34: Oberteil einer Stele<sup>32</sup>:

Von der hochrechteckigen Platte ist nur der obere Abschluss erhalten, der in erhabenem Relief einen Giebel aufweist. Die schmalen, nicht profilierten Simen sind ziemlich sorgfältig gearbeitet und tragen auf dem First ein vereinfachtes pflanzliches Mittelakroter. Die Form des Giebels allein lässt eine präzise Datierung nicht zu, doch macht der Vergleich mit Stelen aus Apamea<sup>33</sup> und Antiochia<sup>34</sup> deutlich, dass auch die Stele von Tall al-Ḥamīdiya sehr wahrscheinlich hellenistisch ist; die römischen Grabmonumente heben sich in der Regel durch eine weniger sorgfältige Machart ab und weisen zudem meistens eine andere Grundform ohne Giebel auf.<sup>35</sup> Die ursprüngliche Verwendung der Stele ist nicht sicher bestimmbar; sie könnte eine Votiv- oder Ehreninschrift getragen, dürfte aber am ehesten über einem Grab gestanden haben.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl.: I. McPhee, A.D. Trendall, *Greek Red-figured Fish-plates*, Basel 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl.: H. Goldman (ed.), *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, Vol. I: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Princeton 1950, p. 212, Nr. 23/24.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl.: H. Walter (ed.), *Alt-Aegina II. 1*, Mainz 1982, p. 61, Nr. 396/397.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl.: A.P. Christensen, Ch.F. Johansen, *Hama: Fouilles et recherches 1931–1938, III. 2: Les poteries hellénistiques et les terres sigillées orientales*, Copenhagen 1971, p. 49, Abb. 24, Nr. 193; R.A. Stucky, *Ras Shamra – Leukos Limen: Die nach-ugaritische Besiedlung von Ras Shamra*, MARS 1, BAH 110, Paris 1983, p. 129, Nr. 221, Tafel 74, Nr. 221; zur Gattung zuletzt ausführlich: V.R. Anderson-Stojanović, *The Chronology and Function of Ceramic Unguentaria*, AJA 91, 1987, pp. 105–122 mit Literatur.

<sup>32</sup> Zur sekundären Fundlage, vgl. p. 282.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl.: J.Ch. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée*, Bruxelles 1981, pp. 193–196, Nr. 3–9.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl.: K. Parlasca, *Syrische Grabreliefs hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Mainz 1982, p. 8, Anm. 46, Taf. 5, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl.: K. Parlasca, *Syrische Grabreliefs hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Mainz 1982, pp. 9–16.

## 4.3.1.5 Besiedlung in parthischer-sassanidischer Zeit (Abb. 61, 62)

Nach einem deutlich sich abzeichnenden Hiatus wird die Zitadelle erneut besiedelt.

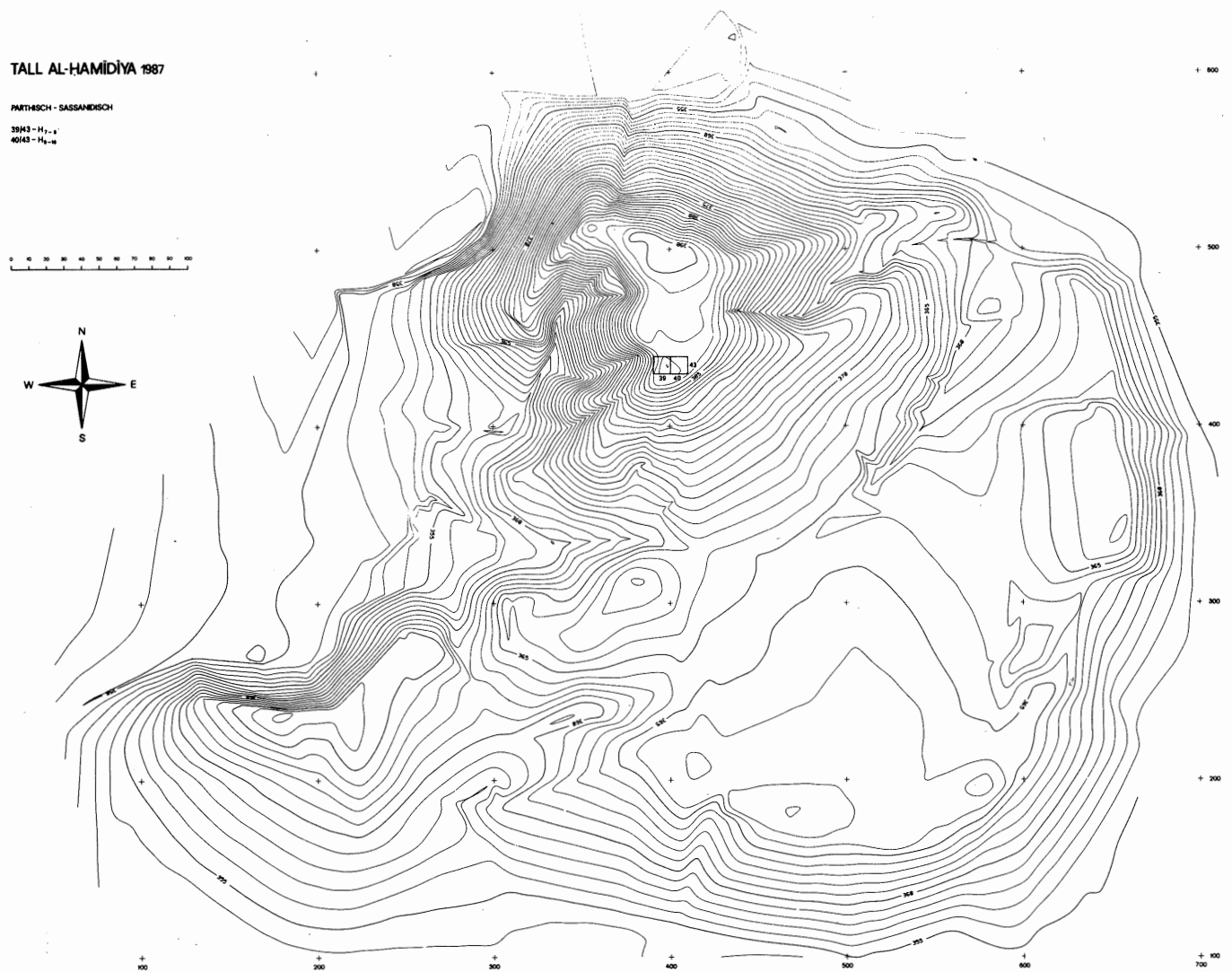


Abb. 61: Grabungsareale der Besiedlung in parthischer-sassanidischer Zeit

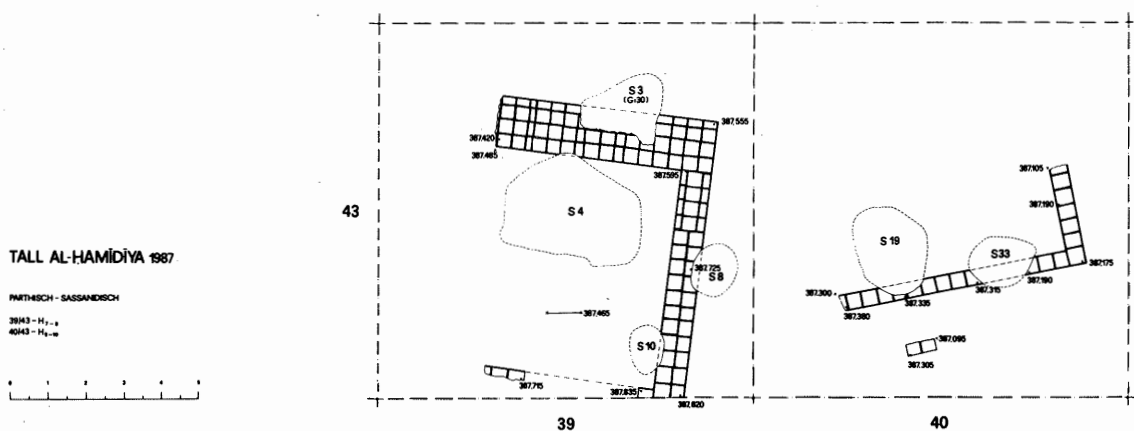


Abb. 62: Besiedlung in parthischer-sassanidischer Zeit



#### 4.3.1.5.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

39/43-H<sub>7</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante von Mauerresten eines Hauses mit Anbau (?) sowie dazu-  
 39/43-H<sub>8</sub> gehöriger Begehungshorizont.  
 40/43-H<sub>9</sub>  
 40/43-H<sub>10</sub>

#### 4.3.1.5.2 Baubeschreibung

Ostbereich eines 5.85 m breiten Hauses mit auffallend ungleich stark angelegten Mauern.

#### 4.3.1.5.3 Keramik

3.2	42.1	129.3	229.1	1002.2	1065.1	2002.1	4006.1-2
5.1	50.2	141.3	233.1	1003.1	1066.1	2005.1	4010.1
6.1	61.1	142.3-4,6	235.3-4	1008.2	1072.1		4013.1
8.1	64.1	148.1	252.1	1009.1	1077.1-2		
9.5	66.2	150.1	261.1	1011.1	1085.1	3002.9	
14.6	68.2	152.1,6	273.1	1012.3		3008.2	
15.1	71.1	154.1-2	277.1	1028.2		3012.1	
18.2	78.1	156.1	279.1	1029.1		3014.2	
24.1-2,5,7	107.3	158.1	307.1	1038.1		3039.2	
26.2	108.1	160.4		1049.1			
28.1	115.1	214.2		1059.2			
36.1,3	126.2	223.1		1061.1			

Vergleiche auch den Kleinfund: 39/43-38

#### 4.3.1.5.4 Kleinfunde

39/43-36: Fragment einer menschlichen Terrakotta, aus dem Model gepresst; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 3.9, B: 3.8, D: 1.9; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>. (M 1:2)



Abb.63: Terrakotta  
39/43-36

39/43-38: Bauchscherben, beidseitig schwarz überzogen → 7000.1-0; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; Wandstärke: 0.4; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

39/43-47: Schalenfragment; Serpentin; Ø: 24.0, Wandstärke: 2.8; H<sub>7</sub>-H<sub>8</sub>.

40/43-40: Spinnwirtel; Ton; H: 3.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>8</sub>-H<sub>10</sub>.

40/43-42: Fragmentarischer Reibstein; grobkörniger Basalt; 18.0 x 17.0 x 10.0; H<sub>10</sub>.

40/43-43: Schalenfragment; mittelkörniger Basalt; Ø: 6.0; H<sub>10</sub>.

Vergleiche auch die Kleinfunde pp. 273-274.

## 4.3.1.5.5 Datierung

Die Datierung ergibt sich aus zwei negativen Abgrenzungen:

- jünger - da durch einen Hiatus getrennt - als "Hellenistisch-parthisch 1", d.h. jünger als Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts,
- älter als "Abbasidisch-ayyubidisch", da von diesen Schichten aus Gruben in das Haus eingetieft worden sind.

## 4.3.1.6 Benützung in abbasidischer-ayyubidischer Zeit (Abb. 64)

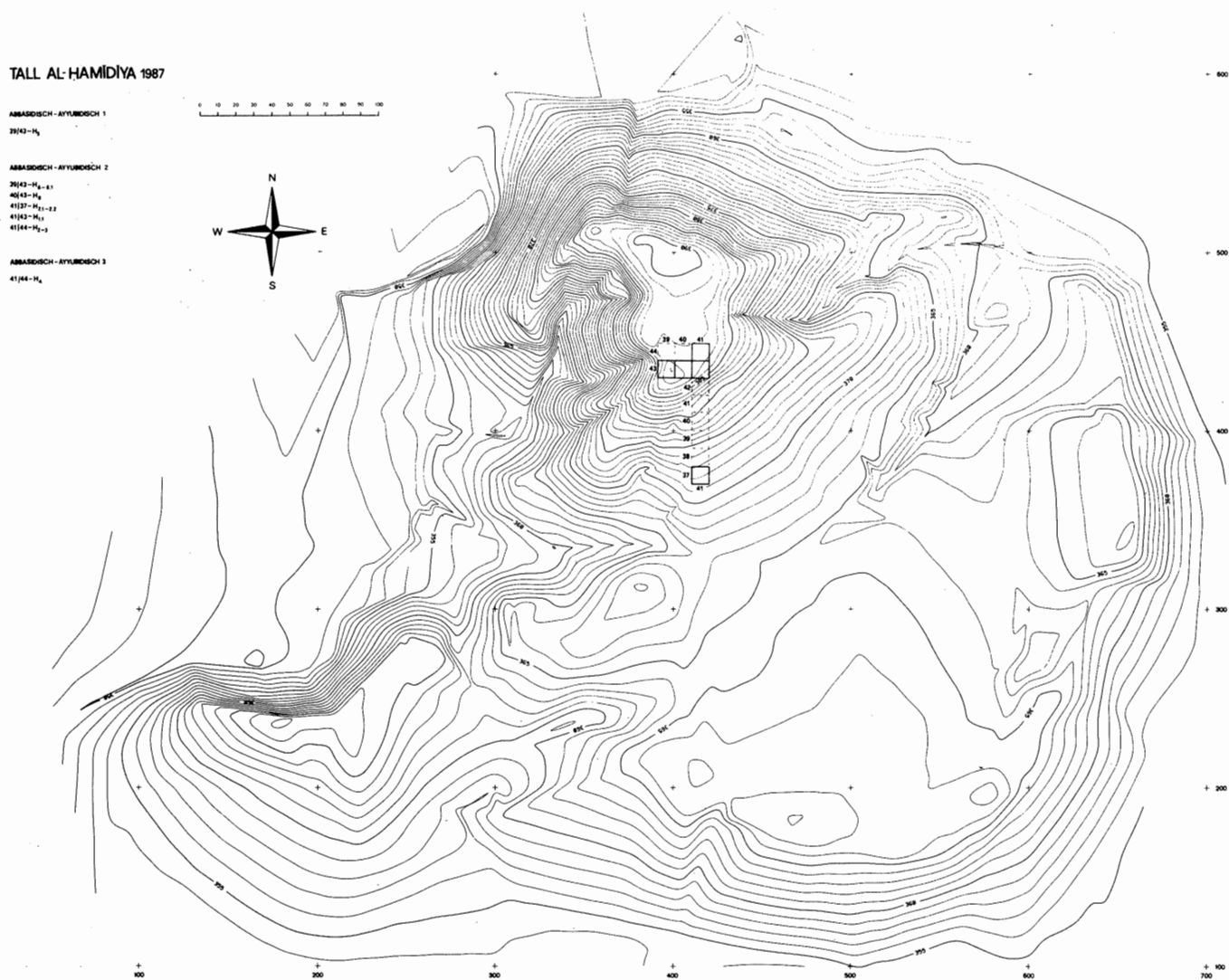


Abb.64: Grabungsareale der Benützung in abbasidischer-ayyubidischer Zeit

## 4.3.1.6.1 Abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 3 (Abb. 65)

## 4.3.1.6.1.1 Horizontbeschreibung

41/44-H<sub>4</sub> Ascheschicht, mit Steinen durchsetzt.

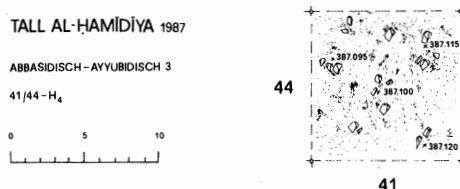


Abb.65: Benützung in abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 3

## 4.3.1.6.1.2 Kleinfunde

- 41/44-31: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, grünes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 5.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/44-32: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, grünes Glas, weisslich patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 7.0; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/44-33: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, zum Teil hellgrün patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.8; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/44-34: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, hellgrünes Glas, weisslich patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/44-35: Fibelfragment; Kupfer ?; L: 4.5,  $\varnothing$ : 0.5; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 41/44-36: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 8; D: 0.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 2.9,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

## 4.3.1.6.2 Abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 2 (Abb. 66)

## 4.3.1.6.2.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

- 39/43-H<sub>6</sub>  
39/43-H<sub>6.1</sub> Oberkante der Oefen bzw. dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont aus Stampferde.
- 40/43-H<sub>8</sub> Fortsetzung des Begehungshorizontes, von dem aus Störungen eingetieft worden sind (in eine dieser Störungen wurde wiederum das Grab Gi 5 eingetieft → p. 286).
- 41/37-H<sub>2.2</sub>  
41/37-H<sub>2.1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante der angeschnittenen Mauern eines Hauses; zu Abbasidisch 2 gerechnet, da nur dieser Horizont eine Siedlung umfasst.
- 41/43-H<sub>1.1</sub> Fortsetzung des Begehungshorizontes aus 40/43.
- 41/44-H<sub>2</sub>  
41/44-H<sub>3</sub> H<sub>2</sub>: Fester Boden aus gestampfter Erde, Erneuerung von H<sub>3</sub>: Boden aus Ziegelbruch und Steinpflaster mit Oefen.

## 4.3.1.6.2.2 Keramik

0.3	30.1	76.1	148.1,5	172.1	1000.5	1023.1	1051.2
4.1	38.2	80.1	150.4	235.6	1005.2	1028.2	1053.2
13.1	57.1	126.1	152.2,6	238.1	1007.1	1030.1	1055.2
24.2,5	61.2	129.2,4	158.2	276.1	1008.1-2	1045.1	1058.1
26.3	68.1	136.2,5	159.4	300.2	1012.1	1046.1	1072.2
27.1	75.3	142.4	170.6		1015.3	1050.1	1077.1

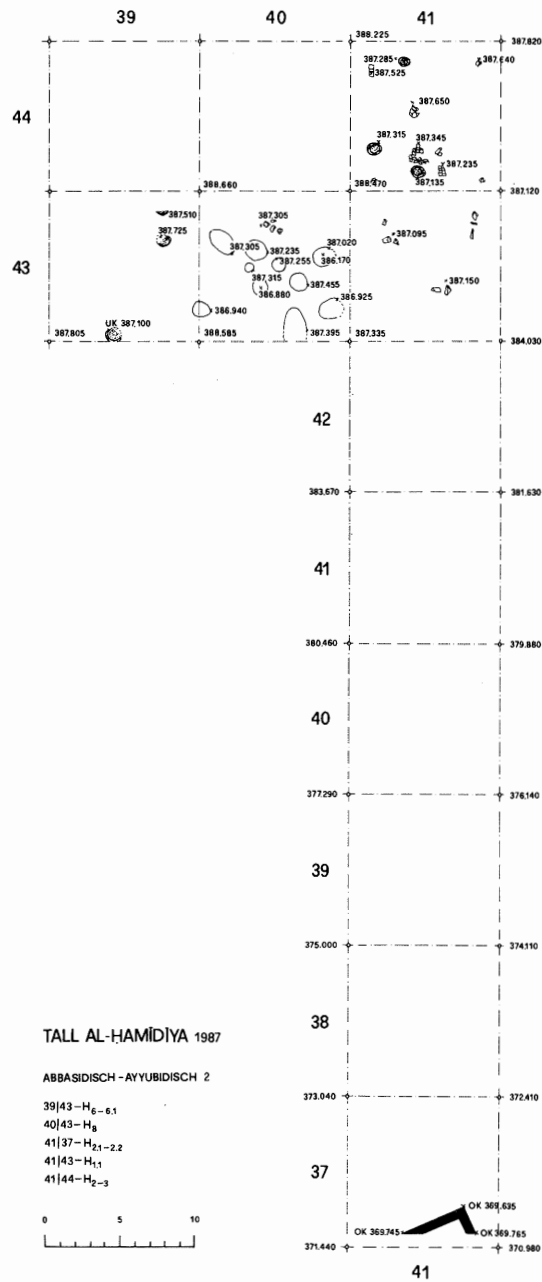


Abb. 66: Besiedlung in abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 2

2001.2	2015.1,4	3002.9	4006.2	5001.1	7001.1
2005.1		3004.3	4019.7		

Vergleiche auch den Kleinfund: 41/37-34

#### 4.3.1.6.2.3 Kleinfunde

- 40/43-32: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, weissliches Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.8; H<sub>7</sub>-H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-34: Scheibe; gebrannter Ton, Ware 8; D: 0.9,  $\varnothing_1$ : 3.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 1.1; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-35: Scheibe; gebrannter Ton, Ware 8; D: 1.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 3.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 1.0; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-36: Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 6.0; H<sub>8</sub>.

- 40/43-37: Fragmentarischer Wetzstein; Serpentin; L: 7.0, B: 6.0, D: 4.0; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-38: Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 6.0; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-39: Fragmentarischer Wetzstein; Serpentin; L: 10.0, B: 7.0, D: 2.0; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 40/43-41: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; grobkörniger Basalt; D: 8.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 51.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.0; H<sub>8</sub>.
- 41/37-34: Schale, → 0.3, 1000.5, weiss-gelbliche Glasur → 7001.1-12; gebrannter Ton, Ware 8; H: 4.1, Ø: 18.0, Wandstärke: 0.2; H<sub>2.1</sub>-H<sub>2.2</sub>.
- 41/44-19: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, hellgraues Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.8; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/44-20: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.6; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/44-21: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.4; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/44-22: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.4; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/44-23: Fragmentarischer Vierbeiner, Kopf weggebrochen; gebrannter Ton; L: 4.0, H: 2.4, B: 1.3; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 41/44-24: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, gelblich patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.0; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-25: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 4.8; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-26: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, schwarzes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 4.6; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-27: Fragmentarischer Armreif; glattes, schwarzes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 4.8; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-28: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.0; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-29: Werkzeugspitze; Eisen; L: 7.8, Ø: 1.0; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 41/44-30: Blechfragment; Kupfer ?; L: 5.0, B: 1.2, D: 0.1; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.



Abb.67: Terrakotta  
41/44-23

#### 4.3.1.6.3 Abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 1 (Abb. 68)

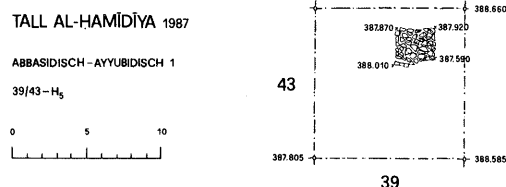


Abb. 68: Benützung in abbasidisch-ayyubidisch 1

## 4.3.1.6.3.1 Horizontbeschreibung

39/43-H<sub>5</sub> Steinpflaster von 2.80 x 2.50 m Fläche, unmittelbar über H<sub>6</sub> als Erneuerung dieses Begehungshorizontes nach Aufgabe der Oefen.

## 4.3.1.6.3.2 Kleinfunde

39/43-34: Oberteil einer Stele, sekundär verwendet als Türangelstein; Kalkstein; H: 27.0, B: 53.5, D: 22.0; H<sub>5</sub>; vgl. auch p. 275 sub 4.3.1.4.8.

39/43-49: Fragmentarischer Armreif; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas mit weissen Streifen; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.4; H<sub>5</sub>.

39/43-50: Spinnwirtel; gebrannter Ton, Ware 9; H: 3.3, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 6.2, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.9; H<sub>5</sub>.

## 4.3.1.6.4 Nicht präzise einzuordnende Kleinfunde der Benützung in abbasidischer-ayyubidischer Zeit

Dieser Benützung können noch die folgenden Kleinfunde zugeordnet werden:

39/43-17: Ziegelfragment, grün glasiert; gebrannter, grob gemagerter Ton; L: 18.0, B: 15.0, D: 5.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-18: Ziegelfragment mit weisser Fehlglassur; gebrannter Ton; L: 15.4, B: 12.0, D: 5.5; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-19: Tonstiftfragment zylindrischer Form; gebrannter Ton, Ware 5; L: 7.0, Ø: 3.2; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-20: Abgebrochene Spitze eines dreiseitigen Tonstiftes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; L: 4.6, Querschnitt: 2.0 x 2.0 x 2.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-21: Fragment einer Ständerbasis → 295.9; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 5.5, Ø: 14.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-22: Schalenfragment, rechteckig; gebrannter Ton, Ware 9; L: 17.5, H: 4.8, B: 11.3; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-23: Fragmentarische Oellampe; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; L: 9.5, H: 7.4, B: 6.5; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-25: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, blaues Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.4; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

39/43-26: Fragment einer Oellampe; gebrannter Ton, türkisfarbig glasiert → 7001.1-20; L: 6.0, H: 2.4, Ø: (Boden): 4.3; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

39/43-27: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; D: 1.1, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.6, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.3; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

39/43-28: Scheibe mit Loch; gebrannter Ton, Ware 8; D: 0.5, Ø: 1.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.

39/43-29: Objekt unbekannter Funktion; gebrannter Ton, (Abb.69) Ware 11; H: 6.2, B: 3.4, D: 3.5; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>. (M 1:2)

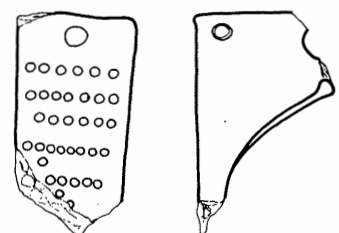


Abb.69: Tonobjekt  
39/43-29

- 39/43-30: Stössel in Form eines Kegelstumpfes; feinkörniger Basalt; H: 9.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 3.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.
- 39/43-31: Scheibe, Reste einer Münze ?; Kupfer ?; D: 0.4,  $\varnothing$ : 2.8; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.
- 39/43-32: Ritzverzierte Scheibe; Serpentin; H: 0.8,  $\varnothing$ : 2.2; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 39/43-37: Fragment einer Oellampe; gebrannter Ton, grün glasiert → 7001.1-29; H: 2.8,  $\varnothing$  (Boden): 4.8; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.
- 39/43-42: Gerätefragment; brauner Silex; 3.5 x 1.4 x 0.6; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.
- 39/43-43: Schalenfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 5.5; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>9</sub>.
- 41/43-12: Nagelfragment; Eisen; L: 6.0,  $\varnothing$ : 1.0; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-13: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas mit schwarzen Streifen;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 7.0; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-14: Vierkant; Kupfer ?; L: 8.2, Querschnitt: 0.4 x 0.4; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-15: Glasperle zylindrischer Form; H: 0.6,  $\varnothing_1$ : 0.7,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.3; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-16: Sichelfragment mit zwei Nieten; Eisen; L: 19.5, B: 3.0, D: 0.7; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-17: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; gebrannter Ton, einseitig gelb glasiert → 7001.1-15; D: 0.9,  $\varnothing_1$ : 4.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.8; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-18: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, schwarzes Glas mit roten Längsstreifen;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0, Querschnitt: 0.7 x 0.45; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-19: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 8.0, B: 3.2, D: 0.7; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 41/43-20: Fragment einer Tierterrakotta; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; L: 5.0, H: 4.8, B: 2.3; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>. (M 1:2)



Abb.70: Serpentinscheibe  
39/43-32

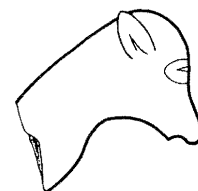


Abb.71: Tierterrakotta  
41/43-20

#### 4.3.1.6.5 Datierung

Die Datierung beruht auf mündlichen Mitteilungen von Herrn M. Meinecke, Damaskus. Die glasierte abbasidische Keramik ist in Bearbeitung.

#### 4.3.1.7 Benützung in spätslamischer Zeit

Keramische Streufunde lassen vermuten, dass der Hügel auch in osmanischer Zeit nicht gänzlich verlassen war; wo die vermuteten Siedlungen lagen, ist ungewiss – sicher nicht in den bisher ausgegrabenen Arealen.

Im späten 19. und im frühen 20. Jahrhundert wurde der Zitadellenbereich zunächst als Friedhof verwendet; kurze Zeit später – nach dessen Einebnung – entstand eine kleine Dorfsiedlung.

## 4.3.1.7.1 Friedhof (Abb. 72, 73)

In den Planquadraten 39-40/42-43 und 41/44 sind bisher 39 Erdgräber aufgedeckt worden, markiert zum Teil mit Backsteinen und Ziegeln des Palastes. Aufgrund zeitgenössischer Störungen sowie einer späteren Einebnung sind alle Gräber stark gestört, die Knochen zudem sehr schlecht erhalten, oft nur noch in Form von Knochenmehl; es kann nicht mehr entschieden werden, ob zwei – wenn auch nur geringfügig – zeitlich voneinander zu trennende Phasen vorliegen:

- eine ältere (?) mit den tiefer gelegenen, in ihren Umrissen klar definierbaren Gräbern G i 4-6, 9-22, 27-28, 31-39, eingetieft in eine Schicht aus Verfallschutt – vornehmlich Ziegelbruch – und gelegentlich gestört durch
- die jüngere (?) Phase mit den höher gelegenen Gräbern G i 1-3, 7-8, 23-26, 29-30, eingetieft in eine Schuttschicht aus Erde, Sand und vereinzelt Ziegeln.

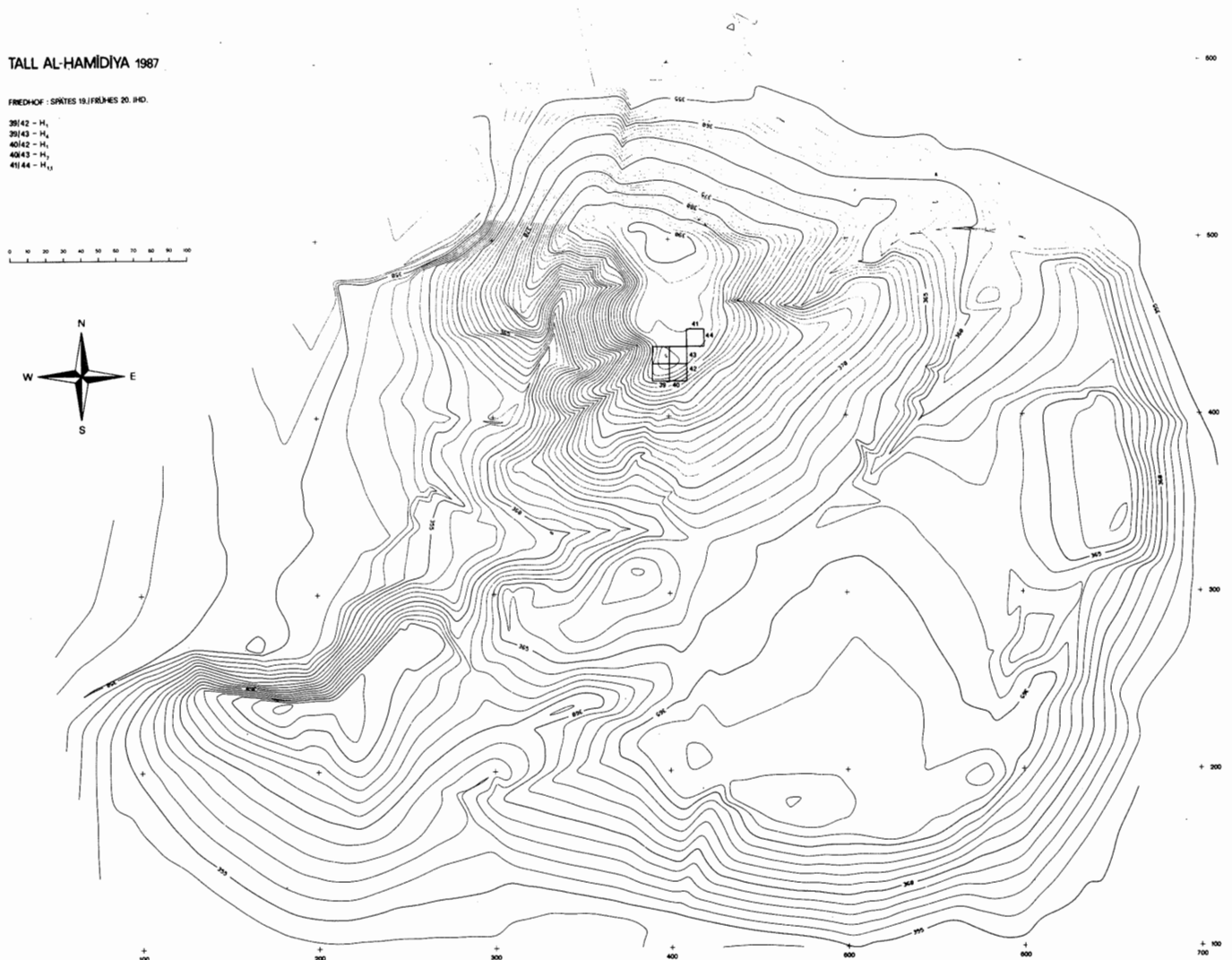


Abb. 72: Lage des Friedhofes





4.3.1.7.1.2 Beschreibung der Gräber<sup>36</sup>

Grab-Nr.	Planquadrat/ Horizont	Orientierung (Kopf-Füsse)	Alter	Bemerkungen
G i 1	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Das Grab war gekennzeichnet durch einen Erdhaufen, abgedeckt mit einem Schalenfragment → 40/43-33, grossen Gefässscherben, Ziegelbruch sowie Steinen; → Keramik, Kleinfunde
G i 2	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Die wenigen noch erhaltenen Knochen lassen die typische Lage → G i 3 vermuten
G i 3	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage: gestreckte Rückenlage, Arme seitlich angelegt, Schädel im Westen mit Blick nach Süden Gegen Norden war der Körper durch Steine und Ziegelbruch abgegrenzt
G i 4	40/42-H <sub>1</sub>	W-E ?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur noch vereinzelte Fussknochen
G i 5	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	SW-NE	Ew	Eingetieft in eine ältere Abfallgrube → Abbasisch-ayyubidisch 2 (p.279); bemerkenswert waren Tierknochen unter dem Brustkorb
G i 6	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	SW-NE	Ew	Schlecht erhalten: nur noch Becken, Schenkel- und Fussknochen
G i 7	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3; unter dem Schädel fanden sich 2 türkisfarbige Plastikperlen → 40/43-7; → Keramik, Kleinfunde
G i 8	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	?	?	Vollständig zerstört; nur noch Knochenmehl erhalten
G i 9	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3; in der Halsgegend Reste einer Schnur ?
G i 10	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 11	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3; im Westen des Kopfes ein grosser Stein
G i 12	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 13	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	WNW-ESE	Ew	Bemerkenswert die Lage des Körpers auf der rechten Seite (?) in Halbhockerstellung; nördlich des Schädels Steine, unmittelbar neben den Schenkelknochen Reste dreier Eisenwerkzeuge → 40/43-26,-27,-28; verstreute Lehmklumpen mit Abdrücken von Flechtwerk; → Kleinfunde
G i 14	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Aehnliche Lage wie G i 13; Beine angezogen

<sup>36</sup> Aus Platzgründen wurden die wenigen, bei/in den Gräbern beobachteten Kleinfunde nicht im Plan eingezeichnet. Bei der Beschreibung der Gräber gelten für das Alter als Abkürzungen: Ew = Erwachsener, Ki = Kind.

G i 15	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3; im Süden und Westen des Kopfes je ein Stein
G i 16	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur noch Unterschenkelknochen
G i 17	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Die erhaltenen Knochen lassen die typische Lage → G i 3 vermuten
G i 18	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 19	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Ähnlich wie G i 14: Beine leicht angezogen
G i 20	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Schädel und 3 Wirbelknochen
G i 21	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Unterschenkelknochen
G i 22	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	W-E	Ew	Wohl typische Lage → G i 3
G i 23	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Schädel und Mehlsuren von 4 Knochen
G i 24	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3; Beine leicht angezogen, zusammengewachsener Bruch am linken Oberschenkel
G i 25	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ew	Wohl typische Lage → G i 3
G i 26	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ki	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Becken und Schenkelknochenfragmente
G i 27	39/42-H <sub>1</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 28	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	SW-NE	Ew	Schlecht erhalten; Beine leicht angezogen ?
G i 29	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ew	Schlecht erhalten; wohl typische Lage → G i 3
G i 30	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	SW-NE	Ew	Schlecht erhalten; wohl typische Lage → G i 3; das Grab war abgedeckt durch den fragmentarischen Türangelstein → 39/43-14, das Schalenfragment → 39/43-15 und das Fragment einer Türschwelle → 39/43-16; nordwestlich und südöstlich des Kopfes je ein Stein; → Kleinfunde
G i 31	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage (?) → G i 3; Beine leicht angezogen
G i 32	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	W-E	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Unterschenkelknochen
G i 33	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Schädel
G i 34	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Mehlsuren dreier Knochen
G i 35	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	SW-NE	Ew	Typische Lage (?) → G i 3
G i 36	39/42-H <sub>1</sub>	W-E ?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur Schenkelknochen und Füße

G i 37	39/42-H <sub>1</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 38	39/42-H <sub>1</sub>	W-E	Ew	Typische Lage → G i 3
G i 39	41/44-H <sub>1,1</sub>	W-E ?	Ew	Sehr schlecht erhalten: nur noch Mehlsuren der Schenkel- und Fussknochen; Kette von 40 Perlen aus Glas und Stein → 41/44-8; → Kleinfunde

#### 4.3.1.7.1.3 Keramik

G i 1: 1042.1

G i 7:	50.2	174.2	1009.1	2001.1
	142.4	247.1		

Im Schutt der gestörten Gräber:

19.1	80.1	278.1	1008.2	2001.5	3012.1
68.6	93.2	305.1	1012.1,3		3029.1
70.1	156.1,4		1019.2		
71.1	219.2		1023.1		

#### 4.3.1.7.1.4 Kleinfunde

G i 1:	40/43-33:	Schalenfragment; mittelkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 7.0.
G i 7:	40/43 -7:	2 Perlen, zylindrisch durchbohrt; türkisfarbiger Plastik; H: 0.45, Ø <sub>1</sub> : 0.4, Ø <sub>2</sub> : 0.1.
G i 13:	40/43-26:	Pickelfragment; Eisen; L: 13.0, H: 3.5, B: 5.5.
	40/43-27:	Fragment einer Breithacke; Eisen; L: 10.0, B: 12.0.
	40/43-28:	Fragment eines Stabes; korrodiertes Eisen.
G i 30:	39/43-14:	Fragment eines Türangelsteines, sekundär verwendet; Kalkstein; L: 27.0, H: 50.0, B: 42.0.
	39/43-15:	Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; Wandstärke: 10.0.
	39/43-16:	Fragment einer Türschwelle, sekundär verwendet; mittelkörniger Basalt; L: 38.0, B: 20.0, D: 6.0.
G i 39:	41/44-18:	Kette mit 40 Perlen aus Glas und Stein.

Im Schutt der gestörten Gräber:

39/43 -9:	Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; H: 14.5, Ø: 25.0; H <sub>4</sub> .
39/43-11:	Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, grünes Glas; Ø <sub>1</sub> : 8.0, Ø <sub>2</sub> : 6.9; H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> .
39/43-12:	Randfragment eines Gefässes mit hohlem Rand; grünes Glas; H: 1.7, Ø: 14.0; H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> .
39/43-13:	Flache Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt mit Splintvertiefung; Bimsstein; D: 3.9, Ø <sub>1</sub> : 11.0, Ø <sub>2</sub> : 1.9; H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> .

- 40/43 -2: Scheibe, Reste einer Münze ?; Kupfer ?; D: 0.1,  $\emptyset$ : 2.0; H<sub>6</sub>-H<sub>7</sub>.
- 40/43-22: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, hellgrün patiniert;  $\emptyset_1$ : 8.0,  $\emptyset_2$ : 6.4; H<sub>7</sub>.
- 40/43-29: Klingenfragment; brauner Silex; L: 4.0, B: 1.7, D: 0.7; H<sub>7</sub>.
- 40/43-30: Perle in Form eines abgestumpften Doppelkegels; Bergkristall; H: 2.7,  $\emptyset_1$ : 1.4,  $\emptyset_2$ : 0.6,  $\emptyset_3$ : 0.2; H<sub>7</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 40/43-31: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, schwarzes Glas;  $\emptyset_1$ : 6.0,  $\emptyset_2$ : 4.8; H<sub>7</sub>.

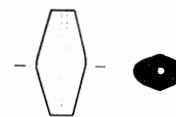


Abb.74: Bergkristallperle  
40/43-30

#### 4.3.1.7.2 Siedlung (Abb. 75, 76)

Die Einebnung des Friedhofes zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts (?) dürfte so weitgehend gewesen sein, dass auf der Oberfläche keine Spuren mehr sichtbar waren; nur so ist es zu erklären, dass nach kurzer Zeit unmittelbar im Süden und Osten eine kleine Siedlung entstanden ist: erhalten ist ein Begehungshorizont mit vier Oefen.

TALL AL-HAMIDIYA 1987

SIEDLUNG: FRÜHES 20. JHD

39/43 - H<sub>2</sub>  
40/43 - H<sub>2-4</sub>  
41/43 - H<sub>1</sub>  
41/44 - H<sub>1</sub>

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

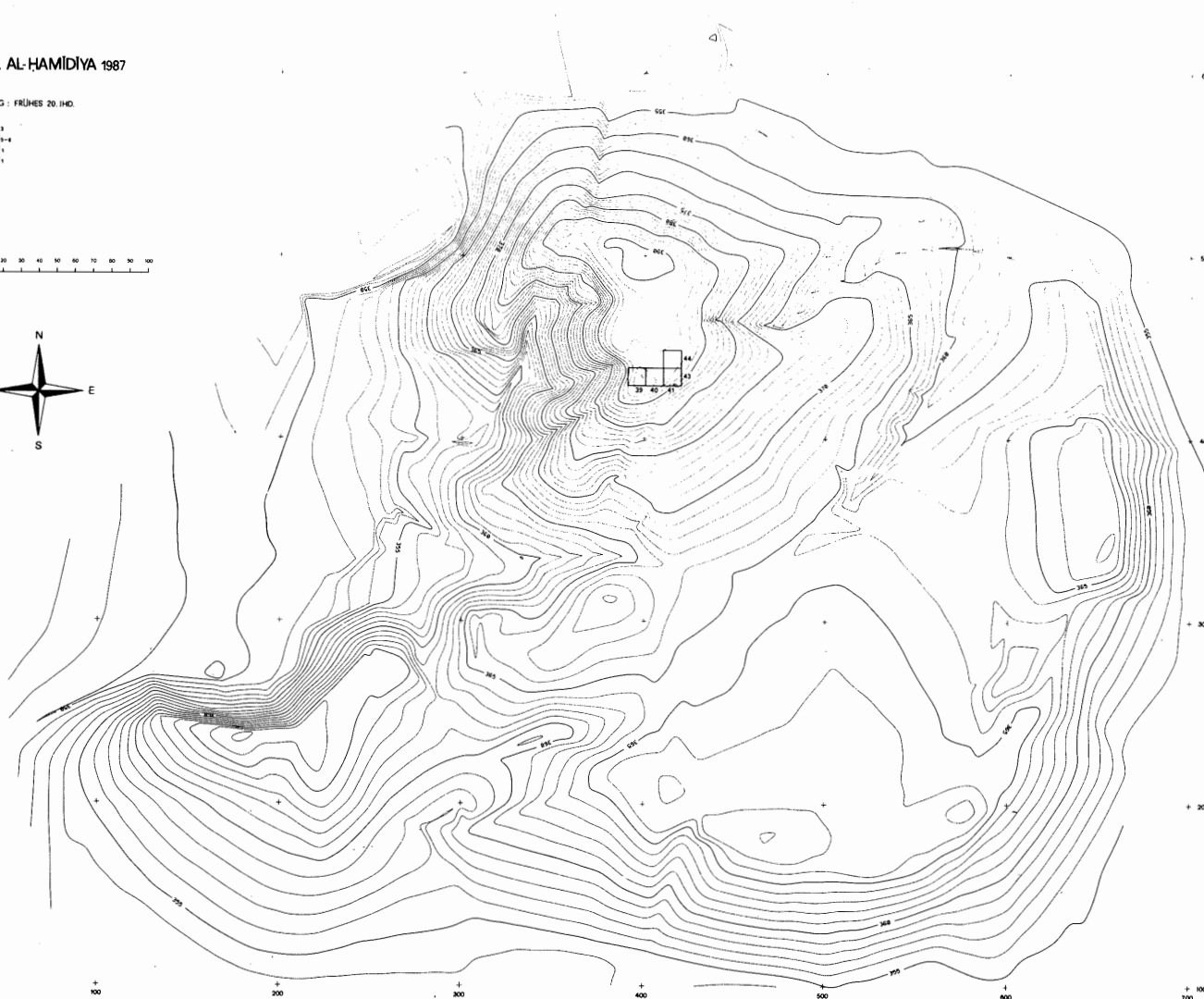


Abb. 75: Grabungsareale der Siedlung

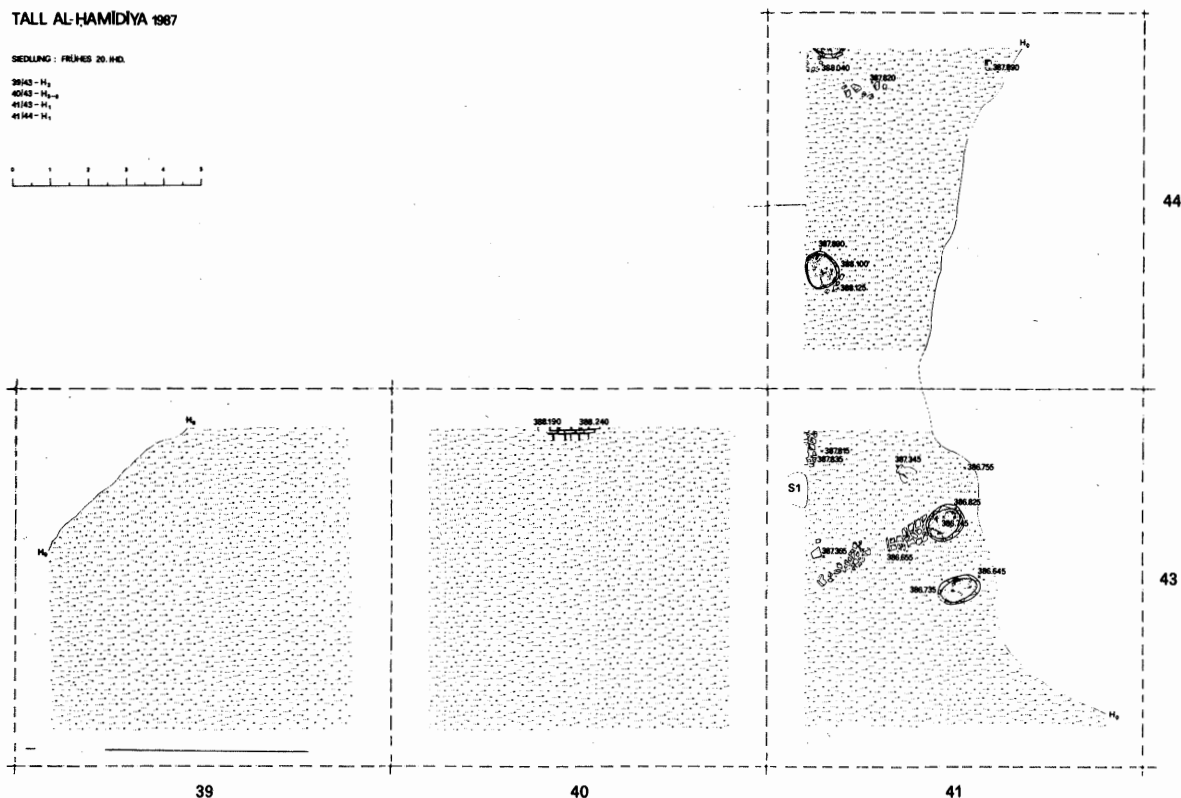


Abb. 76: Siedlung

## 4.3.1.7.2.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

- 39/43-H<sub>3</sub> Begehungshorizont mit Oefen bzw. Ober- und Unterkante eines Ziegeleinbaus in  
 40/43-H<sub>5</sub> 40/43.  
 40/43-H<sub>6</sub>  
 41/43-H<sub>1</sub>  
 41/44-H<sub>1</sub>

## 4.3.1.7.2.2 Kleinfunde

- 40/43 -9: Bohrerfragment; hellbrauner Silex; L: 5.7, B: 1.9, D: 0.8; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-10: Nagelfragment; Eisen; L: 8.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.7, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.0; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-11: Fragment eines Vierbeiners: Kopf weggebrochen; gebrannter Ton; L: 9.5, H: 5.0, B: 5.0; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-12: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, schwarzes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 7.0; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-13: Bodenfragment; hellgrünes Glas; Ø: 6.0; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-14: Fragment eines Schleifsteines; Schiefer; L: 7.5, B: 3.7, D: 1.8; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.  
 40/43-15: Halswirbel eines Schafes: Spielstein ?; H<sub>5</sub>-H<sub>6</sub>.

- 41/43 -1: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.8;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -2: Fragment eines Reibsteines; grobkörniger Basalt; L: 16.0, B: 13.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -3: Fragment eines Reibsteines; grobkörniger Basalt; L: 15.0, B: 12.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -4: Stösselfragment; Kalkstein; L: 14.0, B: 9.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -5: Fragment eines Reibsteines, Mittelstück; grobkörniger Basalt; L: 11.0, B: 10.0, D: 6.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -6: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weisslich patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.6;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -7: Stösselfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; L: 10.0, B: 7.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -8: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, grünes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.8,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.6;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43 -9: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.8;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43-10: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/43-11: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes Glas, schwarz-weiss längsgestreift;  $\varnothing_1$ : 9.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 8.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -1: Beschädigter Vierbeiner; gebrannter Ton; L: 6.9, H: 3.5, B: 3.5;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)
- 41/44 -2: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -3: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.5,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.3;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -4: Perle; dunkles Glas, weiss patiniert; L: 3.2,  $\varnothing$ : 2.5;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -5: Einlegearbeit in Form einer Rosette; Kalkstein; L: 2.7, H: 2.2, D: 1.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)
- 41/44 -6: (Arm)ring ?; Eisen;  $\varnothing_1$ : 4.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 3.2;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -7: (Finger)ring ?; Kupfer ?;  $\varnothing$ : 1.7;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -8: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44 -9: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44-10: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, hellgrün patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.8;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44-11: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, hellgrün patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44-12: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, schwarzes Glas;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.6;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .
- 41/44-13: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas, grün patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.0;  $H_0$ - $H_1$ .



Abb.77: Terrakotta  
41/44-1



Abb.78: Kalksteinrosette  
41/44-5

- 41/44-14: Fragment eines Wetzsteines; Schiefer; L: 4.0, H: 1.0, B: 1.7; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 41/44-15: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, schwarzes Glas, weiss patiniert; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 6.4; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 41/44-16: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 8.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 7.0; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 41/44-17: Scheibe, deren eine Seite ursprünglich wohl mit einer Einlage versehen war; Kupfer ?; H: 0.1, Ø: 2.0; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.

#### 4.3.1.7.3 Nicht präzise einzuordnende Kleinfunde der Benützung in spätsislamischer Zeit

Dieser Benützung können noch die folgenden Kleinfunde zugeordnet werden:

- 39/43-4: Pfeilspitze; Eisen; L: 5.2, B: 0.8, D: 0.6; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 39/43-5: Fragment eines Armreifes; glattes, hellgrünes Glas; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.6; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 39/43-6: Scheibe; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; D: 1.1, Ø: 3.8; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 39/43-7: Messerfragment; grauer Silex; L: 5.7, B: 3.0, D: 0.7; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.
- 39/43-8: Ring; Kupfer ?; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.4; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

#### 4.3.1.7.4 Datierung

Der Datierungsspielraum wird begrenzt durch:

- die (jüngere) französische Garnison,
- die Erfindung des Plastiks (→ G i 7).

#### 4.3.1.8 Benützung in der späten Mandatszeit: Garnison (Abb. 79, 80)

Spät<sup>37</sup> in der Mandatszeit wird auf Tall al-Ḥamīdīya eine militärische Befestigung angelegt; bisher aufgedeckt wurden vorwiegend Kasemattenmauern, die zum Teil in die Palastmauern eingetieft sind.

##### 4.3.1.8.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

- 39/43-H<sub>1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante eines Steinpflasters: Toilette ?
- 39/43-H<sub>2</sub>

<sup>37</sup> Noch nicht erwähnt bei: A. Christie-Mallowan, *Come, Tell Me How You Live*, London 1983 (first published 1946), pp. 52-53.



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GARNISON  
 38/43-H<sub>1-2</sub>  
 40/41-H<sub>0.1-2</sub>  
 40/43-H<sub>1-4</sub>  
 41/37-H<sub>1-2</sub>  
 41/40-H<sub>1-2</sub>  
 41/41-H<sub>2-3</sub>  
 41/42-H<sub>1-1.1</sub>  
 41/44-H<sub>0.1</sub>  
 42/45-H<sub>1</sub>

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

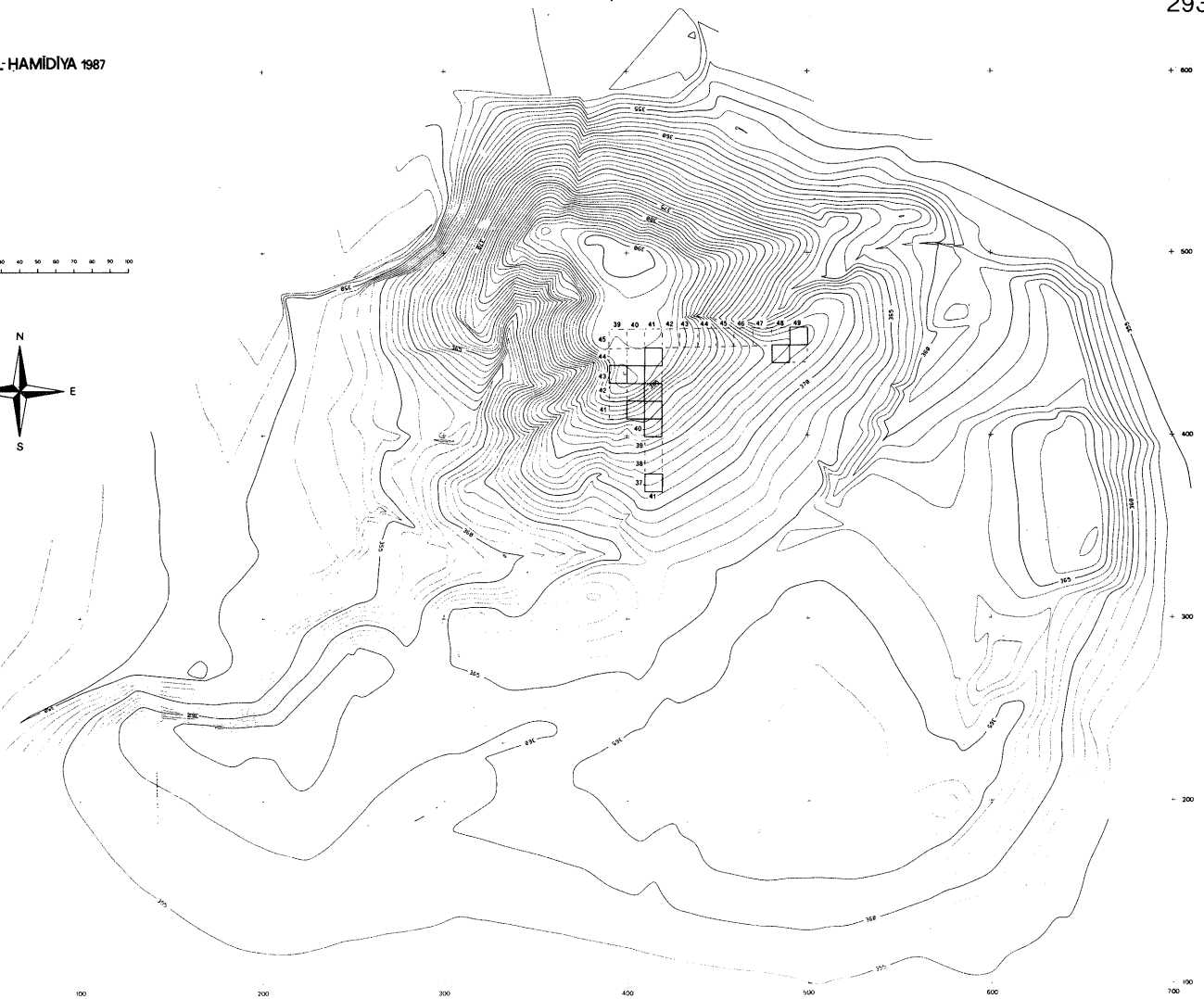
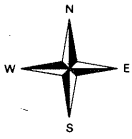


Abb. 79: Grabungsareale der späten Mandatszeit

- 40/41-H<sub>0.1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante einer Kasemattenmauer, eingetieft in die Palastmauer.  
 40/41-H<sub>0.2</sub>
- 40/43-H<sub>1</sub> H<sub>1</sub>: Oberkante der Hausmauer.  
 40/43-H<sub>2</sub> H<sub>2</sub>: Unterkante der Hausmauer sowie dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont.  
 40/43-H<sub>3</sub> H<sub>3</sub>: Oberkante des Mauerfundamentes, entspricht H<sub>2</sub>.  
 40/43-H<sub>4</sub> H<sub>4</sub>: Unterkante des Mauerfundamentes.
- 41/37-H<sub>1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante der Hausmauer sowie dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont.  
 41/37-H<sub>2</sub>
- 41/40-H<sub>1</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante der Kasemattenmauern sowie dazugehöriger Begehungs-  
 41/40-H<sub>2</sub> horizont.
- 41/41-H<sub>2</sub> Ober- bzw. Unterkante der Kasemattenmauern sowie dazugehöriger Begehungs-  
 41/41-H<sub>3</sub> horizont.
- 41/42-H<sub>1</sub> Begehungshorizont mit Resten eines Steinpflasters.  
 41/42-H<sub>1.1</sub>
- 41/44-H<sub>0.1</sub> Begehungshorizont mit Resten eines Steinpflasters.

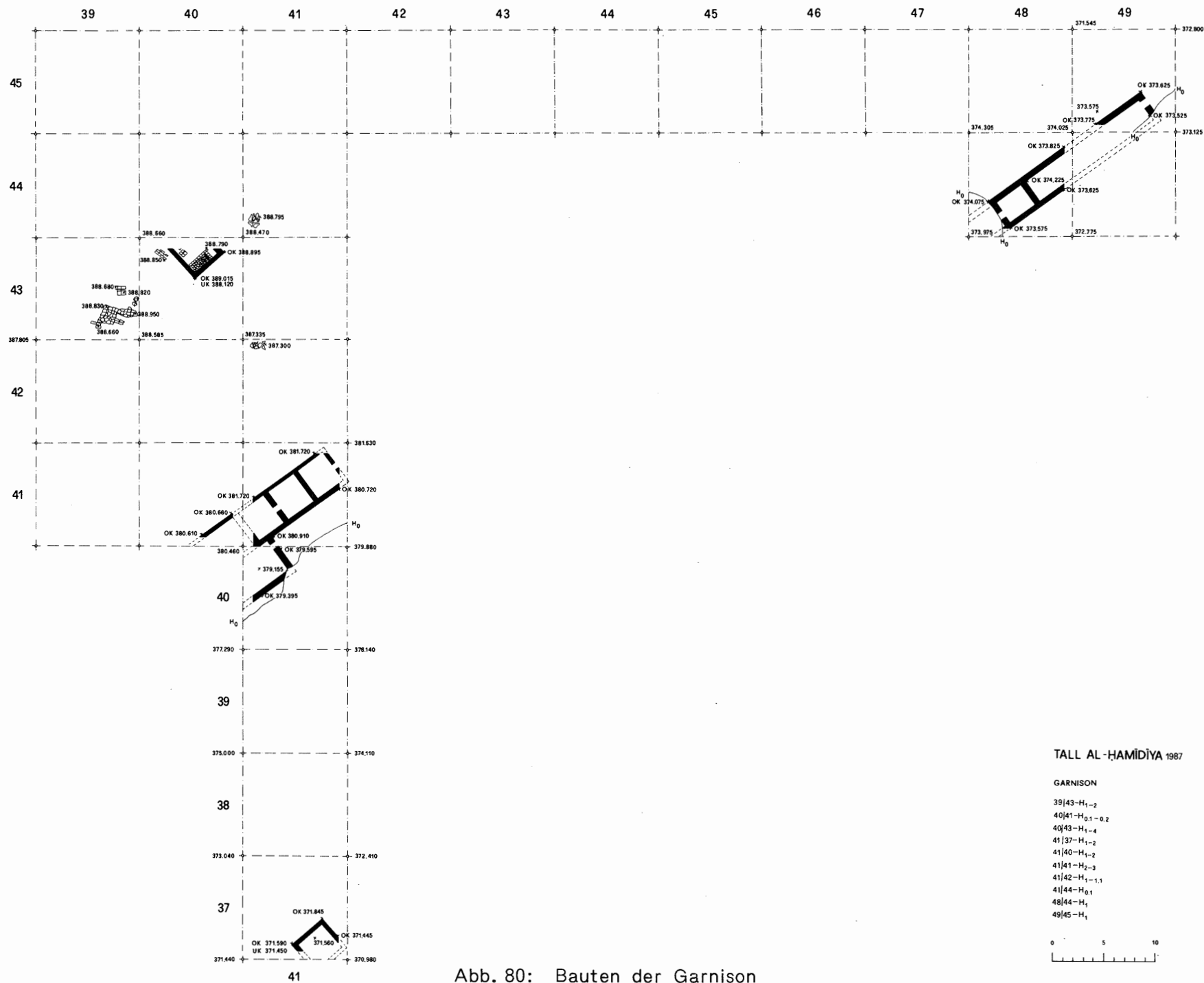


Abb. 80: Bauten der Garnison

- 48/44-H<sub>1</sub> Unterkante der Kasemattenmauern mit dazugehörigem Begehungshorizont; die Oberkante der Mauern ist weitgehend identisch mit H<sub>0</sub>.
- 49/45-H<sub>1</sub> Unterkante der Kasemattenmauern mit dazugehörigem Begehungshorizont; die Oberkante der Mauern ist weitgehend identisch mit H<sub>0</sub>.

#### 4.3.1.8.2 Baubeschreibung

Die bisher aufgedeckten Häuser - 40/43, 41/37 - und Kasemattenmauern - 40/41, 41/40, 41/41, 48/44, 49/45 - weisen eine einheitliche Mauer- und Verbandstechnik auf: die luftgetrockneten Ziegel des Formates  $\pm 45.0 \times 35.0 \times 10.0$  werden quer so vermauert, dass sie sich jeweils um die Hälfte überdecken.

Auffallend an den vier isolierten Häusern bzw. Kasematten ist die einheitliche NO-SW Orientierung: sie lässt vermuten, dass es sich um einen einheitlich konzipierten Komplex gehandelt hat - den Funden nach zu schliessen am ehesten um eine kleine Garnison.

#### 4.3.1.8.3 Kleinfunde

- 39/42 -3: Fragment einer Gürtelschnalle; Eisen; L: 5.5, B: 5.0; S 2.
- 39/43 -1: Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels aus einem Gebäude Aššur-dans I.; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 13.5, B: 10.5, D: 7.0; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 330 (HT 6).
- 39/43 -2: Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels, unleserlich; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 10.0, B: 13.5, D: 6.0; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>; → p. 333 (HT 10)
- 39/43 -3: Undefinierbares Schlackenfragment; Eisenschlacke; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 39/43-10: Champagnerkorken, Marke unleserlich; H: 5.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 3.2, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 2.2, Ø<sub>3</sub>: 3.0; H<sub>2</sub>.
- 39/43-24: Patronenhülse, französisches Modell; Messing; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 40/43 -1: Stösselfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; L: 9.5, Ø: 5.5; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 40/43 -3: Wetzstein; Schiefer; L: 9.0, B: 3.5, D: 2.5; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 40/43 -4: Uniformknopf, stark korrodiert; Eisen ?; Ø: 2.5; H<sub>1</sub>.
- 40/43 -5: Fragment einer Bierflasche; Glas; H<sub>1</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.
- 40/43 -6: Fragment eines Henkels; Glas; H: 5.5, Ø: 0.6; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 40/43 -8: Knopf, zentral durchbohrt; Elfenbein; H: 0.7, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.2, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4; H<sub>3</sub>.
- 40/43-16: Stösselfragment; Serpentin; L: 13.0, B: 6.0, D: 4.5; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 40/43-17: Undefinierbares Schlackenfragment; Eisenschlacke; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.
- 40/43-18: Nagelfragment; Eisen; L: 5.5, Ø: 0.5; H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub>.

- 40/43-19: Halswirbel eines Schafes, Spuren roter Bemalung: Spielstein ?;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 40/43-20: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, schwarzes Glas, weiss patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.8;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 40/43-21: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordiertes, dunkelgrünes Glas, gelb patiniert;  $\varnothing_1$ : 6.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.2;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 40/43-23: In Zement eingelegte, quadratische Kalksteine, Fragment eines Fussbodens ?; einzelne Steine: 2.0 x 2.0;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 40/43-24: Gewicht ?; Kalkstein; H: 5.5, Querschnitt: 2.7 x 1.7;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 40/43-25: Kleiner, vierbeiniger Altar ?; gebrannter Ton; H: 1.9, Querschnitt: 2.0 x 2.0;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 41/37 -1: Oberkörperfragment einer menschlichen Terrakotta; gebrannter Ton; H: 6.2, B: 4.8, D: 2.3;  $H_0-H_2$ .
- 41/37 -9: Verziertes Henkelfragment, Typ nicht bestimmbar; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 3.9, B: 6.0;  $H_0-H_1$ .
- 48/44 -1: Fragment eines Armreifes; tordierte, hellgrüne Fritte ?; weiss überzogen;  $\varnothing_1$ : 7.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 5.8;  $H_0-H_1$ .

#### 4.3.1.8.4 Datierung

- Terminus post quem für die Errichtung der Garnison ist der Besuch von Tall al-Ḥamīdīya durch A. Christie-Mallowan und M.E.L. Mallowan.<sup>38</sup>
- Politische Ueberlegungen weisen auf eine Entstehungszeit zu Beginn des 2. Weltkrieges.

#### 4.3.2 DIE SÜDWESTLICHE ZUNGE (Abb. 81)

Drei Gründe haben uns bewogen, den Schwerpunkt der beiden Kampagnen von 1987 auf die weit nach Südwesten ausgreifende Zunge zu legen:

- die im steilen Nordhang noch deutlich erkennbaren Mauer- und Bodenreste, die uns mindestens zwei grössere, übereinander liegende Gebäudekomplexe vermuten liessen,
- der auffallend hohe, weit über dem Durchschnitt liegende Anteil bemalter Keramik des 2. Jahrtausends,<sup>39</sup>
- die unerwartet schnell fortschreitende Erosion der Nordflanke durch die Winterregen.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. p. 292, Anm. 37.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. dazu p. 302.

Wie erwartet wurden im Laufe der Grabungen zwei grosse Bebauungsphasen aufgedeckt, überlagert von fünf weniger bedeutenden Siedlungs-, Begehungs- und Verfallschichten; sie sollen – dem Prozess ihrer Entstehung folgend – kurz beschrieben werden.

#### 4.3.2.1 Der ältere Bau (Abb. 82)

Bedingt durch das relativ grosse Bauvolumen des jüngeren Gebäudes, das abzutragen die zur Verfügung stehende Zeit nicht erlaubte, konnte der ältere Bau nur beschränkt freigelegt werden – im wesentlichen Teile von drei Räumen: R 101, R 103, R 108.

##### 4.3.2.1.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23-H<sub>5.1</sub> Unterkante der Böden von unregelmässiger Dicke: 1–3 Lagen ungebrannter Ziegel des Standardformates 38.0 x 38.0 x 8.0.

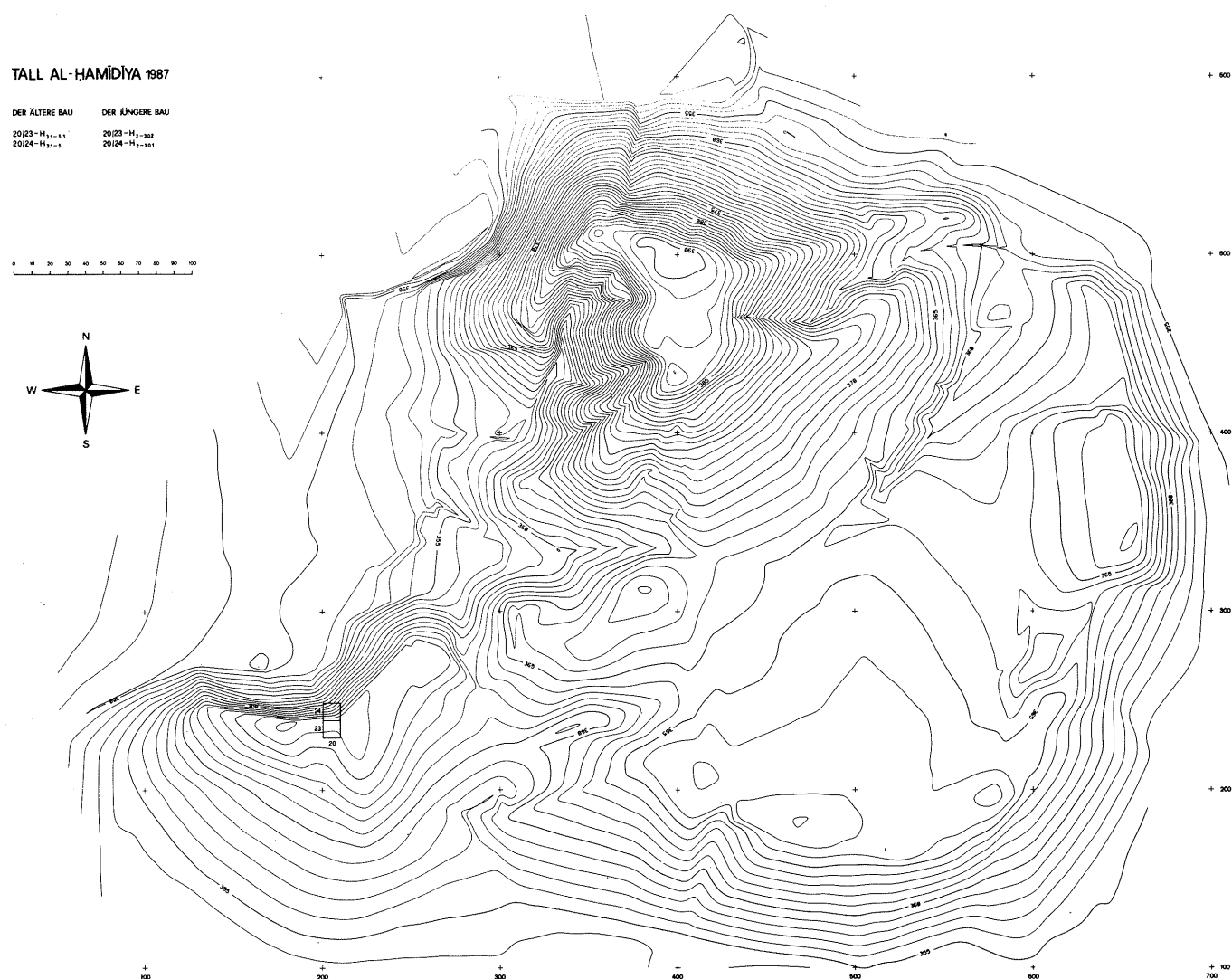


Abb. 81: Die Grabungsareale auf der südwestlichen Zunge

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DER ÄLTERE BAU

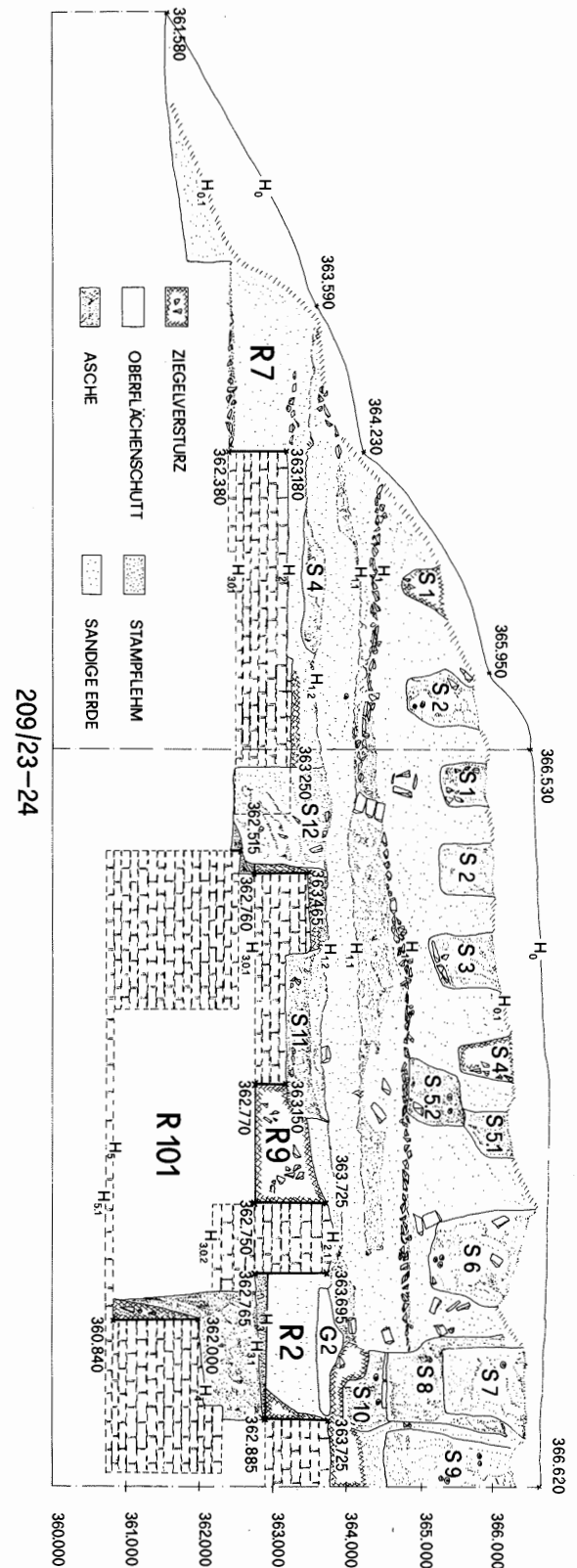
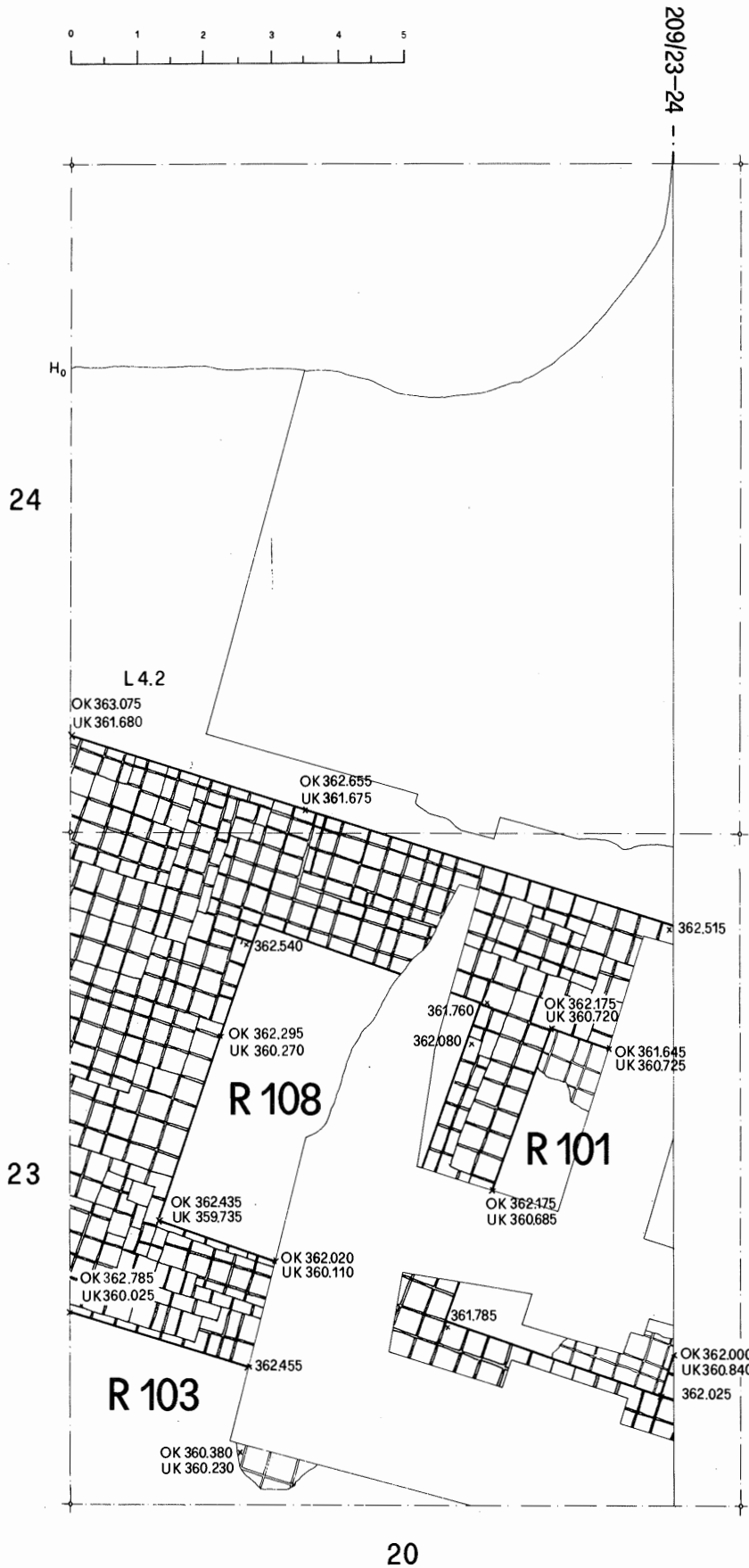
20/23-H<sub>3,1-5,1</sub>  
20/24-H<sub>3,1-5</sub>

Abb. 82: Aelterer Bau

- 20/23-H<sub>5</sub>  
20/24-H<sub>5</sub> In 20/23 Oberkante der Ziegelböden, die durch einen Brand weitgehend zerstört worden und nur noch in Resten in R 101 und R 103 erhalten sind. In 20/24 – da keine Räume vorhanden – Unterkante der Maueraussenseite: sie liegt 1.00 bis 1.50 m über der Oberkante der Böden im Innern, da die vorgegebene Geländeformation ausgenützt wurde – verständlich bei einer Mauerdicke von 2.00 m.
- 20/23-H<sub>4</sub>  
20/24-H<sub>4</sub> Oberkante des teilweise noch über 3.00 m hoch anstehenden Mauerstumpfes aus ungebrannten, rötlich-gelben Ziegeln grober Konsistenz (38.0 x 38.0 x 8.0); das Fugenmaterial ist grauer Lehm Mörtel – vergleichbar den Verhältnissen auf der Zitadelle.
- 20/23-H<sub>3.2.2</sub> Unterkante eines Um- (?) / Einbaus (?) in R 103 und R 108 in Form einer Ziegelbank unterschiedlicher Höhe: 1–7 Ziegellagen.
- 20/23-H<sub>3.2.1</sub> Oberkante des Um- (?) / Einbaus (?).
- 20/23-H<sub>3.1</sub>  
20/24-H<sub>3.1</sub> Oberkante einer bis zu 1.00 m dicken, unmittelbar auf dem Mauerstumpf aufliegenden Ascheschicht, hervorgerufen durch den Brand des Gebäudes.

#### 4.3.2.1.2 Baubeschreibung

Aus- bzw. angegraben wurden bisher drei Räume: R 101, R 103, R 108; aufgrund der Mauerstärken – 1.10 bis 3.50 m – dürfte es sich kaum um ein Wohnhaus, eher um einen Teil eines grösseren Gebäudes handeln mit Ausdehnung nach Westen, Osten und Süden.

Von den drei Räumen liegen zwei – R 101 und R 108 – parallel nebeneinander, je 4.65 auf 3.50 m gross, getrennt durch eine 1.10 m dicke Ziegelmauer. Die Struktur von R 103 ist, bedingt durch die Grabungskanten und die noch anstehenden Mauern des jüngeren Baus, nicht klar. Zwei Momente fallen auf:

- Türen wurden bisher keine aufgedeckt: R 108 dürfte daher als gefangenes Zimmer anzusprechen sein mit Zugang von R 101 im Bereich der noch anstehenden Quermauer des jüngeren Baus.
- Bei der breiten Mauer im Westen muss – auch wenn Mauerdicken von 3.50 m bei grösseren Bauten keine Seltenheit sind – mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass es sich um einen Umbau in Form einer Terrassierung mit gleichformatigen Ziegeln handelt; zukünftige Grabungen werden diesen Punkt klären.

Der Bau brannte ab: über den Mauerstümpfen liegt, nirgendwo durchstossen, eine bis zu 1.00 m dicke Ascheschicht.

#### 4.3.2.1.3 Keramik (Abb. 83, 84)

Basis der folgenden Betrachtungen ist die in den Räumen gefundene Keramik; sie ist stratigraphisch exakt definiert durch die Horizonte H<sub>3.1</sub> und H<sub>5</sub>. Aufgrund der zur Verfügung

TYP	ALTBAU	NEUBAU	TYP	ALTBAU	NEUBAU	TYP	ALTBAU	NEUBAU
	R <sub>101</sub> R <sub>103</sub> R <sub>108</sub>	R <sub>1</sub> R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>9</sub>		R <sub>101</sub> R <sub>103</sub> R <sub>108</sub>	R <sub>1</sub> R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>9</sub>		R <sub>101</sub> R <sub>103</sub> R <sub>108</sub>	R <sub>1</sub> R <sub>2</sub> R <sub>3</sub> R <sub>4</sub> R <sub>7</sub> R <sub>9</sub>
0. 2	4 . 1	. 1 . . 2 .	51.29	. . . . . 1		148. 1	. . . . 1 . . .	
. 3	. . 1	. . . . 1 .	.30	1 . . . . .		. 4	. . . 1 . . . .	
1. 1	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	.31	1 . . . . .		149. 1	. . . . . 2 .	
. 2	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.32	1 . . . . .		150. 1	. . . . . 1 .	
. 3	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.35	1 . . . . .		. 3	. . . 1 . 2 . 1 .	
4. 5	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	.38	. 1 . . . . .		. 4	. . . . . 1 . .	
. 6	. . 1 . . . .	. . . . .	.40	5 . . . . 1 .		. 5	. . . . . 1 . .	
. 7	2 . . . . .	. . . . .	.41	1 . . . . .		. 7	. . . . 1 . . . .	
5. 1	. . . . .	. . . . . 2 .	.43	1 . . . . .		152. 1	1 . . . . .	
. 2	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.45	1 . . . . 1 .		153. 3	. . . . . 1 .	
. 3	. . 1 . . . .	1 . . . . .	.46	1 . . . . .		159. 4	. . . 1 . . . .	
. 7	. 1 . . . .	1 . . . . 1 .	.47	. . . . . 1 . 1		161. 1	. . . . . 1 . .	
6. 1	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.49	3 . . . . 1 . 2 .		.10	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 3	. . . 1 . . .	. . . . .	.50	2 . . . . 2 . . .		166. 3	. . . . . 1 . .	
. 4	2 . . . . .	. . . . . 2 .	.52	2 . . . . .		167.10	1 . . . . .	
. 6	1 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	53. 5	1 . . . . .		169. 2	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 7	3 1 1 . . .	2 1 . . . .	. 8	2 . . . . .		171. 1	1 . . . . .	
9. 3	3 2 . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	54. 1	2 1 . . . 3 . . .		. 3	1 . . . . .	
. 4	1 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 2	. . . 2 . 2 . . .		174. 1	. 1 . . . . 1 .	
. 5	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 3	. . . . . 1 . 1		. 2	. . . 3 . . . . 1 .	
10. 4	3 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 4	. . . . . 3 . . .		176. 1	2 . . . . .	
12. 1	. . . . .	. 1 1 . 1 .	. 6	1 . . . . .		177. 1	. . . 1 2 . . . 1 .	
13. 1	2 . . . . .	. . . 4 . 1 .	55. 1	. . . . . 2 . . .		. 2	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 2	1 . . . . .	. . . 2 . 1 .	. 3	. . . . . 2 . . .		183. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
14.13	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	56. 1	. 1 . . . . 2 . .		184. 1	. . . 1 1 . . . .	
16. 1	2 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 2	. . . . . 1 . . .		188. 1	2 1 1 . . . . .	
17. 2	. . . . .	. . . 1 . 9 .	. 3	. . . . . 1 . . .		189. 1	1 . . . . .	
18. 1	2 . . . . .	. . . 1 . . .	. 5	5 . . 1 2 . . . 1 .		. 2	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 2	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	57. 1	. . . . . 3 . . .		. 3	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 4	2 . . . . .	. . . . . 2 .	59. 2	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 4	16 8 8 2 . 1 . 5 .	
. 5	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	68. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 5	1 . . . . .	
20. 2	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	69. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .		191. 2	1 . . . . .	
21. 3	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	71. 1	1 . . 1 1 . . . .		196. 1	. 2 . . . . .	
24. 1	2 . . . . .	. . . . .	75. 1	1 . . . . 1 . . .		. 3	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 2	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	77. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 4	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 4	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	78. 1	1 . . . . .		201. 1	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 5	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	79. 2	1 . . . . 2 . . .		202. 1	1 . . . . .	
25. 1	. . . 1 . . .	. . . . .	81. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .		207. 2	1 . . . . .	
26. 2	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	82. 1	1 . . . . .		214. 4	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 3	. . . . .	. . . . .	84. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .		219. 1	. . . 3 . . . . 2 .	
. 6	. . . . .	3 . . . . .	. 8	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 2	2 . . 1 . . . . .	
. 7	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	90. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .		. 3	. . . 1 . . . . .	
27. 1	. . . . .	3 . . . . .	91. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .		. 4	. . . . 1 . . . .	
28. 1	. . . . .	1 1 . . . 1 .	97. 2	. . . . . 1 . . .		222. 2	. . . . 1 . . . 1 .	
29. 1	. . . 1 . . .	1 . . . . 2 .	100. 1	1 . . . . 1 . . .		. 3	. . . . . 1 . . .	
32. 1	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	101. 3	1 . . 1 . . . . .		223. 1	1 . . 1 . . . . .	
. 2	. 1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 5	1 . . . . .		224. 1	. . . 2 1 . . . .	
33. 2	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 6	. . . . . 1 . . .		225. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 4	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. 8	. . . . . 1 . . . 1 .		. 2	. . . . 1 . . . .	
34. 1	1 . . . . .	2 . . . . .	.10	. . . . . . . . 1 1		231. 2	1 . . . . .	
36. 1	. . . . .	2 . . . . .	102. 3	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 4	. . . . . 1 . . .	
37. 1	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	105. 2	. . . . . . . . 1 .		232. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 2	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	121. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .		233. 2	1 . . . . . 1 .	
. 3	1 . . . . .	2 . . . . .	126. 1	. . . 2 . . . . 4 .		234. 3	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 4	1 . . . . .	1 . . . . .	. 3	1 . . 1 1 1 . . .		235. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .	
40. 2	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. 4	1 . . . . .		. 2	. . . . 1 . . . .	
41. 1	. 2 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 7	. . . . . 1 . . .		. 4	2 1 2 . . . . 2 .	
43. 4	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 8	. . . 1 . . . . .		236. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .	
49. 1	. . . . .	2 . . . . .	.11	. . . . . 1 . . . 1 .		237. 1	. . . 2 . . . . 1 .	
. 2	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	.12	. . . . . . . . 2 .		241. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 3	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	127. 1	1 1 2 . 1 . . . 1 .		244. 2	. . . . 1 . . . 1 .	
. 6	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	. 2	. . . 3 . . . . 2 .		247. 1	4 . . . 1 . . . .	
50. 1	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 3	1 . . . . 2 1 . 1 .		253. 1	. . . . . 2 . . .	
. 2	. . . . .	1 . . . . .	135. 1	. . . . . . . . 1 .		254. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
51. 1	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 2	. . . . . . . . 1 .		255. 1	. . . . 1 . . . .	
. 3	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 1	136. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .		261. 2	. . . . . 1 . . .	
. 4	. . . . .	. . . . . 2	. 4	. . . . . . . . 2 .		263. 1	1 . . . . 1 . . . .	
. 5	. 1 . . . . .	. . . . .	137. 1	. . . . . 1 . . . .		271. 4	. . . . . 2 . . .	
. 6	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	140. 1	. . . 1 . . . 1 . . .		278. 1	. . . 1 . . . . .	
. 7	. . . 1 . . .	. . . . .	142. 1	. . . . . 1 . . . .		280. 1	5 3 . . 1 . . . .	
. 8	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	. 4	. . . . . 1 . . . 1 .		. 2	. . . 1 . 1 . . . .	
.10	. . . . .	. . . . .	. 5	. . . . . . . . 2 .		. 3	1 . . 1 . . . . .	
.11	1 . . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 7	. . . 1 . . . . 2 .		283. 1	. . . 2 . . . . .	
.13	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	. 8	1 1 1 . . . 1 . . .		284. 1	. . . . . 1 . . .	
.16	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.11	. . . . . 1 . . . 2 .		287. 2	1 . . . . .	
.17	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.13	. . . . . 1 . . . .		291. 1	1 . . . . .	
.18	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	.14	. . . . . 1 . . . .		295. 6	. . . 1 . . . . .	
.25	. . . . .	. . . . . 1 .	.15	. . . . . . . . 1 .		.10	. . . . .	1
.27	1 . . . . .	. . . . .	144. 1	. . . . . 1 . . . .				

Abb. 83: Keramikverteilung nach Typen



		ALTBAU			NEUBAU					
		R <sub>101</sub>	R <sub>103</sub>	R <sub>108</sub>	R <sub>1</sub>	R <sub>2</sub>	R <sub>3</sub>	R <sub>6</sub>	R <sub>7</sub>	R <sub>9</sub>
Schüsseln	Knickschüsseln	37	3	4	14	7	.	4	5	11
	1.1 40.2 51.1 51.8 51.18 51.32 51.45 53.5 54.6									
	1.2 49.1 51.3 51.10 51.25 51.35 51.46 53.8 121.1									
	1.3 49.2 51.4 51.11 51.27 51.38 51.47 54.1 207.2									
	4.5 49.6 51.5 51.13 51.29 51.40 51.49 54.2									
	4.6 50.1 51.6 51.16 51.30 51.41 51.50 54.3									
	4.7 50.2 51.7 51.17 51.31 51.43 51.52 54.4									
	mit eingezogenem Rand	9	.	2	3	.	2	.	1	.
	16.1 18.1 20.2 24.1 24.2 24.4 24.5 25.1 68.1 69.1 71.1									
	mit eingezogenem, abgesetztem Rand	12	4	3	34	1	.	.	9	.
	26.2 26.7 29.1 33.2 36.1 37.3 43.4 55.3 56.3 78.1 97.2									
	26.3 27.1 32.1 33.4 37.1 37.4 49.3 56.1 56.5 79.2									
	26.6 28.1 32.2 34.1 37.2 41.1 55.1 56.2 59.2 90.1									
	eingezogen, mit abgesetztem Rand	15	4	13	10	2	.	1	11	1
	101.3 101.10 222.2 225.2 233.2 241.1 280.1 284.1									
	101.5 102. 3 223.1 231.2 234.3 244.2 280.2									
	101.6 105. 2 224.1 231.4 235.1 247.1 280.3									
	101.8 196. 4 225.1 232.1 237.1 253.1 283.1									
	eingezogen, mit ausladendem Rand	2	.	1	3	1	.	1	.	.
	100.1 127.3 278.1									
	mit ausladendem Rand	6	3	2	1	2	1	6	2	.
	6.1 6.3 6.4 6.6 6.7 18.2 21.3 196.1 196.3 222.3									
	mit ausladendem, abgesetztem Rand	5	.	.	1	.	.	1	.	.
	9.4 9.5 10.4 169.2									
	mit abgesetztem Rand	4	2	3	6	1	.	.	3	.
	57.1 77.1 82.1 91.1 235.4 236.1 254.1 255.1 261.2 263.1									
	mit geriefeltem Rand	.	.	1	1	.	.	1	.	.
	84.1 84.8 166.3									
	einfach	3	2	.	.	1	.	1	.	.
	9.3 81.1									
Schalen	mit eingezogenem Rand	.	.	.	.	1	2	.	10	.
	12.1 17.2									
	mit eingezogenem, abgesetztem Rand	3	.	.	.	2	4	2	2	.
	13.1 13.2 14.13									
	mit ausladendem Rand	.	1	1	2	.	1	.	4	.
Flaschen	einfach	6	.	2	.	1	.	.	6	.
	0.2 0.3 18.4 18.5									
	mit abgesetztem Rand	5	4	10	7	5	6	3	19	.
	135.1 140.1 142. 8 144.1 150.3 153. 3 174.1 235.2									
	135.2 142.1 142.11 148.1 150.4 159. 4 174.1									
Becher	mit Halsknick	3	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.
	171.1 171.3 201.1 202.1									
	einfach	3	1	9	2	2	.	.	11	.
	126.1 126.3 126.4 126.7 126.8 126.11 126.12 127.1 127.2									
	mit eingezogenem Rand	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.
Vorratsgefäße	mit ausladendem Rand	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	183.1 191.2									
	mit abgesetztem Rand	2	.	5	1	.	.	.	2	.
	219.1 219.2 219.3 219.4									
	einfach	21	9	11	4	.	1	.	5	.
Ständer	75.1 188.1 189.1 189.2 189.3 189.4 189.5 214.4									
	271.4 287.2	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.
Ständer	291.1 295.6 295.10	1	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	1

Abb. 84: Keramikverteilung nach Formen

stehenden Informationen lassen sich die folgenden, minimalen Stückzahlen<sup>40</sup> (= 100 % für alle Berechnungen) bestimmen:

- In R 101 Scherben von 161 Gefässen, davon 139 in ihrer Form bestimmbar; bemalt insgesamt 59 Gefässe.
- In R 103 Scherben von 41 Gefässen, davon 34 in ihrer Form bestimmbar; bemalt insgesamt 28 Gefässe.
- In R 108 Scherben von 78 Gefässen, davon 69 in ihrer Form bestimmbar; bemalt insgesamt 26 Gefässe.

Auffallend ist zunächst die grosse Anzahl von Gefässen, die sich – so die eindeutige stratigraphische Situation – beim Brand in den Räumen befunden haben müssen<sup>41</sup>; auffallend ist der hohe Prozentsatz der bemalten Keramik: etwa ein Drittel<sup>42</sup>, was zweifellos mitbedingt wird durch den unterdurchschnittlichen Anteil der Standardwaren 10 und 11<sup>43</sup>; auffallend – zumindest vom Standpunkt der Lehrmeinung im deutschen Sprachraum<sup>44</sup> – ist auch die Gleichzeitigkeit von Streifenbemalung – vor allem des Typs 4002 – auf Bechern, überwiegend vom Typ 189, und komplizierteren geometrischen Mustern der Typen 4019 bis 4024.<sup>45</sup> Die stratigraphischen Verhältnisse sind eindeutig, Störungen ausgeschlossen; dieser Befund entspricht den bereits im ersten Vorbericht aufgrund der Grabungsergebnisse vermuteten und auch geäusserten Zweifel<sup>46</sup> an der Existenz einer 'älteren' und einer 'jüngeren' Ḥābūr-Ware – er reicht für weitere Schlüsse (noch) nicht aus, soll lediglich bei der Datierung zur Vorsicht mahnen.

Die Inventare der Räume sind von der Variationsbreite her recht ähnlich (Abb. 84), unterscheiden sich jedoch in der quantitativen Dominanz einzelner Typen:

- In R 101 ist der hohe Prozentsatz an Knickschüsseln auffallend: 27 % des Gesamtinventars bzw. 84 % aller Knickschüsseln im älteren Bau; daneben dominieren eingezogene Schüsseln (19 %) und schlanke Becher (15 %).
- [– R 103 ist, da nur angegraben, schwierig zu bewerten: gegenwärtig bestimmen eingezogene Schüsseln (24 %) und schlanke Becher (24 %) das Inventar.]
- In R 108 dominieren Flaschen (28 %); überdurchschnittlich häufig vertreten sind eingezogene Schüsseln (23 %) und schlanke Becher (16 %).

<sup>40</sup> Die maximalen Stückzahlen der in ihren Formen bestimmbaren Gefässe liegen um 9 % höher.

<sup>41</sup> Da der Unterschied zwischen minimaler und maximaler Anzahl relativ gering ist, dürften die Verhältnisswerte der Typen zueinander recht verlässliche Tendenzen widerspiegeln.

<sup>42</sup> R 101: 37 %; R 108: 33 %; der Anteil von 70 % in R 103 dürfte zwei Gründe haben: das spezifische Inventar (Abb. 83, 84) und den Umstand, dass der Raum nicht vollständig ausgegraben ist.

<sup>43</sup> 61 % gegenüber einem durchschnittlichen Wert von  $\pm 85$  %.

<sup>44</sup> B. Hrouda, Die bemalte Keramik des zweiten Jahrtausends in Nordmesopotamien und in Nordsyrien, IstForsch 19, Berlin 1957; B. Hrouda, Ḥābūr-Ware, RIA 4, Berlin, New York 1972-1975, pp. 29-31.

<sup>45</sup> Die Anteile – im ungünstigsten Fall für die Muster 4019-4024 – sind: 49:6 in R 101, 20:5 in R 103, 19:6 in R 108.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl.: al-Ḥamīdīya 1, Plan 3, auf dem die Ḥābūr-Ware bewusst unterschiedslos eingetragen ist.

Für eine vergleichende quantitative Analyse der Waren ist die Anzahl der Gefässe zu gering; generell lässt sich jedoch beobachten, dass der Anteil der beiden Standardwaren – 10 und 11 – mit etwa der Hälfte der gesamten Produktion<sup>47</sup> erheblich unter dem bisher notierten Durchschnitt liegt.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4.3.2.1.4 Kleinfunde

R 101:

20/23-37: Gussform für Schmuck; grauer Sandstein; H: 7.5, B: 8.0, D: 1.8; H<sub>3,1</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>. (M 1:2)

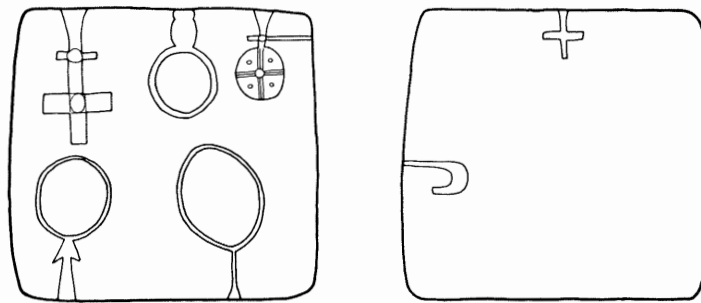


Abb.85: Gussform 20/23-37

20/23-38: Nuzischerben → 4026.24; weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H<sub>3,1</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

20/23-39: Schalenfragment; feinkörniger Basalt; H: 5.4, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 18.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 13.0; H<sub>3,1</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

20/23-40: Nuzischerben → 4026.25; weiss auf hellrotem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>.

20/23-41: Fragment eines Wagenmodells; gebrannter Ton; L: 5.5, H: 2.4, B: 3.1; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>.

20/23-45: Steinzylinder; dunkelgrauer Stein; Rohmaterial für ein Rollsiegel ?; H: 4.5, Ø: 2.0; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>. M 1:2

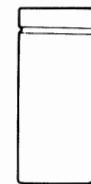


Abb.86: Steinzylinder 20/23-45

20/23-46: Becher → 189.5, 1000.7; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 11.0, Ø: 6.0; H<sub>3,1</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>.

R 103:

20/23-43: Nuzischerben → 4026.26: weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>.

<sup>47</sup> R 101: 51 %; R 103: 48 %; der hohe Anteil von 90 % in R 108 ist aus dem spezifischen Inventar zu erklären, da die hier dominierenden Formen überwiegend in den Standardwaren hergestellt werden.

<sup>48</sup> Nach den bis jetzt zur Verfügung stehenden Daten liegt der Anteil der Standardwaren bei ± 85 %.

R 108:

20/23-47: Doppelgesichtiges, in der Längsachse durchbohrtes Amulett; dunkelbrauner, polierter Stein; die Augen sind mit Glimmer und einer schwarzen Paste eingelegt; H: 2.5, B: 1.4, D: 1.6; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>. (Abb.87)

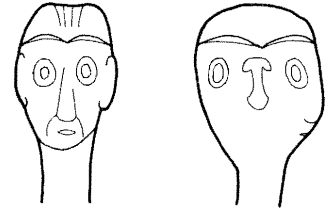


Abb.87: Steinkopf  
20/23-47

20/23-48: Ständerfragment → 5009.2: braun auf Tongrund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H<sub>4</sub>-H<sub>5</sub>.

L 4.2:

20/24 -3: Becher → 189.4, 1004.12; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H: 9.0, Ø: 7.0.

20/24 -4: Rollsiegel; weisse Fritte; H: 2.7, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.1, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.4. (Abb.88)

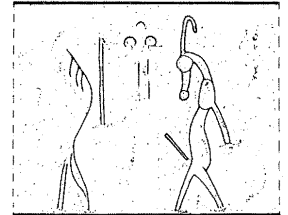


Abb.88: Rollsiegel  
20/24-4

20/24 -5: Boden eines Nuzibechers → 1017.2, 4026.27: weiss auf braunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H: 5.5, Ø: 3.5.

20/24 -9: Fragment eines Becherbodens → 4025.4-1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H: 3.2.

20/24-10: Nuzischerben → 4026.28: weiss auf dunkelbraunem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12.

#### 4.3.2.1.5 Datierung

Der Grabungsbefund in L 4.2 ist eindeutig: alle hier gefundenen Gegenstände haben zum älteren Bau gehört. Der einzige datierende Fund ist gegenwärtig das Rollsiegel 20/24-4 aus weisser Fritte: so schlecht es auch erhalten sein mag, die aufrecht stehende Gazelle mit zurückgewandtem Kopf erlaubt mit zureichender Sicherheit eine Datierung in die mittanische/ mittelassyrische Zeit.

#### 4.3.2.2 Der jüngere Bau (Abb. 89)

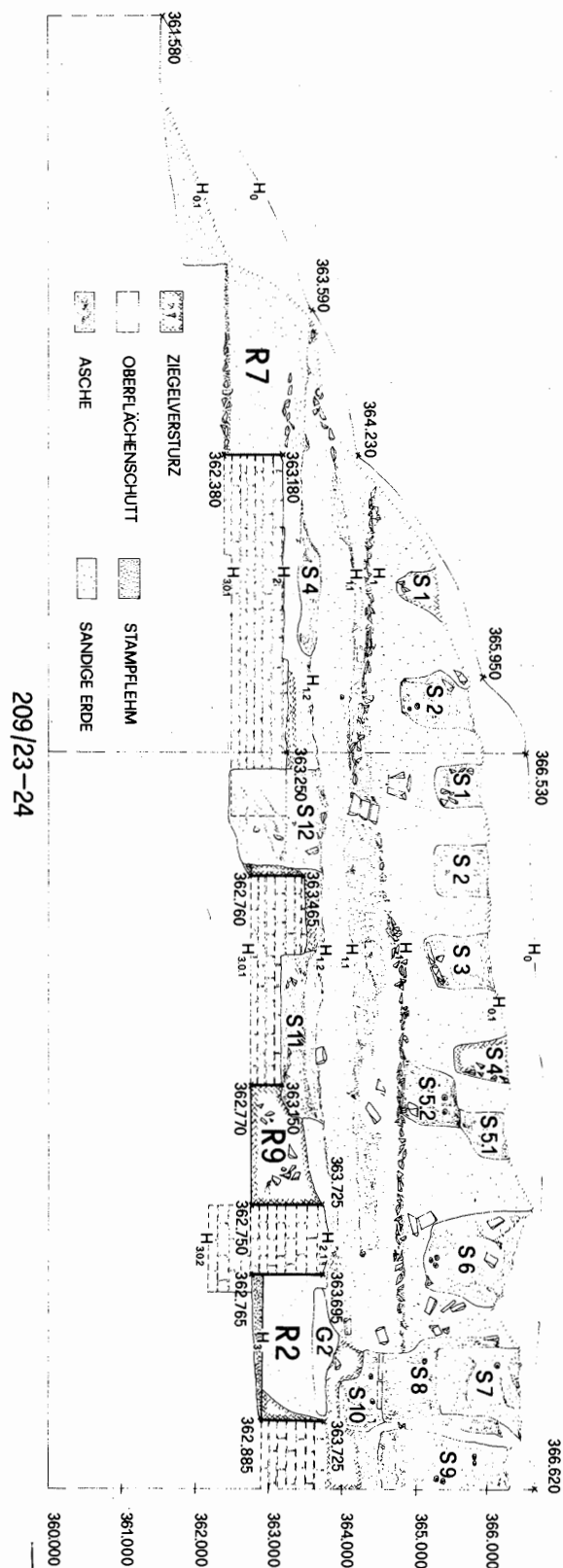
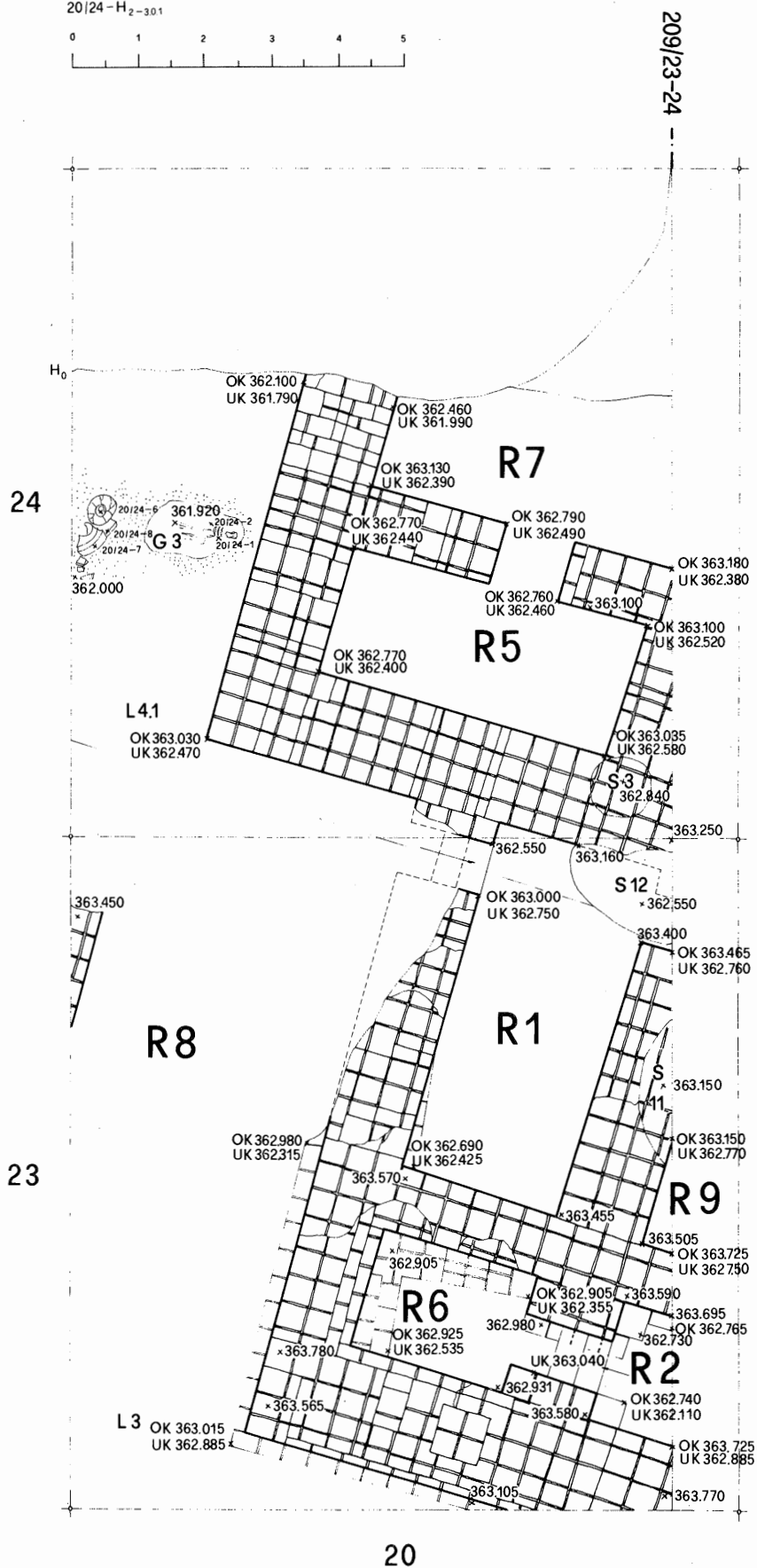
##### 4.3.2.2.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23-H<sub>3.0.2</sub> Unterkante der Fundamentierung aus unsorgfältig verlegten, schiefwinklig zu den späteren Mauern verlaufenden Ziegeln des Standardformates (38.0 x 38.0 x 8.0); das Fundament ist unterschiedlich tief: 2-6 Ziegel, erfasst in R 1, R 2, R 6, R 8 und L 3 (Aussenseite ?).

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## DER JÜNGERE BAU

20/23 - H<sub>2</sub>-3.0.2  
20/24 - H<sub>2</sub>-3.0.1



**Abb. 89: Jüngerer Bau**

20/23-H <sub>3.0.1</sub> 20/24-H <sub>3.0.1</sub>	Unterkante der Mauern aus rötlich-gelben, ungebrannten Ziegeln des Standard-formaten sowie Unterkante der Böden.
20/23-H <sub>3</sub> 20/24-H <sub>3</sub>	Oberkante der Böden aus Stampflehm dichter Konsistenz.
20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> 20/24-H <sub>2</sub>	Oberkante der bis zu 1.00 m hoch anstehenden Mauern.
20/23-H <sub>2</sub>	Umbau in Form einer dünnen, einen Ziegel starken Mauer zwischen R 2 und R 6.

#### 4.3.2.2.2 Baubeschreibung

Unmittelbar – so der Befund – nach dem Brand wird mit dem Neubau begonnen; im Unterschied zum älteren Bau weist er im Bereich der zukünftigen Mauern von R 1, R 2, R 6, R 8 und L 3 eine ungewöhnliche Fundamentierung auf: in den Brandschutt (H<sub>3.1</sub>–H<sub>4</sub>) werden – ohne ihn jedoch zu durchstossen – unterschiedlich starke Fundamentgräben eingetieft, in die dann, 2–6 Lagen stark und nur annähernd dem zukünftigen Mauerverlauf entsprechend, Ziegel vom Standardformat als Substruktion vermauert werden; im Bereich der Mauern von R 9, R 5 und R 7 dient lediglich der nur flüchtig abgegliche Brandschutt bzw. Boden unterschiedlicher Höhe als Baugrund.

Ueber Fundament und Abgleichung wird das neue Gebäude errichtet; es dürfte sich – wie beim Vorgänger – um einen grösseren Komplex handeln mit Ausdehnung in allen Richtungen.

Aus- bzw. angegraben wurden sieben Räume, die zu zwei, durch einen Korridor (?) verbundene Komplexe zusammengefasst werden können: einen Nordkomplex mit den Räumen R 5, R 7 sowie einem möglichen Raum im Bereich von L 4.1, der jedoch im Westen durch die hellenistische Schicht (H<sub>1.1</sub>–H<sub>1.2</sub>) stark gestört ist; ein zweiter Komplex im Süden mit den parallelen Räumen R 1 und R 9, der kleinen Raumkette R 2, R 6 sowie dem wiederum durch das hellenistische Haus (H<sub>1.1</sub>–H<sub>1.2</sub>) nahezu vollständig zerstörten Raum R 8. Die durch die unterschiedliche Fundamentierung bedingten Niveauunterschiede – namentlich zwischen R 8 und R 1 sowie zwischen R 2 und R 6 – wurden durch Treppen ausgeglichen.

Im Bereich von L 4.1 sind Reste eines Bodens gefunden worden, der in Höhe und Konsistenz den Böden in R 5 und R 7 entspricht – von ihm aus eingetieft ist das Grab G 3 mit einem stark gestörten männlichen Skelett in Strecklage: als Beigaben wurden eine Steinperle (→ 20/24-1) und ein Armreif (→ 20/24-2) gefunden; auf dem Stampflehm westlich des Grabes ein Ständer (→ 20/24-7), eine Flasche (→ 20/24-6) und ein geritzter Ziegel (→ 20/24-8).

#### 4.3.2.2.3 Keramik (Abb. 83, 84)

Basis unserer Betrachtungen ist wiederum die Keramik in den aus- bzw. angegrabenen Räumen R 1, R 2, R 5, R 6, R 7 und R 9<sup>49</sup>; die minimalen Stückzahlen<sup>50</sup> (= 100 % für alle Berechnungen) sind:

- R 1: Scherben von 92 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 90, bemalt insgesamt 11,
- R 2: Scherben von 30 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 27, bemalt insgesamt 4,
- R 5: Scherben von 19 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 17, bemalt insgesamt 5,
- R 6: Scherben von 20 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 20, bemalt 1,
- R 7: Scherben von 94 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 92, bemalt insgesamt 14,
- R 9: Scherben von 15 Gefässen, in ihrer Form bestimmbar 13, bemalt insgesamt 4.

Aehnlich den Verhältnissen im älteren Bau ist die relativ grosse Anzahl von Gefässen, ähnlich auch die quantitative Dominanz bestimmter Typen:

- R 1: Eingezogene Schüsseln (49 %) und Knickschüsseln (16 %),
- R 2: Knickschüsseln (26 %),
- R 5: Flaschen (35 %),
- R 6: Ausladende Schüsseln (30 %),
- R 7: Flaschen und eingezogene Schüsseln (je 21 %),
- R 9: Knickschüsseln mit einem Anteil von 85 %, was zweifellos dadurch mitbedingt ist, dass nur ein kleiner Teil des Raumes ausgegraben ist.

Im Unterschied zum älteren Bau entspricht der Anteil der Standardware mit 83 % etwa dem bisher notierten Durchschnitt<sup>51</sup>; merklich geringer, aber mit 15 % noch immer über dem Durchschnitt liegend, ist der Anteil der bemalten Keramik – interessant, dass auch im jüngeren Bau Streifenbemalung auf Bechern neben komplizierteren geometrischen Mustern zu belegen ist.<sup>52</sup>

#### 4.3.2.2.4 Kleinfunde

- R 1:
- 20/23–23: Applike in Form eines Stierkopfes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 4.0, B: 3.0, D: 3.0; H<sub>2.1</sub>–H<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>49</sup> R 8 und ein weiterer, möglicher Raum im Bereich von L 4.1 enthielten – da durch die hellenistische Bebauung weitgehend zerstört – keine Keramik *in situ*.

<sup>50</sup> Die maximalen Stückzahlen der in ihren Formen bestimmbaren Gefässe liegen um 6 % höher.

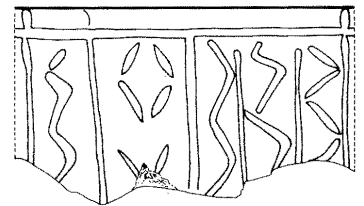
<sup>51</sup> Etwa 85 %.

<sup>52</sup> Die Verhältniszahlen sind: 9:2 in R 1, 1:3 in R 2, 4:1 in R 5, 1:0 in R 6, 13:1 in R 7, 3:1 in R 9.

- 20/23-24: Fragment eines Zeburindes, erhalten sind Kopf und Hals; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; L: 7.8, H: 7.0, B: 4.2; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 20/23-25: Bodenfragment einer Steinschale; weisser Stein; H: 1.0, Ø: 6.0, H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 20/23-30: In der Längsachse durchbohrter Zylinder; gebrannter Ton; H: 3.1, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 2.6, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.8; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 20/23-31: Fragment eines Vierbeiners; gebrannter Ton; L: 6.5, H: 4.2, D: 4.0; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.
- 20/23-32: In der Längsachse durchbohrter Zylinder; gebrannter Ton; H: 6.4, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.8, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 1.4; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.

## R 7:

- 20/24-11: Rollsiegelfragment; verbrannte Fritte ?; H: 2.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 1.3, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 0.3; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (M 1:1)
- 20/24-12: Nadel mit Oese; Kupfer ?; L: 7.0, Ø (Nadel): 0.2, Ø (Oese): 0.15; H<sub>2</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>.

Abb.90: Rollsiegel  
20/24-11

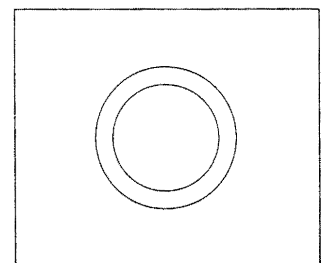
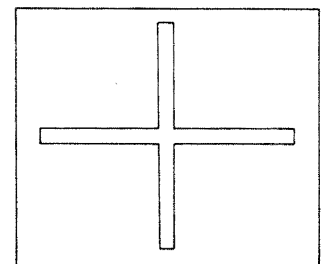
## R 9:

- 20/23-26: Scherben mit geometrischem Muster → 4026.17-1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 13; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (4026.17)
- 20/23-27: Bemalter Scherben → 4028.1-1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (4028.1)
- 20/23-28: Scherben mit geritztem Dekor → 3054.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (3054.1)
- 20/23-29: Ständerfragment → 295.10, 5009.1-1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 9.0, Ø: 24.0, H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (5009.1)
- 20/23-33: Scherben mit geritztem Dekor → 3004.3; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12; H<sub>2,1</sub>-H<sub>3</sub>. (3004.3)

Abb.91: Armreif  
20/24-2

## G 3:

- 20/24 -1: Ellipsoide Perle, durchbohrt; schwarzer Stein; L: 3.1, B: 1.4, D: 1.1.
- 20/24 -2: Armreif; Kupfer ?; Ø<sub>1</sub>: 5.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 4.5. (M 1:2) (Abb.91)

Abb.92: Tonziegel  
20/24-8

## L 4.1:

- 20/24 -6: Flaschenfragment → 127.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 24.0, Ø: 12.0, Wandstärke: 1.2.
- 20/24 -7: Ständerfragment → 1090.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 19.0, Ø: 31.0. (1090.4)
- 20/24 -8: Ziegel mit beidseitiger Ritzung; gebrannter Ton; H: 34.0, B: 40.5, D: 7.5. (M 1:10) (Abb.92)



#### 4.3.2.2.5 Datierung

Datierende Funde liegen nicht vor; sollten jedoch unsere Vermutungen zur Fundlage von HT 8 (20/23-2)<sup>53</sup> und HT 9 (20/23-3)<sup>54</sup> zutreffen, wäre der jüngere Bau ins 9. Jahrhundert zu datieren mit noch nicht abblickbaren Konsequenzen für die Laufzeit der Hābūr-Ware sowie einer Keramik, die von der Maltechnik her der Hābūr-Ware, von den Motiven her der Nuzi-Ware nahesteht.<sup>55</sup>

#### 4.3.2.3 Die Verfallsschicht H<sub>1,2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>

##### 4.3.2.3.1 Horizontbeschreibung

Nach dem Ende des Neubaus – zeitlich nicht zu datieren – und bis in hellenistische Zeit wird das Gebiet vorwiegend für Abfallgruben (20/23 – S 11, 20/23 – S 12, 20/24 – S 3, 20/24 – S 4), vereinzelt auch für Gräber (G 1, G 2) verwendet; auffallenderweise konzentrieren sich Störungen und Gräber am Ostrand des Grabungsareals.

##### 4.3.2.3.2 Die Störungen

20/23 – S 11: Sand, Asche und Ziegelbruch.

20/23 – S 12: Sand, Asche und Ziegelbruch mit nur wenigen, nicht klassifizierbaren, verbrannten Scherben sowie den Kleinfunden:

20/23-42: Pfeilspitze; Kupfer ?; L: 6.5, B: 1.3, D: 0.3; H<sub>1,2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.

20/23-44: Fragment eines Reibsteins; grobkörniger Basalt; 6.0 x 5.5 x 3.0; H<sub>1,2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.

20/24 – S 3: Erde und Asche.

20/24 – S 4: Sand und Asche.

##### 4.3.2.3.3 Die Gräber

G 1: Eingetieft in die oberste Ziegellage (H<sub>2,1</sub>); erhalten waren nur noch einige wenige Knochensplitter.

G 2: Eingetieft im Bereich von R 2; erhalten war nur noch Knochenmehl.

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<sup>53</sup> Vgl. p. 331-332.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. p. 332-333.

<sup>55</sup> 20/23-27; dazu p. 308.

## 4.3.2.3.4 Kleinfunde im Verfallschutt

20/23-19: Knickschüssel → 51.3, 1020.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 5.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 15.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 6.0; H<sub>1.2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.

20/23-21: Schalenfragment; mittelfeiner Basalt; H: 4.8, (Abb.93)  $\varnothing_1$ : 20.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 10.0; H<sub>1.2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>. (M 1:2)

20/23-22: Fussfragment einer Schale; mittelfeiner Basalt; H: 8.0,  $\varnothing$ : 9.5; H<sub>1.2</sub>-H<sub>2</sub>.

Abb.93: Schalenfragment 20/23-21

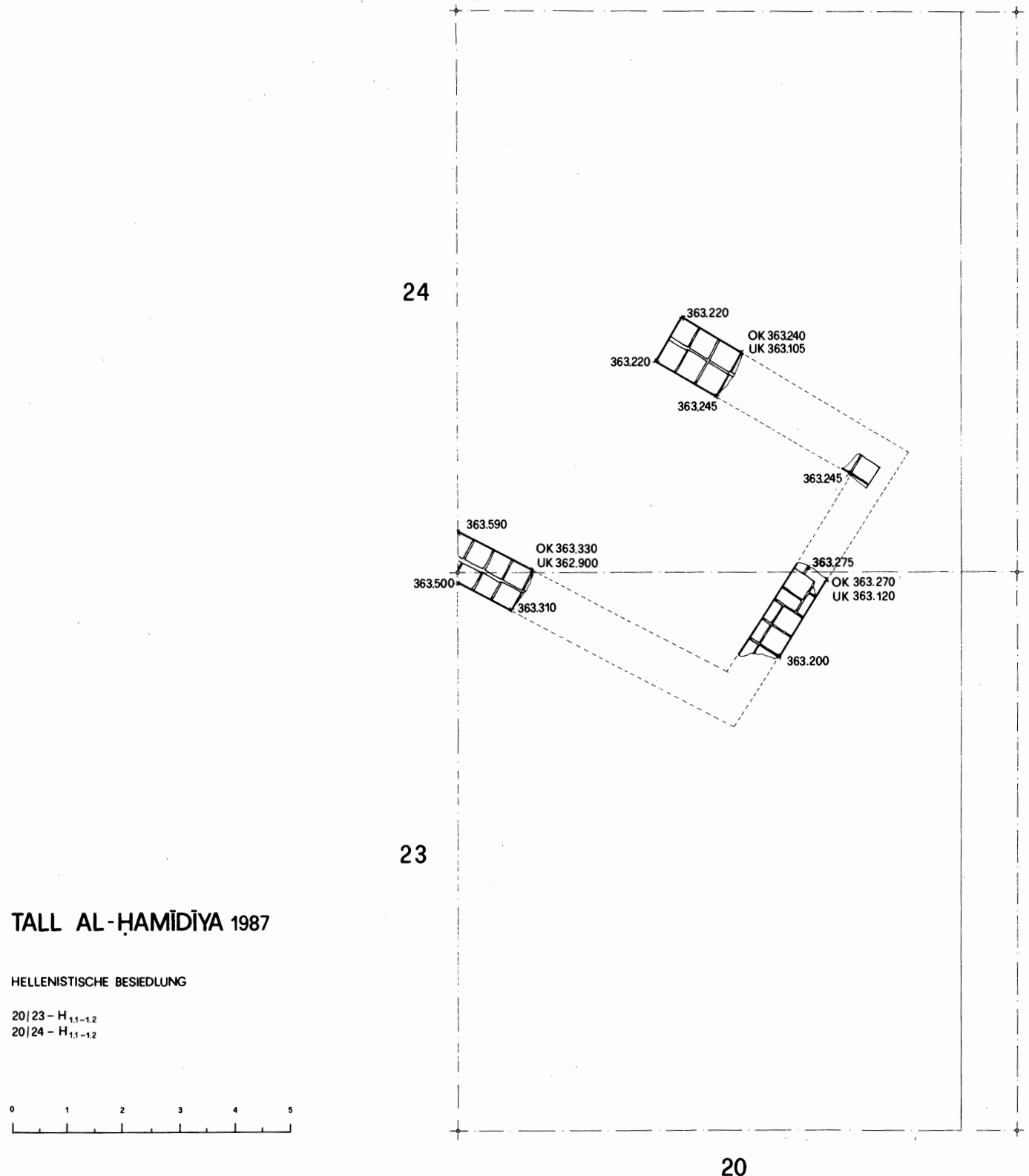
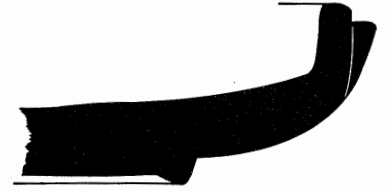


Abb. 94: Hellenistische Besiedlung

#### 4.3.2.4 Hellenistische Besiedlung (Abb. 94)

Der Begehungshorizont  $H_{1.2}$  weist ein Gefälle von Osten nach Westen auf; im Nordwesten wurde für den Hausbau der Boden planiert: dabei wurden R 8 sowie ein weiterer, möglicher Raum im Bereich L 4.1 weitgehend zerstört.

##### 4.3.2.4.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23- $H_{1.2}$      Unterkante der Mauern aus grauen Lehmziegeln feiner Konsistenz (40.0 x 40.0 x  
20/24- $H_{1.2}$      12.0) bzw. dazugehöriger Begehungshorizont.

20/23- $H_{1.1}$      Oberkante der Mauern bzw. des entsprechenden Verfallschuttes.  
20/24- $H_{1.1}$

##### 4.3.2.4.2 Baubeschreibung

Vier isolierte Reste von Ziegelmauern – bis zu 4 Lagen hoch – lassen sich zu einem 4.20 m breiten Haus (?) unbekannter Länge und unbekannter Innenstruktur ergänzen. Ziegel und Mörtel entsprechen in Grösse, Material, Konsistenz und Farbe den hellenistischen Bauten auf der Zitadelle.

##### 4.3.2.4.3 Keramik / Kleinfunde

*in situ* gefunden wurden lediglich zwei Gefässe:

20/23-17:     Schüssel → 26.11, 1059.1, bemalt → 4015.5-5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 1; H: 6.5,  $\varnothing_1$ :  
(26.11)     10.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 4.0;  $H_{1.1}$ - $H_{1.2}$ .

20/23-18:     Flasche → 158.2, 1000.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 5; H: 22.0,  $\varnothing$ : 9.8;  $H_{1.1}$ - $H_{1.2}$ .  
(158.2)

Die übrige, sehr spärliche Keramik stammt aus der Abgleichschicht und entspricht der Keramik aus  $H_{2.1}$ - $H_3$ .

##### 4.3.2.4.4 Datierung

Die *in situ* gefundene Schüssel (20/23-17) legt eine Datierung in den Zeitraum des 3. bis 1. Jahrhunderts nahe.

#### 4.3.2.5 Die Verfallschicht $H_1$ - $H_{1.1}$

Nahezu fundleere Erd- und Ascheschicht, durchsetzt mit Ziegelbruch und Knochensplitter.

##### 4.3.2.5.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23- $H_1$	Vgl. 4.3.2.6.1
20/24- $H_1$	
20/23- $H_{1.1}$	Vgl. 4.3.2.4.1
20/24- $H_{1.1}$	

#### 4.3.2.6 Die Besiedlung $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$

##### 4.3.2.6.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23- $H_1$	Fester Boden aus Stampflehm und Keramikbruch mit stark gestörter Bebauung:
20/24- $H_1$	Reste von Ziegelmauern, die sich nicht zu einem Grundriss zusammenfügen lassen sowie Reste von Tonröhren, die ursprünglich der Entwässerung dienten.
20/23- $H_{0.1}$	Oberkante des dazugehörigen Verfallschuttes sowie längerfristiger Begehungshori-
20/24- $H_{0.1}$	zont, von dem aus Gräber und Gruben eingetieft worden sind (vgl. 4.3.2.7.1).

##### 4.3.2.6.2 Keramik

Keine Keramik, die *in situ* gefunden worden ist; die Scherben des Bodens waren nicht klassifizierbar.

##### 4.3.2.6.3 Kleinfunde

20/23-1:	Scheibe, ursprünglich Münze ?; Kupfer ?; D: 0.4, Ø: 2.0; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .
20/23-4:	Nadelfragment mit Kugelkopf und Oese; Kupfer ?; L: 9.0, Ø <sub>1</sub> (Kopf): 1.0, Ø <sub>2</sub> (Nadel): 0.3, Ø <sub>3</sub> (Oese): 0.2; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .
20/23-6: (Abb.95)	Schalenfragment; mittelfeiner Basalt; H: 3.5, Ø: 21.0; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)
20/23-7:	Schalenfragment; grobkörniger Basalt; H: 6.0, Ø: 26.0; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .
20/23-8:	Schalenfragment; mittelfeiner Basalt; H: 5.5, Ø: 26.0; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .
20/23-9:	Fussfragment einer Schale; feinkörniger Basalt; H: 3.5, Ø: 12.0; $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .



Abb.95: Schalenfragment  
20/23-6

20/23-10: Randfragment einer Wanne; mittelfeiner Basalt; L: 5.2, H: 9.0;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .

20/23-11: Nuzischerben → 4026.16, beige auf rotem Grund; gebrannter Ton, Ware 12;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .

20/23-12: Schalenfragment; weisser Stein; H: 2.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 8.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 7.4;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)

20/23-13: Scheibe, zentral durchbohrt; Serpentin ?; H: 1.0,  $\varnothing_1$ : 3.2,  $\varnothing_2$ : 0.5;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .

20/23-14: Applike in Form eines Stierkopfes, → 105.5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10;  $\varnothing$  (Gefässöffnung): 50.0;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)

20/23-15: Stössel; feinkörniger Basalt; H: 11.5,  $\varnothing_1$ : 5.0,  $\varnothing_2$ : 3.5;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .

20/23-16: Fussfragment einer Steinschale; feinkörniger Basalt; 13.0 x 8.5 x 7.0;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ .

20/23-20: Gestempelter Pfropfen; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 2.7,  $\varnothing$ : 3.8;  $H_{0.1}$ - $H_1$ . (M 1:2)

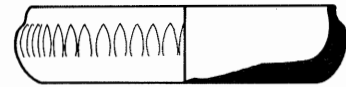


Abb.96: Steinschale  
20/23-12

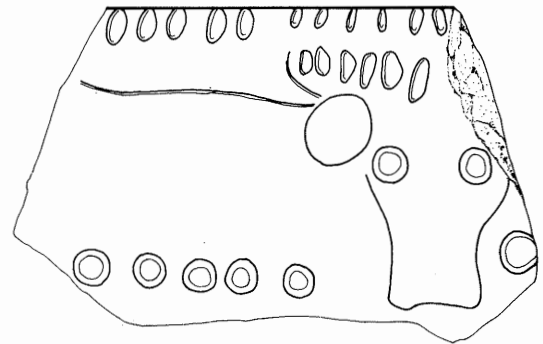


Abb.97: Tonapplike  
20/23-14

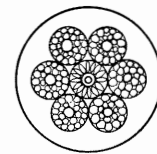


Abb.98: Tonpfropfen  
20/23-20

#### 4.3.2.7 Die Schicht $H_0$ - $H_{0.1}$

##### 4.3.2.7.1 Horizontenkonkordanz und -beschreibung

20/23- $H_0$  Heutige Oberfläche; ohne Siedlungsspuren.  
20/24- $H_0$

20/23- $H_{0.1}$  Begehungshorizont aus fester Erde; von ihm aus eingetieft sind am Ostrand des  
20/24- $H_{0.1}$  Grabungsareales - und sich weiter nach Osten erstreckend? - Gruben (20/23 - S 1-5.1, 6-9; 20/24 - S 1-2) mit Resten zerstörter Gräber: erhalten sind nur noch Knochenmehl und kleine Splitter. Reste vollständig zerstörter, bestenfalls noch in Spuren vorhandener Gräber fanden sich vereinzelt auch ausserhalb der Gruben.

##### 4.3.2.7.2 Keramik

Keine klassifizierbare Keramik.

## 4.3.2.7.3 Kleinfunde

Aus sekundärer Fundlage – mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit als Abdeckung zerstörter Gräber – stammen:

- 20/23 -2: Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels aus einem Palaste Tukultī-Ninurtas II.; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 21.0, B: 21.0, D: 7.0; H<sub>0.1</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → pp. 331-332 (HT 8).
- 20/23 -3: Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels aus einem Gebäude Aššurnāširpals II. ? bzw. Salmanassars III. ?; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 23.6, B: 19.0, D: 8.5; H<sub>0.1</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → pp. 332-333 (HT 9).
- 20/23 -5: Wannenfragment → 219.5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; H<sub>0.1</sub>.  
(219.5)
- 20/23 -34: Fragment eines Türangelsteines; Kalkstein; H: 32.0, Ø: 15.0; H<sub>0.1</sub>.
- 20/23 -35: Fragment eines Türangelsteines; Kalkstein; H: 35.5, Ø: 17.5; H<sub>0.1</sub>.
- 20/23 -36: Wannenfragment → 219.5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 7; H<sub>0.1</sub>.  
(219.5)

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STREUFUND: GERITZTE NINIVE 5 KERAMIK

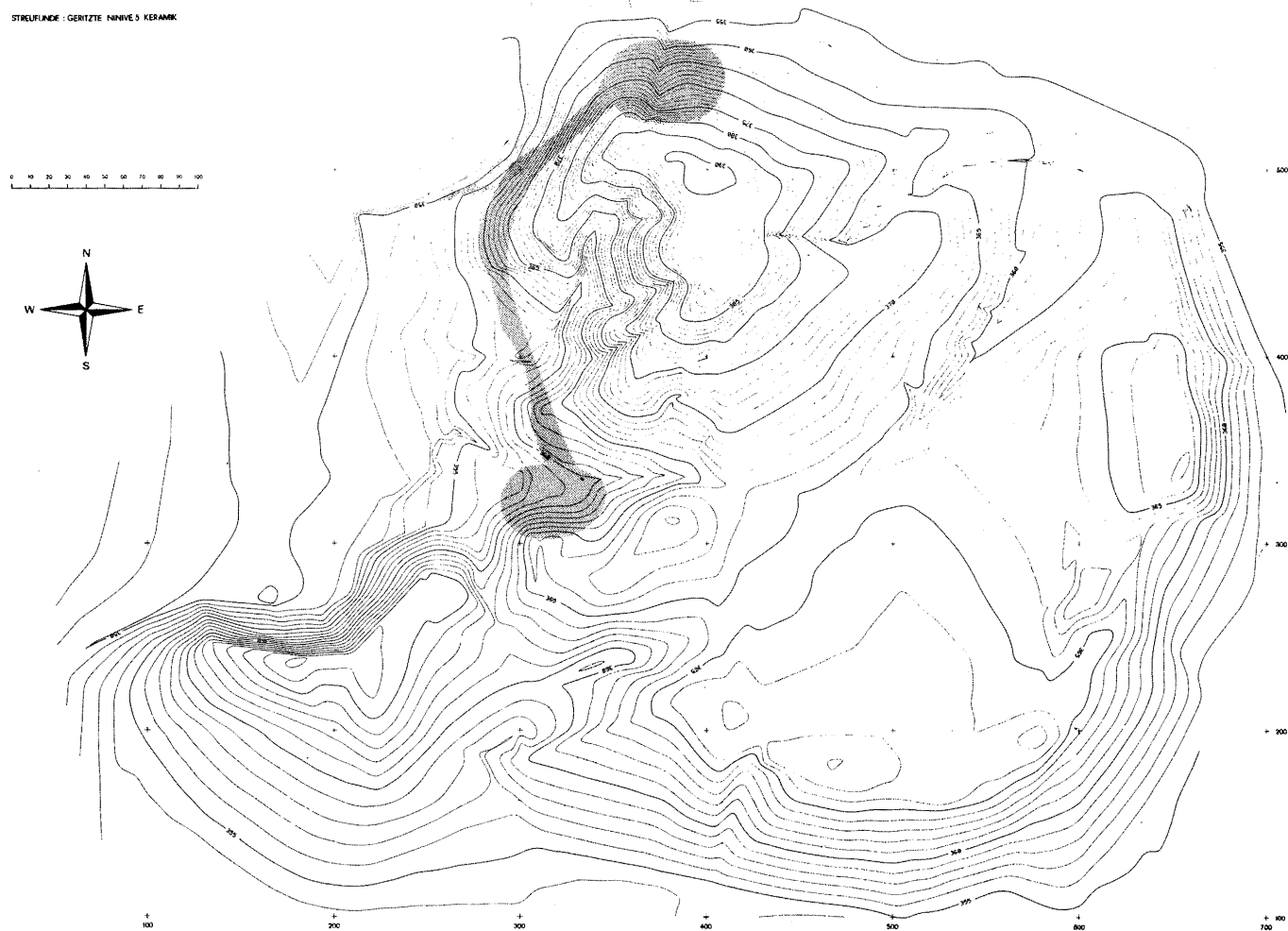


Abb. 99: Oberflächenfunde geritzter Ninive 5 Keramik

#### 4.4 STREUFUNDE

##### 4.4.1 GERITZTE NINIVE 5 KERAMIK

Durch die Winterregen von 1986/87 wurden auf der Nord- und Westflanke der Zitadelle auffallend viele Scherben sowie vier Gefäße geritzter Ninive 5 Keramik freigespült mit deutlich sich abzeichnenden Konzentrationen (Abb. 99).

30/32: H<sub>0</sub>-19: Gefäß → 213.8, 1003.3, ritzverziert → 3003.6; gebrannter Ton, Ware 15; H: 7.5, (Abb.100) Ø: 7.5; H<sub>0</sub>: (M 1:2)

30/32: H<sub>0</sub>-21: Gefäß → 191.2, 1000.8, ritzverziert → 3003.7; gebrannter Ton, Ware 15; H: 4.0, (Abb.101) Ø: 8.0; H<sub>0</sub>: (M 1:2)

38/54: H<sub>0</sub>-14: Gefäß → 190.4, 1006.11, ritzverziert → 3003.5; gebrannter Ton, Ware 15; H: 5.0, (Abb.102) Ø: 9.0; H<sub>0</sub>: (M 1:2)

38/54: H<sub>0</sub>-15: Gefäß → 68.6, 1030.6, ritzverziert → 3003.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 15; H: 4.0, (Abb.103) Ø<sub>1</sub>: 7.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 5.0; H<sub>0</sub>: (M 1:2)

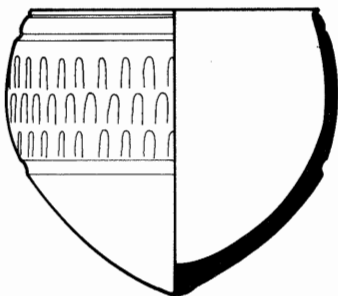


Abb.100: Tongefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-19

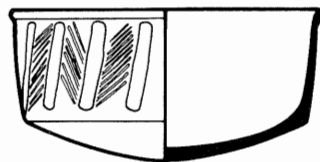


Abb.101: Tongefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-21

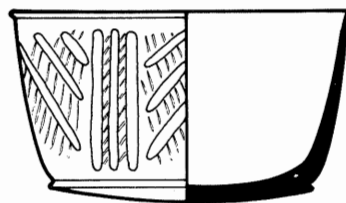


Abb.102: Tongefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-14

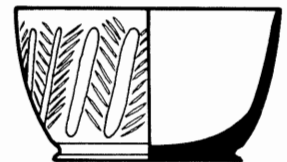
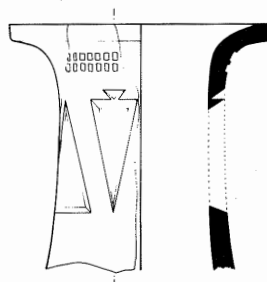
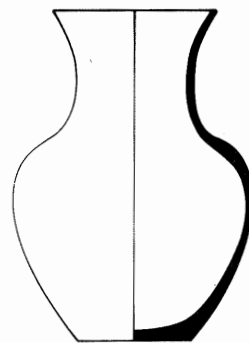
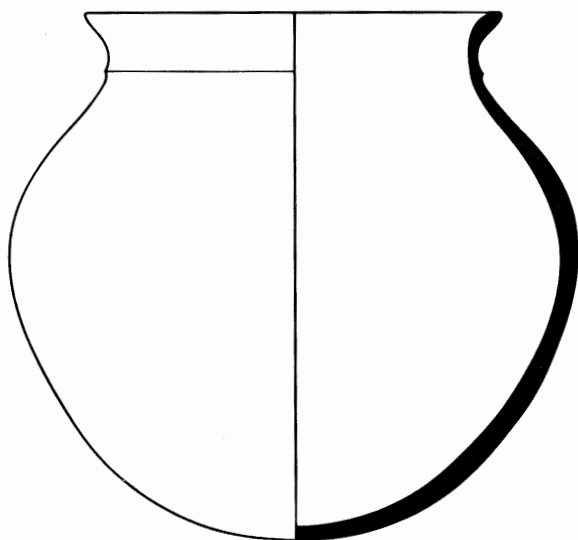
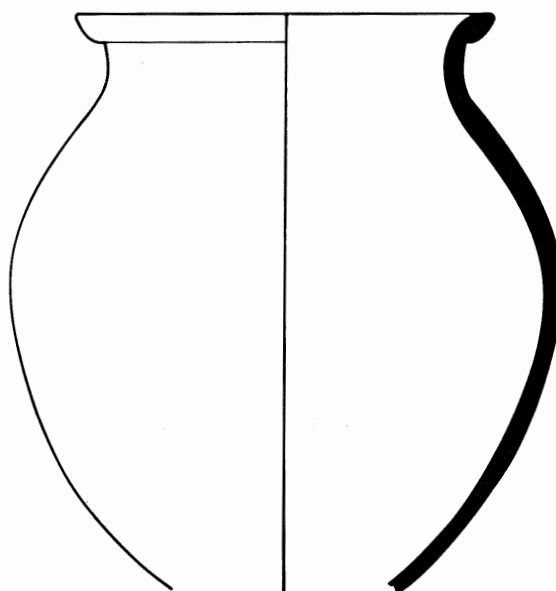


Abb.103: Tongefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-15

Daneben an Scherben: 3003.2-3, 8-35.

## 4.4.2 KLEINFUNDE

- 25/36: H<sub>0</sub>-10: Tonklumpen mit Abrollungen eines Siegels; gebrannter Ton; H: 5.3, B: 3.7, D: 2.4; (Abb.104) H<sub>0</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 30/32: H<sub>0</sub>-19: Gefäß, vgl. p. 315.
- 30/32: H<sub>0</sub>-21: Gefäß, vgl. p. 315.
- 35/28: H<sub>0</sub>-13: Tonklumpen mit Abdruck eines Stempelsiegels; gebrannter Ton; Ø des Abdruckes: 1.9; H<sub>0</sub>. (M 1:1)
- 35/37: H<sub>0</sub>-16: Ständerfragment → 295.11; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 13.5, Ø: 14.0; H<sub>0</sub>. (Abb.106) (M 1:4)
- 35/47: H<sub>0</sub>-11: Fragment eines Fehlbrandes; gebrannter Ton, Ware 3; H: 21.5, Ø (Boden): 13.0; H<sub>0</sub>.
- 35/47: H<sub>0</sub>-12: Gefäß → 128.1, 1012.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 11; H: 17.5, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 4.5, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 3.0; H<sub>0</sub>. (Abb.107) (M 1:4)
- 35/47: H<sub>0</sub>-17: Gefäß → 142.18, 1000.4; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 28.0, Ø: 11.0; H<sub>0</sub>. (Abb.108) (M 1:4)
- 35/47: H<sub>0</sub>-18: Gefäßfragment → 142.17; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 31.0, Ø: 11.0; H<sub>0</sub>. (Abb.109) (M 1:4)

Abb.104: Siegelabrollung  
H<sub>0</sub>-10Abb.105: Bulla  
H<sub>0</sub>-13Abb.106: Ständerfragment  
H<sub>0</sub>-16Abb.107: Gefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-12Abb.108: Gefäß  
H<sub>0</sub>-17Abb.109: Gefäßfragment  
H<sub>0</sub>-18



- 37/53: H<sub>0</sub>-6 : Terrakottafragment einer unbedeckten Frau, handgemacht; gebrannter Ton; H: 10.0, B: 5.0, D: 3.7; H<sub>0</sub>.
- 37/53: H<sub>0</sub>-7 : Terrakottafragment: weiblicher Oberkörper, handgemacht; gebrannter Ton; H: 5.2, B: 5.5, D: 2.5; H<sub>0</sub>.
- 38/30: H<sub>0</sub>-2 : Tafelfragment, erhalten ist die linke obere Ecke; fein geschlammter, rötlicher Ton, z.T. verbrannt; 4.0 x 3.5 x 2.0; H<sub>0</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 326 (HT 2).
- 38/54: H<sub>0</sub>-14: Gefäß, vgl. p. 315.
- 38/54: H<sub>0</sub>-15: Gefäß, vgl. p. 315.
- 39/4 : H<sub>0</sub>-9 : Terrakottafragment, handgeformt; gebrannter Ton; H: 7.0, B: 3.7, Ø (Fuss): 3.0; H<sub>0</sub>. (M 1:2)
- 40/55: H<sub>0</sub>-3 : Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels aus einem Gebäude Aššur-dans I.; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 15.0, B: 10.0, D: 6.0; H<sub>0</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 330 (HT 7).
- 42/38: H<sub>0</sub>-1 : Tafelfragment, erhalten ist eine obere Ecke mit vier Abrollungen, Inschrift weggebrochen; feingeschlammter Ton; 3.5 x 4.1 x 1.8; H<sub>0</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 325 (HT 1).
- 43/3 : H<sub>0</sub>-8 : Bauplastik; gebrannter Ton; H: 11.0, B: 7.5, D: 4.2; H<sub>0</sub>.
- 43/32: H<sub>0</sub>-20: 123 Fragmente eines beschrifteten Gefäßes → 241.6, 1038.1; 3030.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H: 81.0, Ø<sub>1</sub>: 53.0, Ø<sub>2</sub>: 12.0, H<sub>0</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 333 (HT 11).
- 43/40: H<sub>0</sub>-4 : Fragment eines beschrifteten Ziegels aus einem Gebäude Salmanassars I.; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 18.0, B: 12.0, D: 6.5; H<sub>0</sub>; zur Bearbeitung → p. 328 (HT 5).
- 43/40: H<sub>0</sub>-5 : Bauplastik; gebrannter Ton; H: 10.5, B: 15.0, D: 8.0; H<sub>0</sub>.
- 49/45: H<sub>0</sub>-22: Münze<sup>56</sup>; Kupfer; D: 0.1, Ø: 1.45; H<sub>0</sub>.  
Constantin II. oder Constantius II.  
AE 4, Antiochia 337-340  
RIC VIII/515/51-52  
Av. CONSTAN-(TI[N]V)S AVG  
Drapierte und kürassierte Büste mit Perldiadem n.r.  
R. GLOR-IA EXERC-(ITVS)  
Standarte zwischen zwei Soldaten



Abb.110: Terrakotta  
H<sub>0</sub>-9

· | ·  
SMA(NA)

<sup>56</sup> Für die Bearbeitung der Münze danken wir Herrn M. Peter, Basel.



#### 4.5 PROBLEME AM ZIEGELMAUERWERK

Claus Bellmann - München

Im September 1985, bei einem Besuch der ein Jahr zuvor begonnenen Grabung auf Tall al-Ḥamīdiya, fiel uns am freigelegten Lehmziegelmauerwerk in den Planquadraten 39-40/42 - am Südende der Zitadelle - ein merkwürdiges Phänomen auf: Grosse Partien einer mächtigen Mauer waren offensichtlich aus Lehmziegeln in einem kleineren Format gemauert worden; das beim vorsichtigen Freilegen mit Bürste und Besen sich abzeichnende Ziegelformat betrug mit ca. 19 x 19 cm exakt ein Viertel des sonst angetroffenen Formats von ca. 38 x 38 cm, bei gleicher Schichtdicke von ca. 8 cm.

Ausserdem zeigte sich an senkrechten Abbrüchen, dass dieses Mauerwerk offenbar nicht im 'Verband' gemauert worden war; denn die senkrechten Fugen zwischen den Ziegeln liefen über mehrere Mauerwerksschichten ohne Versatz an den Schichten senkrecht durch, so dass Lehmziegelsäule neben Lehmziegelsäule zu stehen schien. Dies erstaunte, da es völlig unmöglich ist, in dieser Weise höhere Mauern mit senkrechten Aussenflächen zu errichten. Bestenfalls könnte man so wallförmige Gebilde herstellen, mit einer geneigten Aussenfläche im 'natürlichen' Böschungswinkel, wie er sich auch bei losem Schüttgut oder gewachsenem Erdreich einstellt.

Selbstverständlich könnte dieser Neigungswinkel etwas steiler als der 'natürliche' sein, da der Lehmmörtel in den senkrechten Fugen eine gewisse Verklebung der Ziegelsäulen und damit eine Verringerung des Auseinanderklaffens ergeben würde. Dieser Verklebungseffekt ist naturgemäss sehr gering, da der Mörtel mit Wasser angemacht werden muss, was zu einer Vergrösserung des Materialvolumens führt, die sich beim Austrocknen wieder zurückbildet, so dass sich der Fugmörtel nach dem Einbringen in feuchtem Zustand beim Austrocknen wieder verkleinert, das heisst 'schwindet', und sich dadurch zwangsläufig von den Ziegeln löst.

Aus diesen Gründen ist der 'Verband' Voraussetzung eines jeden Mauerwerks. In einem heutigen Lehrbuch für Hochbaukonstruktion wird das so beschrieben:

"Die handwerksgerechte Zusammenfügung der Steine zu einem Mauerkörper nennt man den **V e r b a n d**. Für den Verband gelten folgende Grundregeln:

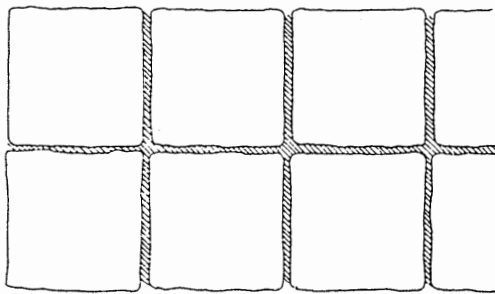
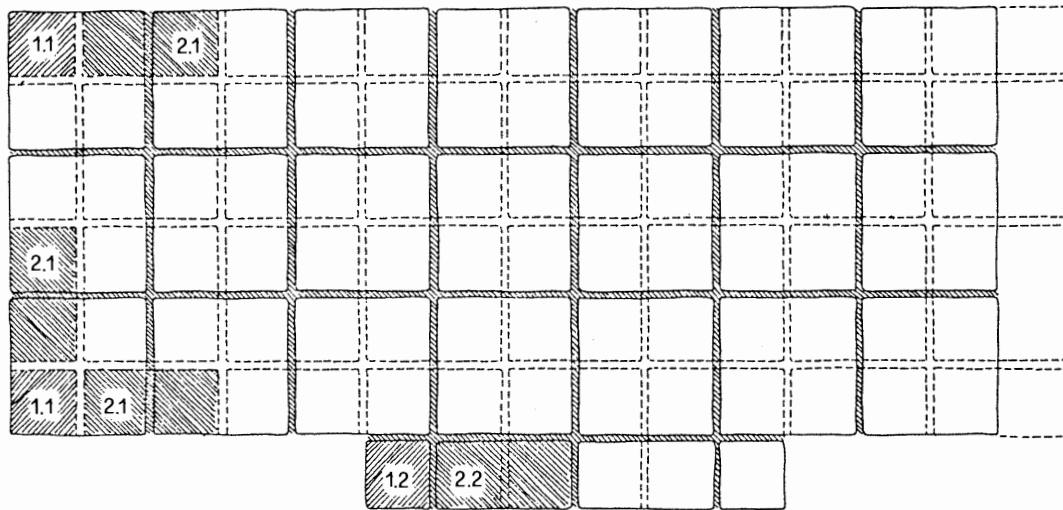
1. Jede Schicht muss genau waagrecht liegen und durch das ganze Bauwerk hindurchgehen.
2. Die Stoss- und Zwischenfugen zweier übereinanderliegender Schichten dürfen sich nicht decken, sondern müssen um mindestens 1/4-Stein versetzt sein.
3. Im Innern der Mauern liegen möglichst viele ganze Steine als Binder.
4. Es sind möglichst wenig Teilstücke zu verwenden."<sup>57</sup>

Der Verband bewirkt eine Verzahnung der Schichten und eine Verteilung von auftretenden Lasten innerhalb des Mauerkörpers, d. h. mit Hilfe des Verbandes lässt sich aus dem Fertigteil Ziegel ein homogenes Mauerwerk errichten, das nicht so leicht auseinanderklafft und deswegen zu Mauern beträchtlicher Höhe mit senkrechten oder nahezu senkrechten Aussenflächen und Mauerenden – damit auch senkrecht begrenzten Maueröffnungen – verarbeitet werden kann. Dabei übernehmen die Ziegel waagerechte Zugkräfte, die bei der Lastverteilung auftreten, was der Fugmörtel aus den oben genannten Gründen nur sehr bedingt kann.

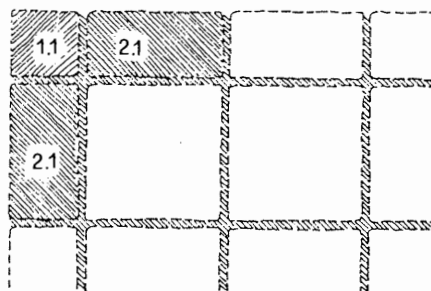
Wer versucht hat, eine Trockenmauer – ohne Mörtel – zu errichten, hat festgestellt, dass die Mauer nur bei ausreichendem Verband, d. h. ausreichender Verzahnung der Steine, also versetzten Stossfugen, stehen bleibt: nach einigen Schichten müssen jeweils mindestens drei Binderschichten aus flachliegenden, im Verband zusammengefügt Steinen eingefügt werden, wie es bei den waagrecht gestreift erscheinenden römischen Mauern beobachtet werden kann. Voraussetzung sind aber hochwertige, d. h. sehr dichte Steine, die grössere Zugkräfte aufnehmen können, z. B. Natursteine.

Der auf Tall al-Ḥamīdīya verwendete, luftgetrocknete Ziegel stellt kein solches hochwertiges Material dar; deswegen musste ein durch alle Schichten durchgehender Verband gewählt werden. Er wurde hergestellt, indem die Ziegel in jeder Schicht jeweils in jeder Richtung – quer und längs – gegeneinander um eine halbe Ziegellänge versetzt wurden. (Abb. 111) Dabei sind in jeder zweiten Schicht halbe Ziegel an den Aussenflächen (2.1) und bei lisenenartigen Mauervorsprüngen (2.2) sowie Viertelziegel an allen Aussenecken (1.1, 1.2) erforderlich.

Unser erster Gedanke war, dass es sich bei den vorgefundenen 'Säulen' aus Viertelziegel um im Innern der sehr dicken Mauer vermauerte, überschüssige Eckziegel, die in zu grosser Zahl vorfabriziert worden waren, handle – wie es an mittelalterlichen Gebäuden immer wieder beobachtet werden kann, bei denen auch im Mauerinnern alle möglichen Reste verarbeitet worden sind. Gegen diese Annahme sprach aber die sehr grosse Menge an Viertelziegel, ausserdem hätten auch die in grösserer Zahl erforderlichen Halbziegel gefunden werden müssen. Die 'Säulen' aus Viertelziegel mussten also eine andere Erklärung haben.



Lage der Ziegel  
in den Schichten 1,3,5,7 usw.



Lage der Ziegel  
in den Schichten 2,4,6,8 usw.

Abb. 111: Grundriss des Mauerverbandes

Bei dem angetroffenen Lehmziegelmauerwerk bestehen Lehmziegel und Fugmörtel aus dem gleichen Material: mit Wasser vermengtem, dann getrocknetem Lösslehm; d.h. Mauerwerksfugen zeichnen sich nicht durch andersartiges, andersfarbiges Material ab, sondern nur durch die beim 'Schwinden', beim Austrocknen des Mörtels, entstehenden Risse, die beim Freilegen mit dem Besen durch den grösseren Abrieb an den Kanten der Ziegel vergrössert und damit sichtbar gemacht werden.

Genauso würden sich aber auch Risse in den Lehmziegeln abzeichnen. Es könnte also sein, dass das Mauerwerk gerissen war, und zwar so, dass jeweils alle Ziegel an den darüber und darunter liegenden Fugen gebrochen, d.h. gerissen waren. (Abb. 112)

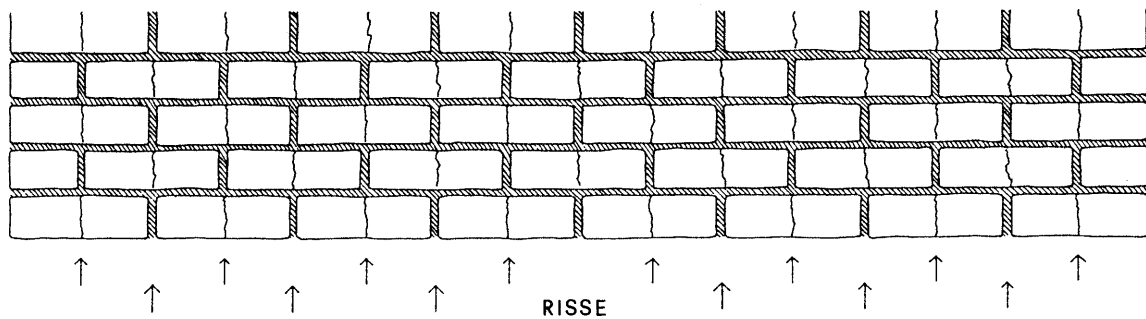


Abb. 112: Schnitt bzw. Ansicht des Mauerverbandes

Zwei Ursachen sind denkbar:

- Die Mauer ist zu hoch gewesen. Die auftretenden Druckkräfte, deren horizontale Komponenten beim Verband von den Ziegeln aufgenommen werden, sind zu gross geworden, und die Ziegel sind gerissen. Dagegen spricht, dass sich dieser Schaden so auswirkt, dass das Mauerwerk abscheret, d.h. diagonal, dem Kräfteverlauf folgend, auseinanderbricht, wie er sich auch beim 'natürlichen' Böschungswinkel einstellt, und dabei Versetzungen in den horizontalen Fugen entstehen, indem die abgesicherten Mauerwerksteile abrutschen. Dies war aber nicht zu beobachten: Der horizontale Fugenverlauf war erhalten, ausserdem alle Ziegel gleichmässig gebrochen. Die Ursache musste also eine andere sein:

- Der verwendete luftgetrocknete Ziegel unterliegt bei der Herstellung dem gleichen Prozess wie – oben beschrieben – der Fugmörtel: Durch Hinzufügen von Wasser vergrössert sich das Materialvolumen des Lösslehms, beim Trocknen in der Sonne verkleinert es sich wieder, der Ziegel 'schwindet': Der Schwindprozess wird also beim Ziegel durch das Lufttrocknen vorweggenommen.<sup>58</sup>

In unserem Fall dürfte es sich also um einen Mangel bei der Herstellung gehandelt haben: Die Ziegel waren beim Vermauern noch nicht ausreichend ausgetrocknet, so dass sie nach dem Vermauern weiter 'geschwunden' sind. Dabei wirkt sich nun der Verband verheerend aus: Durch die Verzahnung wird der Ziegel festgehalten und reisst dort, wo er nicht in der Masse eingepresst, d.h. durch Einspannung festgehalten ist, also an den darüber und darunter liegenden Fugen. Jeder Ziegel zerreisst also in vier Teile, je ca. 19 x 19 cm.

Eine genauere Untersuchung *in situ* durch vorsichtiges Anschneiden des Mauerwerks bestätigte diese Theorie: Das Mauerwerk war tatsächlich im Verband gemauert und jeweils bei den Fugen gerissen, so dass die beschriebenen Ziegelsäulen entstanden. (Plate 20.2)

<sup>58</sup> Beim Stampflehmabau, der in holzarmen Gegenden nicht in Frage kommt, da Schalungsmaterial nicht in erforderlichen Mengen bereitsteht, wird das Wasser durch Stampfen ausgetrieben. Er kann nur langsam vorangetrieben werden, da man das trotz des Stampfens verbleibende Restwasser immer wieder austrocknen lassen muss, um Schwindrisse zu vermeiden. Hingegen kann der Ziegelbau durch das Vorwegnehmen des Austrocknens bei der Herstellung der Ziegel schneller ausgeführt werden.

Die Ziegel waren also vor dem Vermauern nicht lange genug getrocknet worden. Ausserdem muss das Mauerwerk sehr schnell aufgerichtet worden sein, so dass die Ziegel auch nicht beim Vermauern nachtrocknen konnten, sondern noch feucht in der beschriebenen Weise 'eingespannt' wurden. Es handelt sich also um einen Bauschaden, der innerhalb relativ kurzer Zeit nach der Herstellung des Bauwerkes aufgetreten sein muss.

Das heisst, beim allmählichen, endgültigen Durchtrocknen der Wände sind die Ziegel geschwunden und gerissen. Die so entstandenen Ziegelsäulen haben keinen Verband mehr und fallen schalenartig ab. Dieser Prozess setzt sich von aussen ins Mauerinnere fort und führt zur Unbrauchbarkeit und Zerstörung des Bauwerkes.

In der Baugeschichte wurden Verfahren entwickelt, um das Risiko derartiger Schäden zu mindern:

- 1.1 Beimengung von Strohhäcksel o.ä. zur Armierung des Ziegelmateri als, was ihm erlaubt, grössere Zugkräfte aufzunehmen.
- 1.2 Brennen der Ziegel, was ebenfalls einen dichteren Verbund des Materials bewirkt, aber eben auch Brennmaterial voraussetzt.
- 1.3 Heutzutage werden Betonsteine aus Kies und Sand verarbeitet, die mit Mörtel verklebt werden.
2. Anstrich der Mauerwerksoberflächen mit Kalkschlämme oder Ochsenblut, um den Austrocknungsprozess zu reduzieren.
3. Weiterentwicklung der Mauerwerksverbände, bei welchen die Fugen nicht in jeder zweiten Schicht übereinander liegen, sondern erst in jeder dritten oder gar fünften, indem die Steine nicht um einen halben, sondern um einen viertel Stein versetzt werden.





#### 4.6 KEILSCHRIFTTEXTE (HT 1 - HT 11)

K. Deller - Heidelberg

##### HT 1

Tafelbruchstück (→ p. 317); 41/38-H<sub>0</sub> (Oberflächenschutt); feingeschlämmter Ton; H: 3.5, B: 4.1, D: 1.8; Fund-Nr.: 41/38:H<sub>0</sub>-1, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 1.

Rechte/linke (?) obere Ecke einer Tafel mit vier Abrollungen von zwei Siegeln, je zwei auf der Vorder- und auf der Rückseite. Eines der beiden Siegel lässt sich vollständig rekonstruieren: eine einfriesige Komposition mit einer zentralen Hauptszene und zwei flankierenden Nebenszenen. (Frontispiz; Abb. 113; Plate 17.1)

Die Form des Bruchstückes lässt - auch wenn die Inschrift vollständig weggebrochen ist - keine Zweifel, dass es sich um ein Tafelfragment handelt.

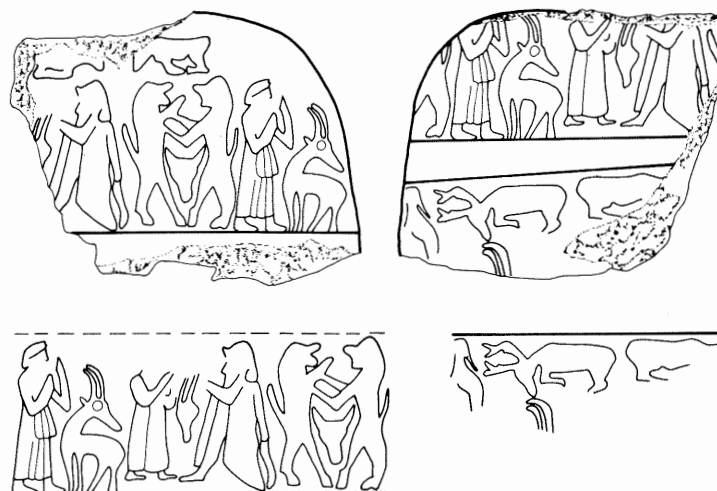


Abb. 113: Das Tafelfragment HT 1 mit der Rekonstruktion der beiden Siegelabrollungen (M 1:1)

## HT 2

Tafelbruchstück (→ p. 317); 38/30-H<sub>0</sub> (Oberflächenschutt); fein geschlammter, rötlicher Ton; H: 3.5, B: 4.0, D: 2.0; Fund-Nr.: 38/30: H<sub>0</sub>-2, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 4.

Linke obere Ecke einer Wirtschaftsurkunde (Plate 17.2); vier Zeilen, Rückseite – soweit erhalten – nicht beschriftet; Mitanni-akkadischer Duktus.

Vs 1	1 PI GIG <sup>?</sup> x (x) [	]
2	1 PI GIG	[ ]
3	1 PI GIG	[ ]
4	1 PI GIG <sup>?</sup> [	]

Rest der Vs weggebrochen

Rs soweit erhalten, nicht beschriftet

Jeweils Posten von sechs Sâtu Weizen.

Die Notierung "sechs Sâtu" mit dem Graphem 1 PI ist sicher nicht mA, sondern eindeutig Mitanni-akkadisch.

Wahrscheinlich Rationenliste; am rechten Tafelteil wären Personennamen oder Funktionsbezeichnungen zu ergänzen.

## HT 3

Tafelbruchstück (→ p. 248); 41/37-H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>; Ton, verbrannt; H: 2.4, B: 3.8, D: 1.5; Fund-Nr.: 41/37-32, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 6.

Epigraphisch am besten erhaltenes Tafelbruchstück; nur Vs beschriftet; Querformat, 4 Zeilen.

Der Wölbung nach zu urteilen, ist das Täfelchen etwa in der Mitte zerbrochen; es fehlen demnach auf der rechten Hälfte etwa ebenso viele Zeichen wie auf der linken Hälfte erhalten sind. (Plate 17.3)

Der Duktus ist 'Mitanni-akkadisch', die Tafel demnach grob in die Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends zu datieren.

Vs 1	l <sup>1</sup> IR- <sup>d</sup> UTU x x x [	]	ev.: l <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> ša-x[
2	ša l <sup>1</sup> Ki-din- <sup>d</sup> UTU x[	]	
3	ša É NIN.DINGIR.[RA ša DN]		
4	a- <sup>1</sup> ki <sup>1</sup> -il-tù [	]	

---

uRd, Rs, oRd – soweit erhalten – unbeschriftet

- Z.1: PN Arad-Šamaš; er steht in einem bestimmten, jedoch nicht klar definierbaren Verhältnis zu der in Z.2 genannten Person, Kidin-Šamaš. Das auf UTU folgende Zeichen ist am ehesten LA, wenn auch AD nicht ganz auszuschliessen ist.
- Z.2: "des Kidin-Šamaš". Die beiden Namen in Z.1 und Z.2 sind ihrer Bildung nach babylonisch. Auf das Zeichen UTU muss eine Funktionsbezeichnung folgen, die sich auf das Haus der *ēntu*-Priesterin bezieht.
- Z.3: "des Hauses der *ēntu*-Priesterin (des Gottes DN oder der Stadt ON)". Bislang sind *ēntu*-Priesterinnen aus mA/mB Zeit nur aus Ur und Nippur, aus Nuzi- und Boğazköy-Texten belegt; vgl. CAD E 172b, sowie: K. Deller, A. Fadhil, NIN.DINGIR.RA / *ēntu* in Texten aus Nuzi und Kurruḫanni, Mesopotamia<sup>TVII</sup>, 1972, pp.193-213. Auf der Basis der in diesem Aufsatz besprochenen Belege sollte auf NIN.DINGIR.RA entweder *ša* DN oder *ša* ON folgen.
- Z.4: Lesung der ersten beiden Zeichen unsicher: statt A könnte auch ZA gelesen werden, es wäre dann aber schwierig, ein belegtes Wort zu rekonstruieren. Das zweite Zeichen ist stark zerstört, die Umrisse halten jedoch einen Vergleich mit KI in Z.2 aus. Das vierte Zeichen ist sicher DU. Falls die Lesung der ersten drei Zeichen als A.KI.IL zutrifft, müsste man für DU den Lautwert *tù* einsetzen, der im Syllabar des Mitanni-Akkadischen gut belegt ist. Si vera est lectio, könnte das so gewonnene Wort *akiltu* "Verzehr, Verbrauch" bedeuten (siehe: CAD A/1 266b "expended goods").

#### HT 4

Tafelbruchstück (→ p. 248); 41/37-H<sub>3</sub>-H<sub>4</sub>; Ton, verbrannt; H: 3.5, B: 3.0, D: 1.5; Fund-Nr.: 41/37-31, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 5.

Untere rechte Ecke mit zwei Zeilenenden (sowie Spuren zweier weiterer Zeilen) auf der Vs und einem Zeilenende auf der Rs. Die Entscheidung Vs/Rs wurde getroffen, weil auf der Rs offenbar nur eine Zeile geschrieben, der Rest unbeschriftet ist. (Plate 18.1)

Anfang der Vs weggebrochen

Vs 1'            ]x[  
 2'            š]a-la-mi-[i]a  
 3'            ]x DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>?</sup>-[nu]-[i]a  
 4'            ]x x (x) x[

unterer Rand unbeschriftet

Rs 1                            ]x x ḫa

Rest der Rs - soweit erhalten - unbeschriftet

- Z.2': Falls das erste Zeichen richtig gelesen ist: "meines Wohlbefindens".
- Z.3': Wenn auch geringfügige Zweifel bestehen, ob das auf DINGIR folgende Zeichen wirklich das Pluraldeterminativ ist, scheint doch der ganze Komplex "meine Götter" zu bedeuten. Die Wendung ist, vor allem in Assyrien, typisch für Königsbriefe; vgl. K. Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 7, 1985, pp. 143-144.

Vs 2' und 3' enden offensichtlich auf  $-[i]a$ , dem Personalsuffix der 1. Pers. Sg. (nach Vokal). In der Regel kommen 1. Personen in Briefen vor.

Leider sind zu wenige charakteristische Zeichen erhalten, um eindeutig sagen zu können, ob der Duktus Mitanni-akkadisch oder mittellassyrisch ist. Auch die Formenbildung lässt darüber keine Entscheidung zu. Ausgeschlossen ist aber nicht, dass es sich um den Brief eines assyrischen Königs an den Souverain von Tall al-Ḥamīdīya handelt. Vergleichbares ist sowohl in Ugarit als auch in Boğazköy gefunden worden. Daraus könnte gefolgert werden, dass Tall al-Ḥamīdīya wirklich einen Königspalast (und nicht etwa nur eine Statthalter-Residenz) besass.

Andererseits könnte es sich aber auch um einen in Tall al-Ḥamīdīya abgefassten Königsbrief handeln, der entweder nicht abgeschickt worden ist oder von dem vor Absendung eine Kopie angefertigt wurde.

## HT 5

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 317), durch die Winterregen 1986/87 in Planquadrat 43/40 aus einer Schutthalde der Sommerkampagne 1984 freigespült, die ausschliesslich aus Abraum der ersten Wiederverwendung des Palastes bestand – die Vermutung liegt daher nahe, dass der Ziegel zu dieser mittellassyrischen Bau- und Benützungsphase gehört hat; 43/40-H<sub>0</sub>; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 18.0, B: 12.0, D: 6.5, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Ḥamīdīya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 43/40: H<sub>0</sub>-4, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 8.

Rechte untere Ecke eines gebrannten Ziegels; erhalten sind die ersten drei Zeilen einer mittellassyrischen, königlichen Bauinschrift. (Abb. 114; Plate 18.2)



- 1 [É.GAL l.<sup>d</sup>SILIM.M]A<sup>?</sup>-MAŠ
- 2 [GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID <sup>d</sup>aš+]šur
- 3 [MAN KIŠ MAN *dan-nu* MAN K]UR aš+šur
- 4 [A 10-ERÍN.TÁH MAN KUR aš+šur]
- 5 [A GÍD-DI-DINGIR MAN KUR aš+šur]

Abb. 114: HT 5 (M: 1:2)

Aufgrund von Z. 3 gehen wir davon aus, dass es sich um eine assyrische Königsinschrift handelt mit dem Aufbau:

- Name
- Titulatur / Filiation
- [- Filiation].

Z.1: Sinnvolle Ergänzungen sind <sup>d</sup>MAŠ bzw. M]A-MAŠ, d.h. es handelt sich um die Inschrift eines assyrischen Königs, dessen Name auf -Ninurta bzw. -ašarēdu endet.

Der auf kurzer Strecke durchgezogene, waagerechte Keil spricht zunächst für eine Ergänzung <sup>d</sup>MAŠ. Die Schreibung erlaubt eine Zuweisung sowohl an Tukultī-Ninurta I. als auch an Tukultī-Ninurta II.; dagegen sprechen jedoch die folgenden drei Gründe:

- Eine Titulatur  $\begin{matrix} aš+ ]šur \\ K]UR aš+šur \end{matrix}$   
ist weder für Tukultī-Ninurta I. noch für Tukultī-Ninurta II. zu belegen.
- Eine Filiation /  $\begin{matrix} aš+ ]šur \\ Titulatur K]UR aš+šur \end{matrix}$   
mit einem Personennamen, der auf -Aššur endet, entfällt, da der Name aufgrund der assyrischen Königsliste nur zu [Ninurta-Tukultī-Aš]šur ergänzt werden kann; dies aber ist – unter der Voraussetzung, dass die Inschrift von Tukultī-Ninurta I. bzw. Tukultī-Ninurta II. stammt – genealogisch ausgeschlossen.
- Eine Titulatur  $\begin{matrix} KUR aš+ ]šur \\ K]UR aš+šur \end{matrix}$   
ist für Tukultī-Ninurta I. nicht belegt, für Tukultī-Ninurta II. würde man K]UR AŠ erwarten; vgl. S. Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms, AOAT 6, Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, s.v. Aššūr; Ausnahmen sind: Annalen (ed. Schramm) Rs 51; Stele (ed. Tournay) Z. 1.

Bleibt die Ergänzung M]A-MAŠ, d.h. Šulmānu-ašarēdu als einziger assyrischer Königsname, der auf -ašarēdu endet; die Schreibung MA-MAŠ findet sich – neben -ma-an- und -ma-nu- – nur bei Salmanassar I. (RIMA 0.77.28 und 0.77.32); alle anderen gleichnamigen Könige schreiben sich -ma-nu- bzw. -man- (mit Var. -ma-an-).

Zur Ergänzung É.GAL vgl. *sub* Z. 2-3.

Z.2-3: Unproblematisch ist für Salmanassar I. die Ergänzung der Titulatur  $\begin{matrix} ^d aš+ ]šur \\ K]UR aš+šur \end{matrix}$

Wie in Z.3 die Titulatur genau zu ergänzen ist, bleibt fraglich (R. Borger, EAK I, pp. 51, 106): mit oder ohne MAN KIŠ ist die Zeile auf jeden Fall so lang, dass am Anfang von Z.1 wahrscheinlich noch É.GAL zu ergänzen sein dürfte.

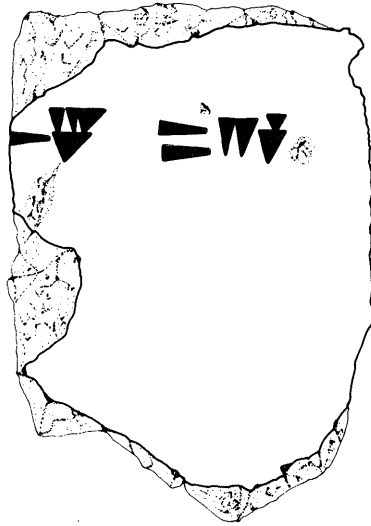
Z.4-5: Ergänzt nach der Filiation Salmanassars I.; vgl. etwa RIMA 0.77.7 Z.3-5.

Störend bleibt der auf einem kurzen Stück durchgezogene, waagerechte Keil – möglich, dass dieser Fehler durch die grobe Schrift zu erklären ist; Ähnliches wäre beim Zeichen É in ȚT 8 Z.1 zu beobachten, hätten die tiefer eingedrückten, dicht hintereinander gesetzten, senkrechten Keile nicht die Ueberschneidung getilgt.

## HT 6

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 295); sekundäre Fundlage in 39/43-H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub> (Schutt der französischen Garnison); grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 13.5, B: 10.5, D: 7.0, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Ḥamīdiya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 39/43-1, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 2.

Bruchstück eines gebrannten Ziegels; erhalten ist eine fragmentarische Zeile einer mittelassyrischen, königlichen Bauinschrift. (Abb. 115; Plate 18.3)



*aš+]šur-dan*

Abb. 115: HT 6 (M 1:2)

Wohl zu ergänzen durch das Duplikat HT 7.

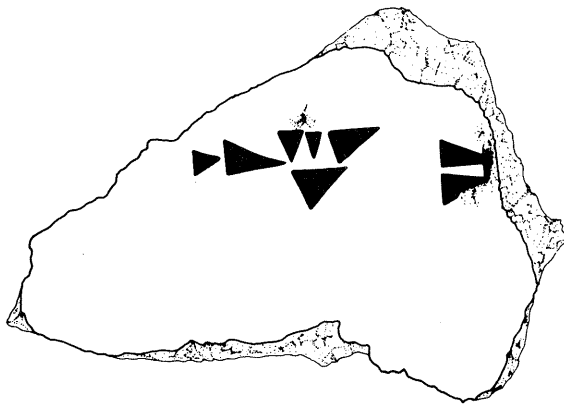
Bedingt durch den fragmentarischen Zustand kann die Inschrift keinem der drei gleichnamigen Könige mit Sicherheit zugewiesen werden; aus historischer Sicht dürfte durch Ausschlussverfahren Aššur-dan I. in Frage kommen: Aššur-dan II. dürfte wohl kaum in der Lage gewesen sein, einen Palast (?) im Bereich des von den Temaniten getragenen Staates Našibīna zu unterhalten; die Rückeroberung dieses Gebietes wurde erst von seinem Nachfolger Adad-nārārī II. begonnen. Die wenig günstigen machtpolitischen Umstände zur Zeit der Regierung Aššur-dans III. schliessen mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit eine Kontrolle des Ḥabūrbeckens – und damit eine Präsenz auf Tall al-Ḥamīdiya – aus.

Das Graphem *aš+šur-dan* für Aššur-dan I. ist belegt RIMA 0.83.2001 Z.4.

Selbstverständlich könnte es sich auch um einen Ausschnitt aus einer Filiation handeln.

## HT 7

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 317), durch die Winterregen 1985/86 in Planquadrat 40/55, d.h. im Bereich des Palastes, freigespült – die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass der Ziegel ursprünglich zu einer der drei Hauptbauphasen der Anlage gehört hat; 40/55-H<sub>0</sub> (Oberflächenschutt); grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 10.0, B: 15.0, D: 6.0, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Ḥamīdiya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 40/55: H<sub>0</sub>-3, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 7. (Abb. 116; Plate 19.1)



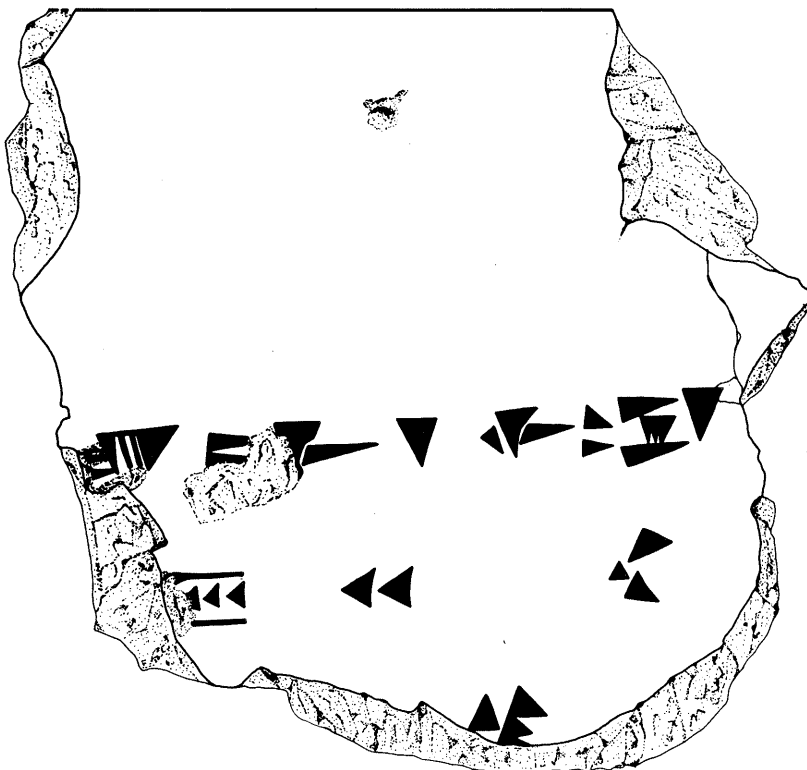
aš+šur-d[an

Abb. 116: HT 7 (M 1:2)

Duplikat zu HT 6.

### HT 8

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 314), mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit Teil der Abdeckung eines nur noch in Spuren vorhandenen Grabes des vollständig zerstörten Friedhofes in 20/23-24 - H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>0.1</sub>, ähnlich einem zweiten beschrifteten Ziegelfragment (HT 9), Bruchstücken einer tönernen Wanne (20/23-5, 20/23-36) sowie zweier grosser Türangelsteine (20/23-34, 20/23-35). Sowohl Steine - meist Bruchstücke von Reibschalen, Mörsern, Schalen und Türangelsteinen - als auch gebrannte Ziegel sind im ganzen Ruinengebiet so zahlreich, dass keine Notwendigkeit bestand, sie aus benachbarten oder gar entfernten Bereichen zusammenzutragen; die Vermutung liegt



- 1 'É.GAL' IZKIM-[<sup>d</sup>MAŠ]
- 2 [MAN K]IŠ MAN KUR [AŠ]
- 3 [A 10-ERÍN.T]ÁḪ [MAN KUR AŠ]

Abb. 117: HT 8 (M 1:2)

daher nahe, dass das Fragment aus dem unmittelbaren Umkreis des sekundären Fundortes stammt, d.h. aus einer (noch nicht ?) aufgedeckten Benützungsphase des in 20/23-24 angegrabenen, jüngeren Baukomplexes; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 21.0, B: 21.0, D: 7.0, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Hamīdiya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 20/23-2, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 9.

Bruchstück eines gebrannten Ziegels, erhalten ist eine dreizeilige, wohl vollständige, neuassyrische, königliche Bauinschrift. (Abb. 117, Plate 19.2)

Aufgrund des halb erhaltenen Namens kommt nur Tukultī-Ninurta in Frage als einziger assyrischer Königsname, der mit Tukultī-[ beginnt; die Zuweisung an Tukultī-Ninurta II. ergibt sich aus dem halb erhaltenen T]ĀH in Z. 3 (vgl. etwa KAH II, 85); zu dessen Bautätigkeit auf dem benachbarten Tall Barrī vgl. den Symposionsbeitrag von P.E. Pecorella in diesem Band (pp. 47-66).

Unklar bleibt, ob im Zeichen IZKIM drei oder – weniger wahrscheinlich – nur zwei senkrechte Keile eingeschrieben sind.

### HT 9

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 314), dessen Fundlage vergleichbar ist mit HT 8; 20/23-H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>0.1</sub>; grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H: 23.0, B: 19.0, D: 8.5, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Hamīdiya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 20/23-3, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 10.

Rechte obere Ecke eines gebrannten Ziegels; erhalten sind zwei Zeilenenden einer neuassyrischen, königlichen Bauinschrift. (Abb. 118, Plate 19.3)



- 1 ]MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ  
2 ]AŠ

Abb. 118: HT 9 (M 1:2)



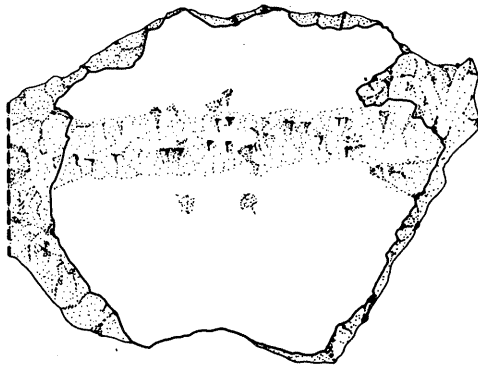
Die Zuweisung an einen bestimmten König ist schwierig; die Titulatur in der vorliegenden Form ist belegt von Tiglatpilesar I. bis Aššur-etel-ilāni: Tiglatpilesar I. (VS NF VII, 90), Aššurnāširpal I. (KAH II, 80), Aššurnāširpal II. (VS NF VII, 93), Salmanassar III. (KAH II, 101), Sargon II. (KAH I, 39 mit Var. aus Ass.1521), Aššurbānīpal (BM 90'285 [VAB 7.2, 350 sub aα]), Aššur-etel-ilāni (IR 8 Nr. 3) – jeweils nur ein Beleg aufgeführt.

Von der Zeileneinteilung her stimmen einzig die Ziegel Aššurnāširpals II. und Salmanassars III. mit dem vorliegenden Bruchstück überein.

## HT 10

Ziegelbruchstück (→ p. 295); sekundäre Fundlage in 39/43-H<sub>0</sub>-H<sub>1</sub> (Schutt der französischen Garnison); grob gemagerter, gebrannter Ton; H:10.0, B:13.5, D:6.0, zur ursprünglichen Grösse sind keine Angaben möglich, da die gebrannten Ziegel auf Tall al-Ḥamīdiya kein Standardformat aufweisen; Fund-Nr.: 39/43-2, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 3.

Ziegelbruchstück mit zwei (?) zerstörten Zeilen. (Abb. 119, Plate 19.4)



unlesbar

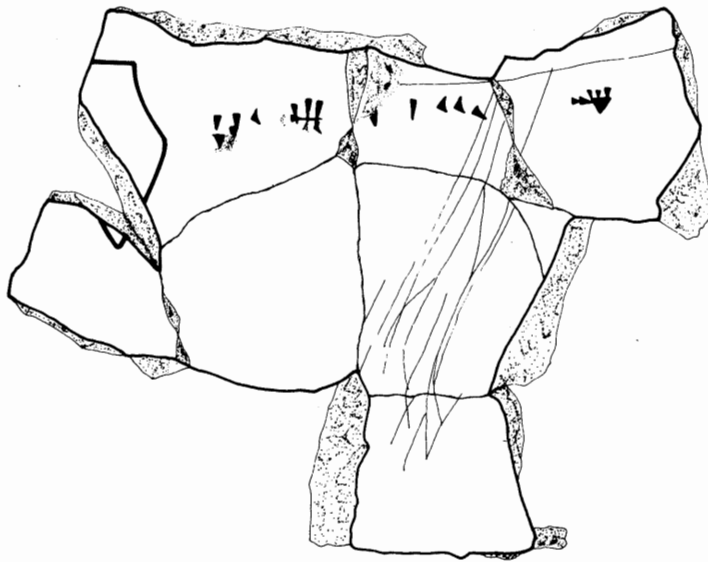
Abb. 119: HT 10 (M 1:2)

## HT 11

123 Fragmente eines grossen Vorratsgefässes (→ p. 317), gefunden in einer Regenrinne in 43/32, ausgespült mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit durch die Frühjahrsregen 1987; drei joinende Fragmente sind beschriftet; → 241.6, 1038.1; gebrannter Ton, Ware 10; H (rekonstruiert): 81.0, Ø (Oeffnung): 53.0, Ø (Fuss): 12.0; verziert mit einer groben Fingerleiste → 3030.1; Fund-Nr.: 43/32: H<sub>0</sub>-20, Inv.-Nr.: HMD T 11.

Unmittelbar unter der Verzierung dürfte sich die Inschrift befunden haben: 1.0 cm hoch, 10.7 cm lang; sie ist mit einem feinen Griffel unbeholfen eingestochen; erhalten ist sicher der Anfang, da der Inschrift die Ritzzeichnung eines Gefässes vorangestellt ist – wahrscheinlich erhalten ist auch der Schluss. (Abb. 120, Plate 20.1)

Im leicht nach Südosten abfallenden Gelände wurden zugleich Mauerreste freigeschwemmt, deren Ziegel in Grösse, Konsistenz, Mörtel und Mauertechnik denen der neuassyrischen Bauphase auf der Zitadelle entsprechen.



*ha-ri-<sup>r</sup>a'.MEŠ aš+šur*

Abb. 120: HT 11 (M 1:2)

"*hari'u* (-Bottiche) des (Gottes) Aššur"

Das Graphem der Pluralschreibung weist eindeutig in die nA Epoche. Eine Erklärung, warum der Plural als Gefässinschrift gewählt ist, stellt sich nicht leicht ein.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. University of Liverpool, Liverpool
AAAS	Les Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes: Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. La Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, République Arabe Syrienne, Damas (Vol.1-15, see AAS)
AAS	Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie: Revue d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Syrienne. La Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées, Damas (Vol.16-, see AAAS)
Acta Sumerologica	Acta Sumerologica. The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Hiroshima
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung: Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient, Berlin, Graz, Wien
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, 3 Bde. Wiesbaden 1985 <sup>2</sup> , 1972, 1981
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology: The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America. Princeton
Akkadica	Akkadica: Périodique bimestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin - Tweemaandelijks periodiek van de Assyriologische Stichting Georges Dossin. Bruxelles/Brussel
Akkadica: Supplementum	Akkadica: Supplementum. Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin - Assyriologische Stichting Georges Dossin, Leuven
AKL	Assyrian King List. See: RIA 6, Berlin 1980-1983, pp. 101-115
American Antiquity	American Antiquity. Salt Lake City
Annalen (ed. Schramm)	W. Schramm, Die Annalen des assyrischen Königs Tukulti-Ninurta II. (890-884 v. Chr.), BiOr 27, 1970, pp. 147-160
Antiquity	Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology. Gloucester
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments. Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn

- AoF                      Altorientalische Forschungen. Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin
- AOS                      American Oriental Series. American Oriental Society, New Haven
- 'Apum'                      D. Charpin, Šubat-Enlil et le pays d'Apum, MARI 5, 1987, pp. 129-140
- Archaeometry              Archaeometry: Bulletin of the Research laboratory for archaeology and the history of art. Oxford
- ARET                      Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi. Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, Università di Roma 'La Sapienza', Roma
- 'Archives'                      D. Charpin, Les archives d'époque "assyrienne" dans le palais de Mari, MARI 4, 1985, pp. 243-268
- ARM                      Archives Royales de Mari. ARM I-X in TCL, ARM XIV- in TCM. Paris
- ARMT                      Archives Royales de Mari (Transcriptions et Traductions). Paris
- ArOr                      Archiv Orientální. Československá Akademie Věd Orientální Ústav, Praha
- AS                      Assyriological Studies. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago
- ASOR  
Dissertation Series              American School of Oriental Research, Dissertation Series. Cambridge/Mass.
- AvP                      Altertümer von Pergamon. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
- BaF                      Baghdader Forschungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Mainz
- BAH                      Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique. Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth / du Proche-Orient, Paris
- BASOR                      Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. American Schools of Oriental Research, Philadelphia
- BiAr                      Biblical Archaeologist. American Schools of Oriental Research, Philadelphia
- Biblica                      Biblica: Commentarii periodici pontificii instituti biblici. Roma
- BiOr                      Bibliotheca Orientalis. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden
- BM                      Bibliotheca Mesopotamica: Primary sources and interpretative analyses for the study of Mesopotamian civilization and its influences from late prehistory to the end of the cuneiform tradition. Malibu
- CAD                      The Assyrian Dictionary. The Oriental Institute, Chicago
- CAH<sup>3</sup>                      The Cambridge Ancient History, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne
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CH	Codex Hammurabi. See: A. Ungnad, Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurapis, Autographie der Stele sowie der altbabylonischen, assyrischen und neubabylonischen Fragmente, Leipzig 1909
Cingula	Cingula. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Instituut voor Prae- en Proto-historie, Groningen
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FuB	Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin/DDR
GMS	Grazer Morgenländische Studien. Graz
HdO I	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abt.: Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten. Leiden, Köln
Hesperia	Hesperia. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Cambridge/Mass.
al-Ḥamīdīya 1	S. Eichler <i>et al.</i> , Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Freiburg/CH, Göttingen 1985
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies. Tel Aviv
Iran	Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies. The British Institute of Persian Studies, London
Iraq	Iraq. The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London
IstForsch	Istanbuler Forschungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, Berlin
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies. The American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Leiden
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Continuing The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures): The Journal of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago. Chicago
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. University of Sheffield, Dept. of Biblical Studies, Sheffield

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- MARI MARI: Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires. Paris
- MARS Mission Archéologique de Ras Shamra. In: BAH. Paris
- MCAAS Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Conn.
- MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin. Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin
- MEC -Mari Eponym Chronicle (Sections A-G). In:  
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- 'Mozaan 1' G. Buccellati, M. Kelly-Buccellati, Mozaan 1: The Soundings of the First Two Seasons, BM 20, Malibu 1988
- NABU Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires. Paris/Rouen
- OA Oriens Antiquus: Rivista del Centro per le antichità e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente. Roma
- OBO SA Orbis biblicus et orientalis: Series archaeologica. Freiburg/CH, Göttingen
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- OBTR -Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell Al Rimah. In:  
-S. Dalley, C.B.F. Walker, J.D. Hawkins, The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell Al Rimah, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, London 1976
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications. The University of Chicago, Chicago
- OPNE Occasional Papers on the Near East. Malibu



OrNS	<i>Orientalia</i> , Nova Series: Commentarii trimestres a facultate studiorum orientis antiqui pontificii instituti biblici in lucem editi in Urbe. Pontificium institutum biblicum, Roma
Paléorient	<i>Paléorient: Revue Interdisciplinaire de Préhistoire et Protohistoire de l'Asie du Sud-Ouest</i> . Paris
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RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale: Revue semestrielle publiée avec le concours du C.N.R.S.</i> Paris
Radiocarbon	<i>Radiocarbon: The American Journal of Science</i> . Yale University, New Haven
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> . Paris
'Report'	R. Whiting, <i>Tell Leilan Tablets: A Preliminary Report</i> , MARI 6 (forthcoming)
Researches in Anatolia	<i>Researches in Anatolia</i> . In: OIP. Chicago
RGTC	<i>Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes</i> . In: TAVO B/7. Wiesbaden
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . London
Ricerche	<i>Ricerche: Pubblicazioni del Seminario di Semitistica</i> . Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Naples
RIMA	<i>The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods</i> . University of Toronto, Toronto, Buffalo, London
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . Berlin, Leipzig / Berlin, New York
SAI	<i>Studia Instituti Anthropos</i> . Wien, Mödling
Science	<i>Science</i> . American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington
Scientific American	<i>Scientific American</i> . New York
Semeia	<i>Semeia: An experimental journal for biblical criticism</i> . Society for Biblical Literature, Decatur, GA.
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SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i> . In: <i>Incunabula Graeca</i> . Roma
SMOS	<i>Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung</i> . Wiesbaden, Berlin
SMS	<i>Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i> . Malibu
Stele (ed. Tournay)	J.R. Tournay, <i>Stèle de Tukulti-Ninurta II.</i> , AAS 2, 1952, pp. 169-190

Studi Orientali	Studi Orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale. Università di Roma, Roma
Syria	Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie. Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth / du Proche-Orient, Paris
TAVO B	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften). Wiesbaden
'Taya'	J.E. Reade, Tell Taya (1972-73): Summary Report, Iraq 35, 1973, pp. 155-187
'Taya Tablets'	J.N. Postgate, Tell Taya Tablets, 1972-73, in: J.E. Reade, Tell Taya (1972-73): Summary Report, Iraq 35, 1973, pp. 155-187, Appendix 1, pp. 173-175
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales, Paris
TCM	Textes Cunéiformes de Mari. Paris
TFR	Terqa Final Reports. In: BM. Malibu
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Kevelaer, Neukirchen-Vluyn
UNI	Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul. Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, Leiden
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek. Leipzig
VS NF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin/DDR
WO	Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes. Göttingen
World Archaeology	World Archaeology. London
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Berlin
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Berlin

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## INDICES

As usual, the transcription of Arabic proper names created an insoluble problem. In the first volume of this series, all toponyms were given in the conventional German system of transcription and it was our original intention to do the same for all the articles in the present volume. Since our colleagues were not prepared to accept this solution, we have used a relatively uniform system based on the usual usage in the English speaking world in the English text. The German text continues to use the system employed in the first volume, which will also be used in future. The index has thus been prepared from this standpoint.

This index is ordered according to the sequence of the following alphabet without taking the significance of long vowels into consideration:

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N O P Q R S Ş Ş Ş T Ĥ Ĥ U V W X Y Z

### 7.1 TOPONYMS

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Bevelled Rim Bowls	161 (general); 136 (Brak); 160 (Leilan)
Fish-Plates	268, 275 (Hamidi)
Flower Pots	135-136 (Brak)
Unguentarium	268, 275 (Hamidi)

**7.5.2 PERIODS**

Akkadian	25 (Nustell); 26 (Kashkashuk); 27 (Abu Hufur); 53, 55 (Barri); 141, 144, 146 (Brak)
Earliest Akkadian	145 (Brak)
Latest Akkadian	144-145 (Brak)
Abbasid-Ayyubid	279-283 (Hamidi)
Ayyubid	23 (Shammuqa)
Byzantine	25 (Nustell)
Early Bronze Age	122 (Moza)
EB III	26 (Abu Hajira); 39 (Survey Meijer)
EB IV	39 (Survey Meijer)
Early Dynastic	26 (Kashkashuk III); 139 (Brak)
ED I	142 (Brak)
ED II	53-55 (Barri); ? 142 (Brak)
ED III	53-55 (Barri); 140, 143, 146 (Brak); 161 (Leilan)

Hellenistic	61 (Barri); 226, 311 (Hamidi)
Hellenistic-Parthian	260-263, 265-275 (Hamidi)
Islamic	25 (Nustell); 26 (Abu Ḥajira); 27 (Abu Hufur); 50 (Barri)
Medieval Islamic	53, 62 (Barri)
Modern Islamic	53 (Barri); 283 (Hamidi)
Isin-Larsa	146 (Brak)
Late Assyrian	53 (Barri); 255, 317, 333 (Hamidi)
Middle Bronze Age	34, 40, 42 (Survey Meijer); 34 (Hamukar); 35 (Rumaylan Kabīr)
Middle Assyrian	53, 58, 229, Plate 5.1 (Barri); 252 (Hamidi)
Mongolian	62 (Barri)
Neolithic	23 (Ziade)
Neo-Sumerian	50, 53, 55 (Barri)
Old Babylonian	146 (Brak)
Parthian-Sasanian	277 (Hamidi)
Roman	122 (Moza)
Roman-Parthian	50, 53, 55, 60, 60 (Figs. 6-7), 61 (Barri)
Sasanian	53, 62, Plate 5.4 (Barri)
Uruk	133, 146 (Brak)
Early Uruk	29 (Kashkashuk II); 135, 139, 143 (Brak)
Early/Middle Uruk	135-136 (Brak)
Middle/Late Uruk	136-137, 139, 143 (Brak); 161 (Leilan)
Late Uruk	160-161 (general); 29 (Kashkashuk II); 143 (Brak); 160 (Mohammed Arab); 161 (Leilan)
Latest Uruk	137 (Brak)
Uruk III	53-54 (Barri); 143 (Brak)
Ur III	125 (Moza); 146 (Brak)

### 7.5.3 WARES

‘Ubaid	27 (Abu Jas’a al-Gharbi); 29 (Kashkashuk II, III); 133, 143 (Brak)
Early ‘Ubaid	135 <sup>2</sup> (Brak)
Northern ‘Ubaid	28 (Survey Bounni)
‘Ubaid 2	133, 143 (Brak); → Hajji Muhammad
‘Ubaid 3	28 (Survey Bounni); 133 (Brak)
‘Ubaid 4	28 (Survey Bounni); 133, 135-136, 143 (Brak)

Arretina	60 (Barri)
Black Burnished	150 (Brak)
Black Slip	135 (Brak)
Casual	62 (Barri)
Green Glazed	25 (Nustell); 27 (Abu Hufur); 28 (Survey Bounni)
Green Glazed (Light)	60 (Barri)
Green Glazed (Petrol)	61 (Barri)
Hajji Muhammad	133 (Brak); → 'Ubaid 2
Halaf	25 <sup>15</sup> (Kashkashuk II); 26 (Kashkashuk III); 28 (Survey Bounni); 53-54 (Barri); 129 (Moza); 133, 230, Plate 10.2 (Brak)
Hassuna	29 (Kashkashuk II)
Incised	150 (Brak)
Jamdat Nasr	137, 139, 143 (Brak)
Khabur	28 (Survey Bounni); 34 (Hamukar); 35 (Rumaylan Kabīr); 58, 229, Plate 4.4 (Barri); 77 (Mohammed Kebir); 126 (Moza); 146, 149, 230, Plate 10.2 (Brak); 221, 223-235, 235 <sup>1</sup> , 246, 248, 252, 255, 296, 300 (Abb.83), 301 (Abb.84), 302, 302 <sup>46</sup> , 304, 307-309 (Hamidi) esp. no. 4000.1-4004.4, 4004.6-4006.1, 4006.3-4009.1, 4010.1-4010.5, 4019.1-4025.2, 4025.4
Metallic	28 (Survey Bounni); 54 (Barri); 122, 130 (Moza); → Stone
Ninevite V / 5	160-163 (general)
incised	28 (Survey Bounni); 54, 229, Plate 4.2 (Barri); 130 (Moza); 141-143 (Brak); 315, 315 (Abb.100-103), 316-317 (Hamidi) esp. no. 3003.1-3003.35
painted	142-143 (Brak)
Nuzi	58 (Barri); 146, 149 (Brak); 221, 223-225, 235 <sup>1</sup> , 246-248, 252-253, 296, 300 (Abb.83), 301 (Abb.84), 302-304, 307, 309, 313 (Hamidi) esp. no. 4026.1-4026.52
Red Glazed	60 (Barri)
Samarra	133 (Brak)
Scarlet	130 (Moza)
Sigillata, African	60 (Barri)
Sigillata, Eastern	60 (Barri)
Simple	124, 230, Plate 7.2 (Moza)
Stamped Modeled	25 (Nustell); 28 (Survey Bounni)
Stone	28 (Survey Bounni); → Metallic
White Glazed	60 (Barri)

## KERAMIKDOKUMENTATION

Alle Keramik-Abbildungen werden im Massstab 1:2 wiedergegeben.

Soweit nicht anders vermerkt, ist die Keramik auf der Scheibe gedreht.

Für die Farben werden folgende Sigel verwendet:

- 0: schwarz
- 1: dunkelbraun
- 2: braun
- 3: hellbraun
- 4: dunkelrot
- 5: rot
- 6: hellrot
  
- 10: weiss
- 11: Eierschalen- / Elfenbein-farbig
- 12: hellgelb
  
- 15: gelb
  
- 20: türkis
  
- 29: grün
- 30: blau

## 8.1 LIPPEN

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
0.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	13	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6,13,14,15	-	10.0,12.0,13.0,14.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	12.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11,12	-	10.0,11.0	-
	-L 4.2	11	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0,22.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	16.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	12	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>2,2</sub>	8	7001.1-12	18.0	→ 1000.5
.4	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1	-	32.0	-
1.4	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	-	11.0	-
2.2	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	2	4013.1-1	28.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	4013.1-1	12.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	16	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	6	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	2	-	26.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	6002.1	24.0	-
4.6	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	26.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8	-	18.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	8	-	18.0	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11,14	-	12.0,26.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11,15	-	8.0,20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	4015.2-1	20.0	→ 1072.1
	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	1	4015.3-1, .5-1	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
.8	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	2	6001.1, 7000.1-0	16.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	4013.1-3	22.0	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	6	-	18.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	4013.1-5	22.0	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.11	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	24.0	-
.12	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	6001.1, 7000.1-0	14.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	2	7000.1-0	18.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	1	7000.1-0	-	-
5.5	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	10.0	→ 1012.1
.7	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	38.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	26.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	42.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	24.0,30.0,31.5,34.0,43.5	-
.8	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	3,8,10,11	-	20.0,22.0,23.0,24.0,26.0,27.0, 30.0,32.0,34.0,49.5	-
.9	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11	-	22.0,24.0,26.0,29.0,36.0,42.0	-
6.2	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	24.0,32.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	30.0,32.0,34.0,35.0,36.0,38.0 39.0,40.0,54.0	→ 1039.1
.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	12	4006.3-1	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	3036.1	16.0	-

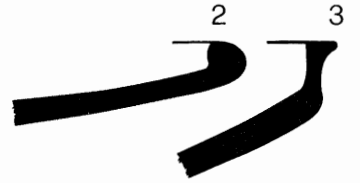
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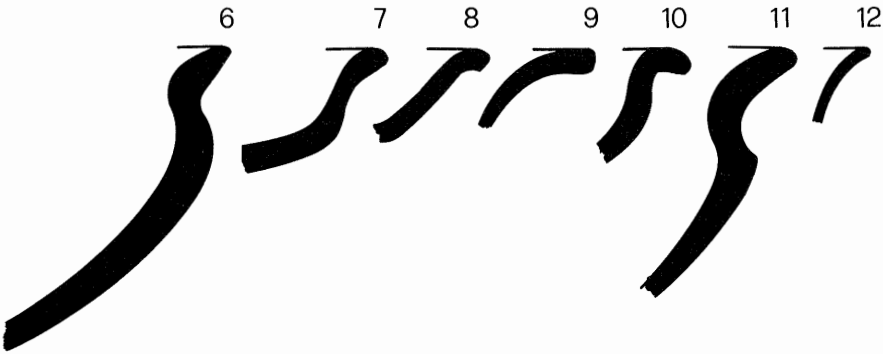
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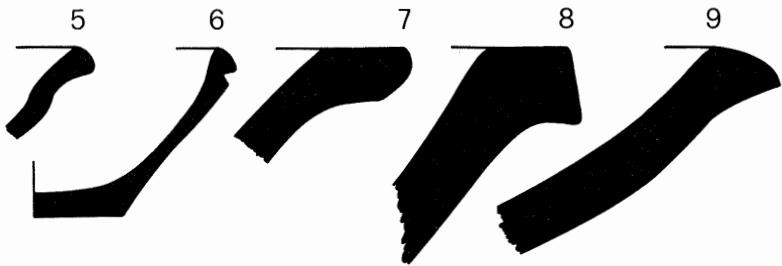
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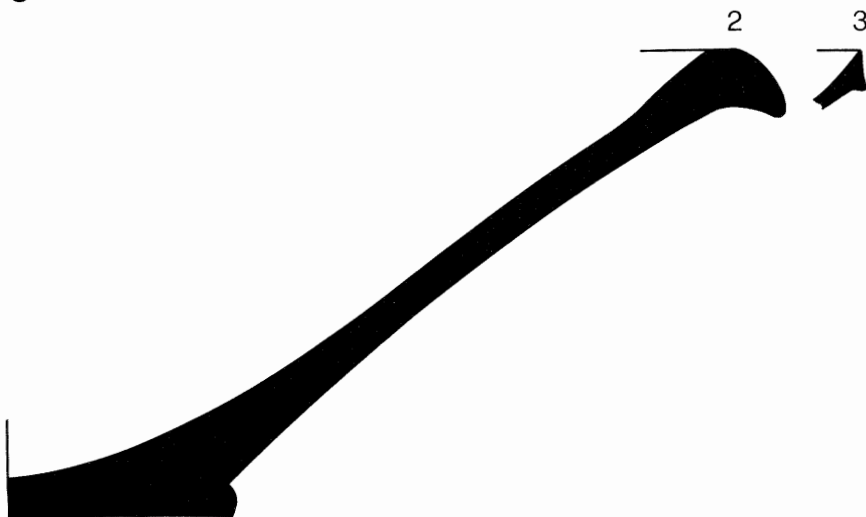
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5



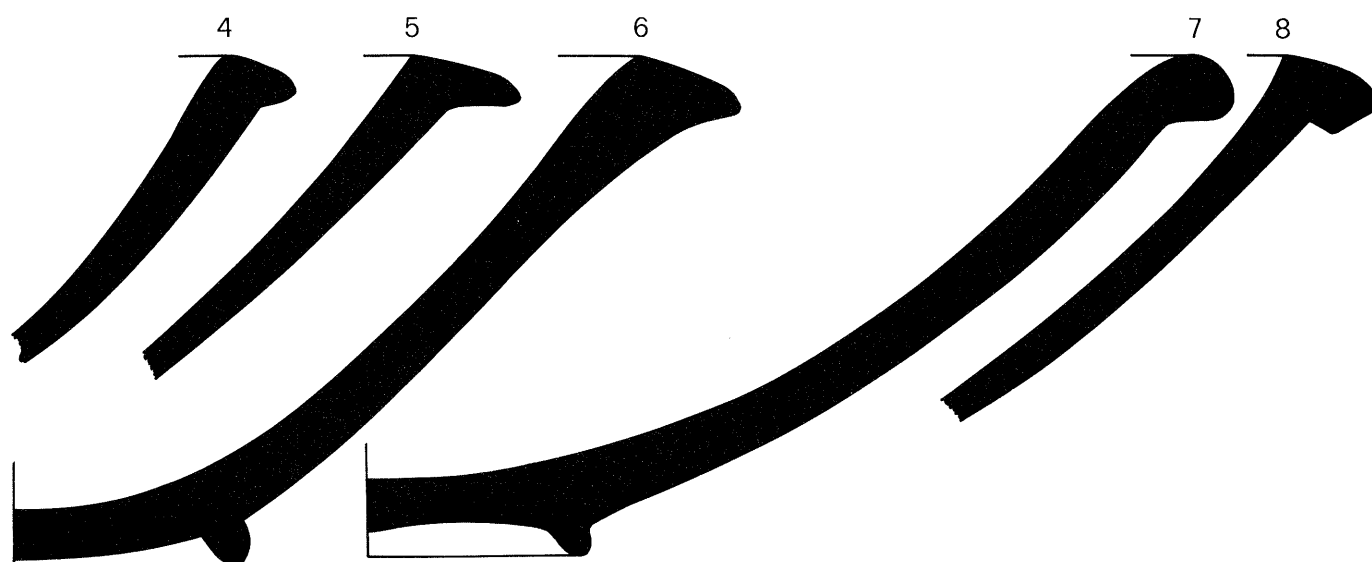
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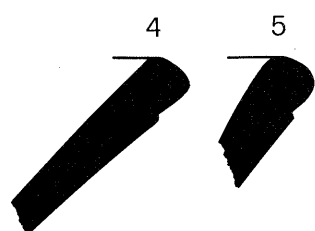
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
6.4	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	4010.1-3	26.0,36.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	4009.1-6	26.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	10	-	22.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	10,11	4009.1-3,5	20.0,22.0,24.0,28.0,32.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,8,10,11	-	18.0,22.0,25.0,26.0,28.0,30.0, 32.0,34.0,35.5,36.0,40.0,46.0, 59.5	-
.5	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	31.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11	-	22.0,28.0,30.0,32.0,34.0,36.0, 38.0,40.5,46.0,52.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	7	-	32.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	33.0	→ 1038.1
.7	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7,11	-	16.0,24.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	5,7	4010.1-6	18.0,26.0,28.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	10	4014.1-2	18.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	26.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	10	-	30.0	→ 1051.2
	-L 4.2	8,11	-	26.0,28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	17.0,34.0,38.0,46.0	-
.8	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	32.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	44.0	-
9.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	28.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -S 5	10	-	34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	7	-	38.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
10.3	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11	-	22.0,23.5,24.0,27.5,28.0,28.5, 30.0,30.5,34.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	10,18	3031.3	26.0,30.0,34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	22.0,46.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	3030.1	22.0	-
11.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
13.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	3014.2	48.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	8	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -S 4	1	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	22.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,6,11,12	-	30.0,32.0,34.0,36.0,64.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	4006.3-2	24.0,30.0,34.0	-
14.5	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	1	4010.1-1	18.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	1	4007.1-1	14.0	-
.6	40/43-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	4013.1-5	22.0	-
.7	40/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
.8	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	12	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,20.0,22.0,23.0,28.0,32.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	4015.2-1,5	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	24.0	-



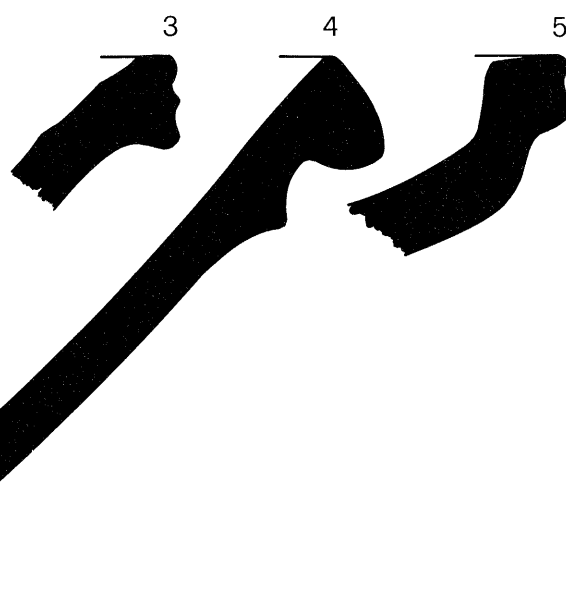
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9



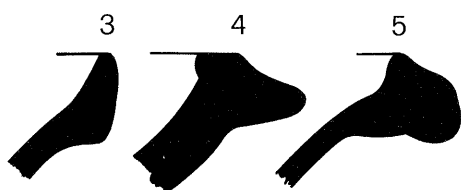
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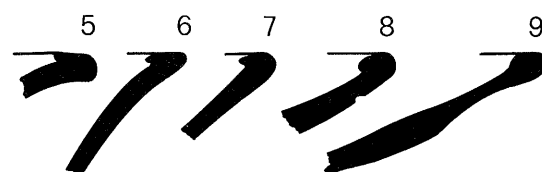
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13

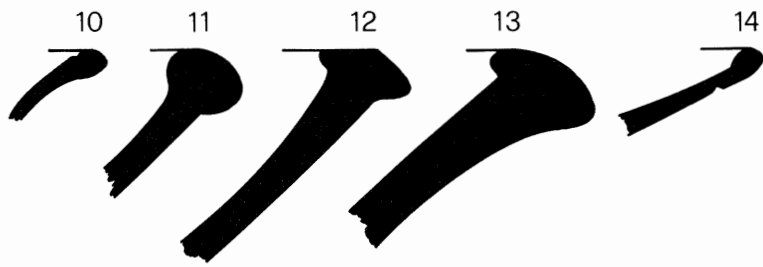


14

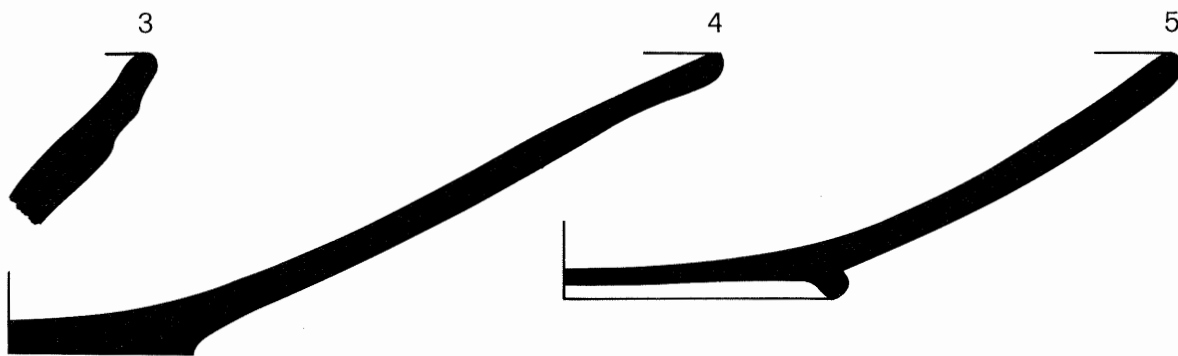


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
14.10	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	1	4015.2-1,5	21.0	-
.11	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	20.0,26.0,28.0,30.0,32.0,40.0,40.5	-
.12	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	34.0	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	46.0	-
.14	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	7000.1-0	22.0	-
18.3	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	34.0	-
	-H <sub>3.1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	10	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	10	-	32.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	4009.1-4	26.0,42.0	-
	-L 4.2	10,11	4009.1-3,4,5	22.0,26.0,28.0,30.0,32.0,34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	30.0,34.0,38.0	→ 1020.1
.5	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	38.0	→ 1038.2
19.2	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9,10	-	18.0,24.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	2	-	14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	8.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	2.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	4010.1-1	22.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,4,10	4004.5-1	18.0,20.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7,10	-	24.0,30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	6	-	14.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	1	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	1,8	-	16.0,22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	1	-	14.0,24.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	3027.1	34.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	31.5	-
21.3	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	9	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
24.8	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	14.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>12</sub>	1	-	22.0	-
.10	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
26.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10,11	-	18.0,22.0,24.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	3	-	32.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	10	-	20.0,28.0,35.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	32.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
.5	20/23-L 3	12	-	21.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13.1</sub> (G hp 2.1)	11	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	15.5	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	3027.1	16.0,34.0	-
	-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10,11	-	21.0,26.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,10	-	28.0,32.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	28.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	24.0	-

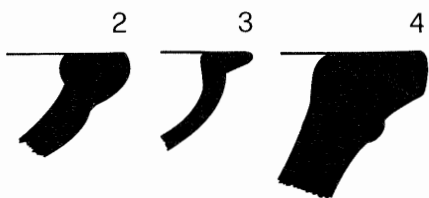
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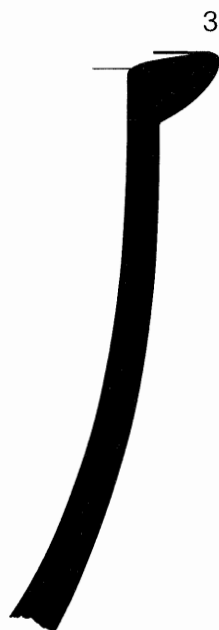
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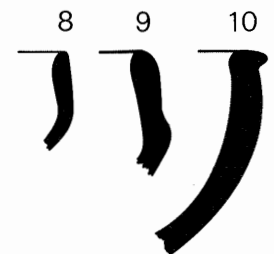
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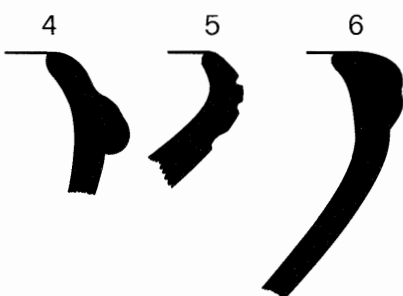
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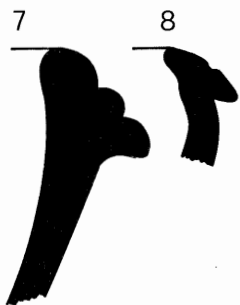


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Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
26.7	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	24.0	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
.11	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	1	4015.5-5	10.0	→ 1059.1
28.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
29.2	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	3	-	22.0	-
32.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	24.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	28.0	→ 2034.6
33.5	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
36.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11	-	32.0,34.0,42.0,48.0	-
.3	40/43-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	22.0,24.0,28.0,30.0,32.0,34.0, 38.0,40.0,44.0,48.0,50.0,64.0	-
37.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,10,11	-	12.0,16.0,18.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	10	-	30.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	40.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,10	-	20.0,54.0	-
	38/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	17	-	42.0	-
38.4	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	19	-	20.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	5,7,11	-	20.0,22.0,24.0,34.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	23.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
39.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 5	3	-	26.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	10,11	-	12.0,20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	17	-	22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	18	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5,10	-	20.0,26.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	3	-	22.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	5	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	6	-	30.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	5	-	9.0	-
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	28.0,32.0	-
40.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	3027.7	26.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	28.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	18	-	32.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	36.0	-

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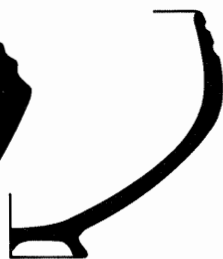
9



10



11



28

2



29

2



32

3



4



33

5



36

2

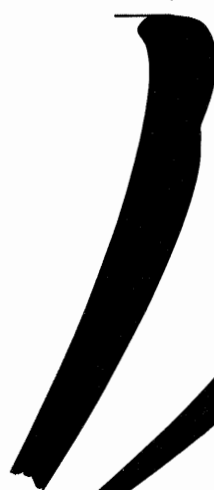


3



37

4



5



38

4



5



6



39

2



3



4



5



6



40

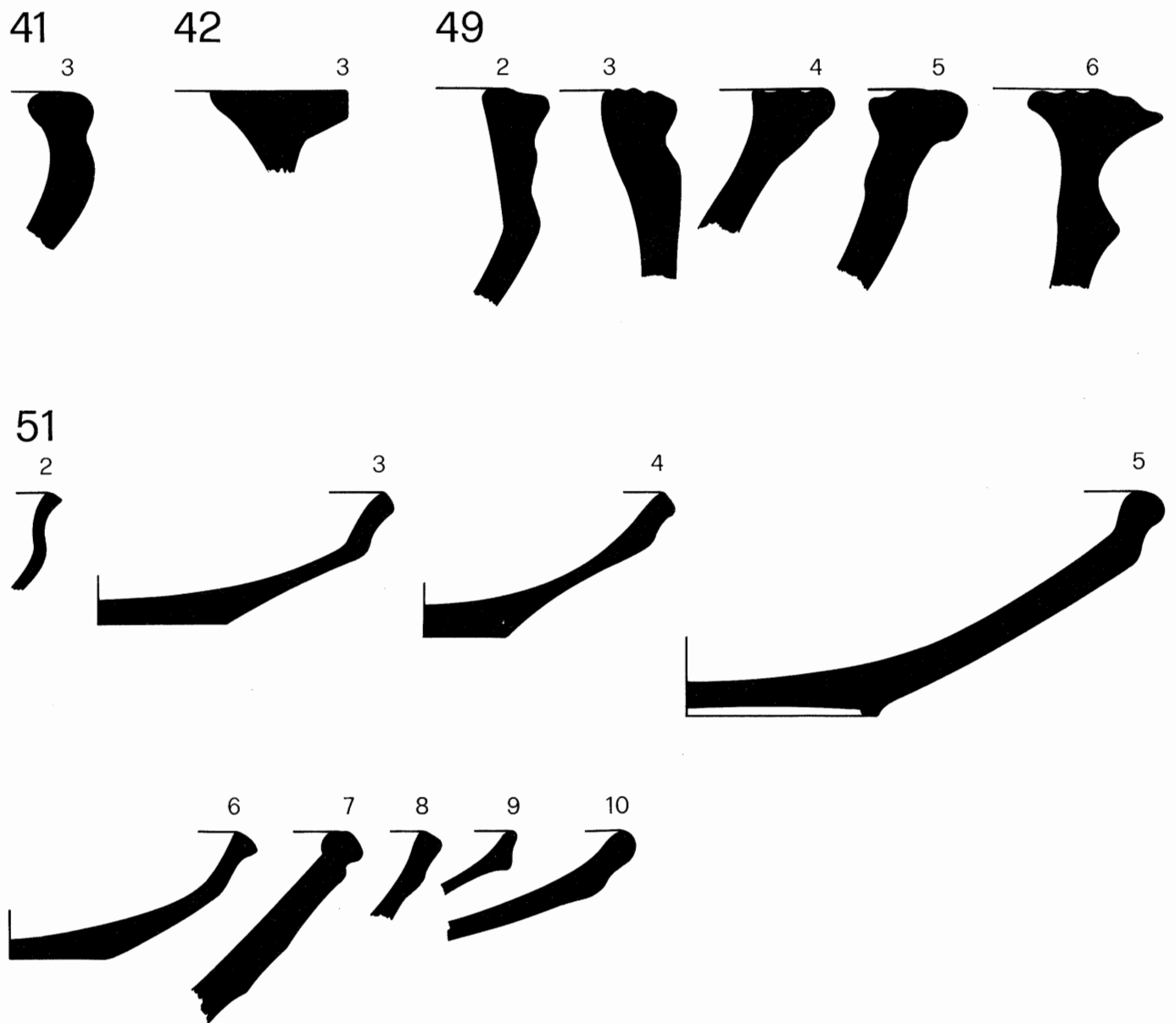
5



6

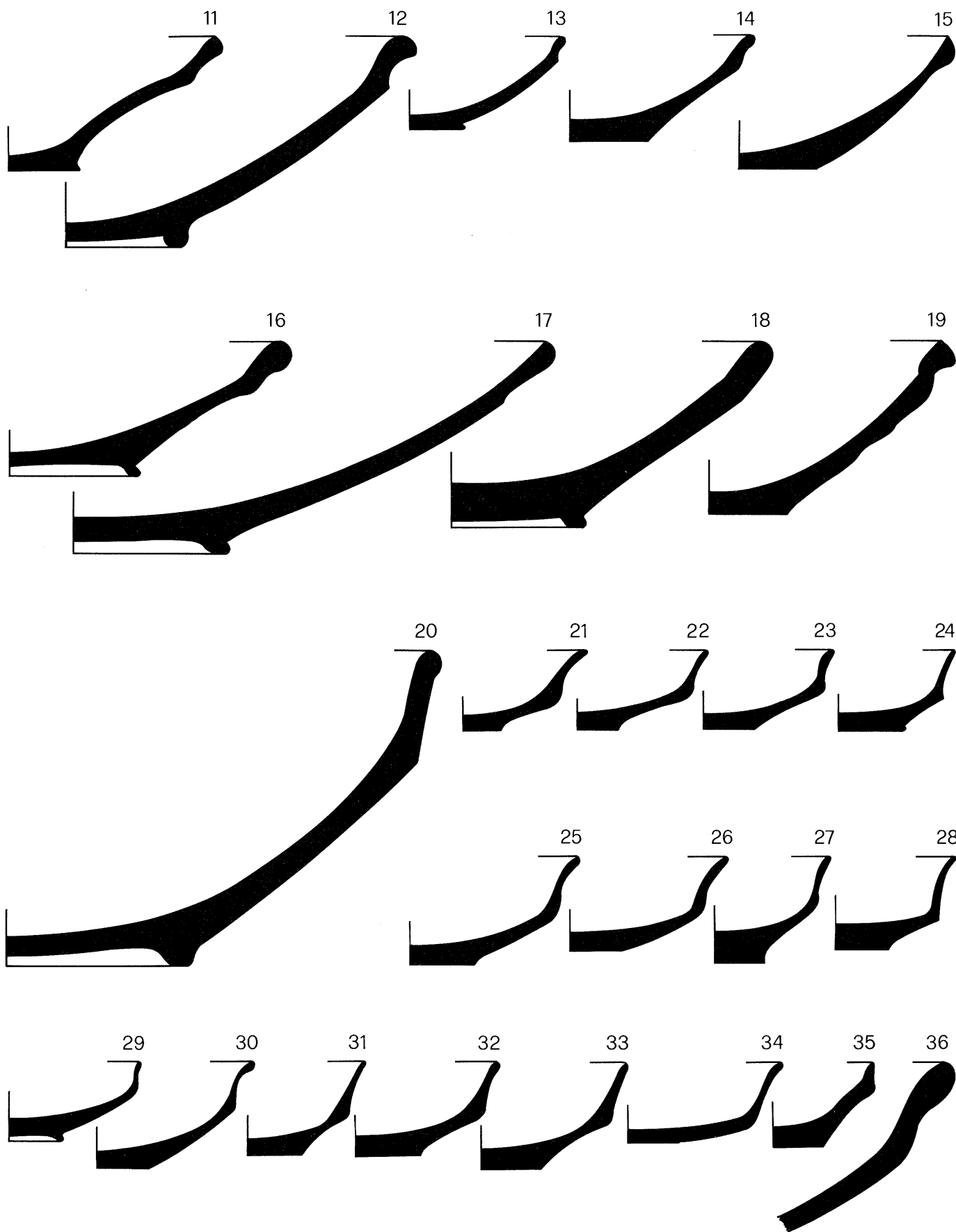


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
41.3	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	3	-	24.0	-
42.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,8,10,18	-	16.0,24.0,26.0,28.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	40.0	-
49.2	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	15.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	3	-	20.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	32.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5,11	4006.2-3	35.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	4009.2-2	40.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	29.0,32.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	4009.2-1,3	32.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7	3014.4, 3015.7, 3020.3	30.0	-
51.2	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	4015.1-1	11.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub>	7	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>1.2</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	15.0	→ 1020.1
	-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	26.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	34.0	-
	38/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 3	10	-	12.0,18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	-	4.0,12.0,14.0,15.0,15.5,16.0, 18.0,18.5,19.0,19.5,20.0,20.5, 21.0,22.0,22.5,23.0,24.0,24.5, 26.0,28.0,30.0,32.0,42.0	→ 1020.1
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10,11	-	10.0,16.0,22.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	27.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	25.0,32.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0,19.5,26.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	4,10,11	-	10.0,12.0,13.5,14.0,15.0,16.0, 16.5,18.0,18.5,19.5,20.0,21.0, 22.0,22.5,23.0,24.0,25.0,26.0, 28.0,30.0,42.0	→ 1020.1
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 110	10	-	14.0,17.0,20.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	10	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,19	-	18.0,19.5,20.0,22.0,22.5,23.0, 24.0,26.0,28.0,32.0,34.0,38.0	→ 1041.2
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 110	10	-	26.0	-
.6	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	34.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0,16.5,22.5	→ 1012.1
.7	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	25.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	18.0,20.0,23.5,28.0,30.0,32.0	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>3.1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	17.0,18.0,20.0,24.0,26.0,29.0	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	18.0,22.0	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	11	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12,13	-	12.0,14.0,14.5,15.5,16.0,16.5, 17.0,17.5,18.0,18.5,19.0,19.5, 20.0,21.5,22.0,24.0,25.0,26.0, 27.0,28.0,30.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	26.0	-



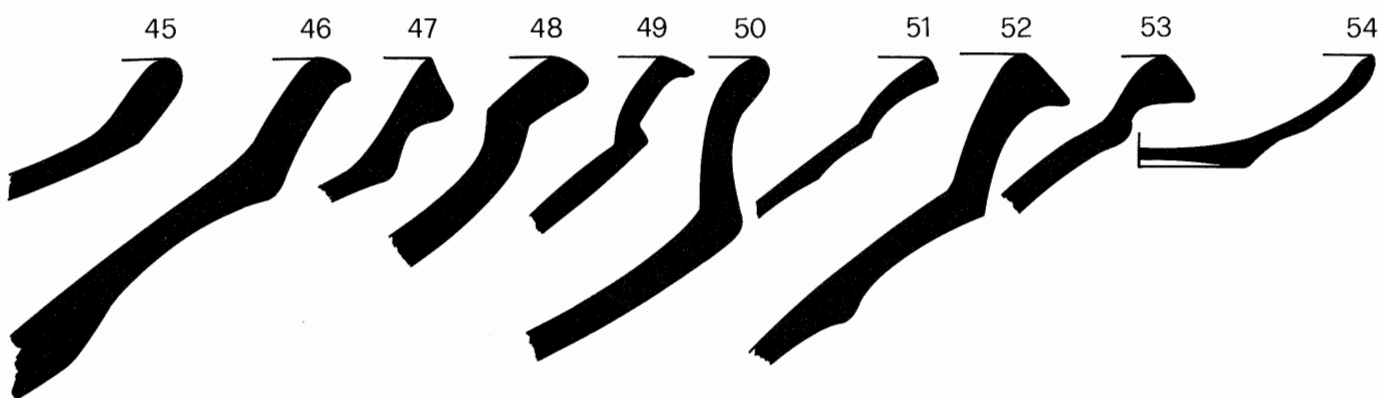
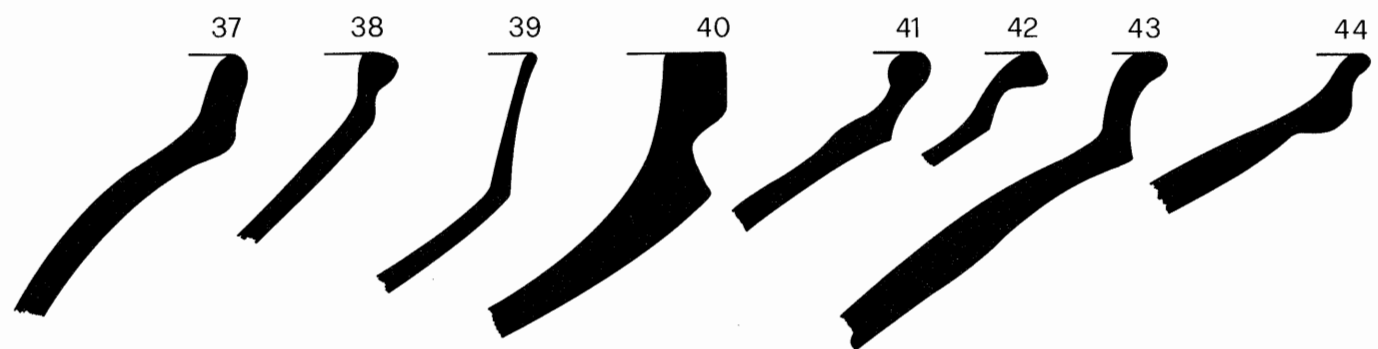
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
51.11	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	26.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	18.0	→ 1020.1
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	-	9.0,14.0,16.0,17.0,18.0,19.0, 20.0,22.0,24.0,26.0,26.5,28.0	→ 1054.1
.12	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	6,8,18	-	10.0,22.0,26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,18.0,19.5,20.0,22.0,24.0, 26.0,30.0	→ 1052.2
.13	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	11	4007.1-1	16.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	12	4009.1-2	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	12.0,14.0,16.0,18.5,22.0	→ 1030.3
.14	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	9.0,10.0,14.0,15.0,15.5,16.0, 16.5,18.0,20.0,22.0	→ 1020.1
.15	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,42.0	→ 1012.3
.16	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	24.0	→ 1059.2
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,18.0,20.0,22.0,24.0,28.0	-
.17	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	32.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	36.0	→ 1039.1
.18	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	24.0	→ 1052.2
.19	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,10	-	16.0,18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	18.0,19.0,20.0,22.0,24.0	→ 1012.1
.20	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	9.0,22.0,32.0	→ 1039.1
.21	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	8.0,9.0	→ 1020.1
.22	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	-	6.0,8.0,10.0,10.5,12.0	→ 1020.1
.23	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	12,15	-	16.0,18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	-	8.0,9.5,10.0,12.0,14.0,16.0, 22.0,25.0	→ 1012.1
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
.24	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12,13	-	8.0,9.0,10.0,16.0	→ 1030.3
.25	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8,11	-	14.0,18.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	11	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	10.0,13.0	→ 1020.1
.26	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	16.0	-
	38/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 3	11	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	4004.4-1	9.0,10.0,11.0,12.0,14.0,16.0	→ 1012.2
.27	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	16	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	9.0,10.0	→ 1020.2
.28	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	9.0	→ 1020.1
.29	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	17.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	10.0,14.0	→ 1038.2
.30	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,11,12	-	12.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	18	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	12.0,16.0,22.0,24.0	→ 1012.2
.31	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	9.0,10.0,11.0	→ 1020.2
.32	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	6	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	9.5,11.0,14.0,18.0,32.0	→ 1020.1
.33	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	13	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	11.0,22.0	→ 1020.1
.34	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	12.0	→ 1012.2
.35	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	10	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,19	-	13.0,14.0	→ 1011.3
.36	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,18.0,18.5,20.0,22.0,24.0, 24.5,26.0,28.0	-



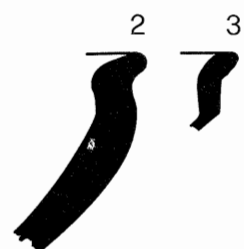


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
51.37	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,18.0,19.0,20.5,21.5,22.0,22.5,26.0	-
.38	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	5	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	8	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0,18.0,20.0,21.0,21.5,22.0,23.0,24.0,25.0,26.0	-
.39	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	14.0,22.5	-
.40	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	26.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	5	-	34.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	5,10,11	-	28.0,30.0,32.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	10	-	28.0,40.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,20.0,24.0,30.0,32.0,34.0	-
.41	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
.42	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,15.0,16.0,18.0,24.0	-
.43	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	12.0,14.0,18.0,19.5,21.0,24.0,26.0,31.0	-
.44	20/23-L 3	5	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0	-
.45	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	16	-	14.0	-
	-L 3	6	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	10.0,16.0,17.0,18.0,20.0,20.5,21.0,21.5,22.0,24.0,32.0	-
.46	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,22.0,24.0,26.0,30.0,32.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10,11	-	30.0,34.0,35.0,36.0	-
.47	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	30.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	10	-	21.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0,17.0,18.0,20.0,20.5,21.0,22.0,23.5,24.0,25.0,26.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	34.0	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 1	10	-	20.0	-
.48	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	17.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	16.0,18.0,20.0,22.0,24.0,26.0	-
.49	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	6	4010.1-6	10.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11,12	-	22.0,23.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	13	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11,18	-	8.0,10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11,12	-	14.0,16.0,18.0,20.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
.50	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	5,10	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	5,15	-	16.0,18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
.51	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.0,20.0,22.0	-
.52	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	32.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	5,11	-	28.0,30.0	-
.53	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	34.0	-
.54	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	12.5	→ 1033.4
52.2	38/42-H <sub>2</sub> -R 03 (L 2)	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	4007.4-1	8.0	-
53.10	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	6	4007.1-1	8.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	6	-	6.0	-

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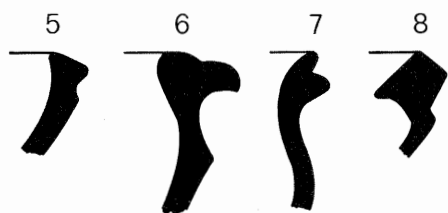


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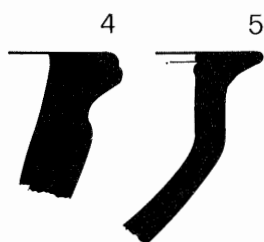


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
54.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8,11	-	16.0,18.0,26.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	4	-	26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	8	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	25.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,11	-	16.0,20.0,26.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	16	6000.1	28.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	5	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	6,11,18	-	14.0,16.0,18.0,20.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11,15,18	-	14.0,16.0,30.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	32.0	-
.7	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	2	4014.1-1	20.0,22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	20.0	-
.8	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	20.0	-
56.4	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	17	6001.1	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	32.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	12	-	18.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	5,11,12,18	4006.3-1,2; .5-1	12.0,20.0,26.0,28.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	26.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	23.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -L 4.1	8	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	13	4006.4-2	17.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10	-	18.5,28.0	-
57.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	22.0,44.5	-
61.2	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	5	-	16.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	6	-	16.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	5	-	40.0	-
62.2	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	26.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
68.5	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0,32.0	-
.6	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.4	7.0	→ 1030.6
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.7	40/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
69.6	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	9	-	22.0	→ 1041.2
.7	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	6	4010.1-1	16.0	→ 2027.1
.8	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	22.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	24.0	-
70.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	14.0	→ 1011.3
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	18.0	→ 1011.3
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	36.0	→ 1053.1
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
.7	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	-	8.6	→ 1011.1
71.2	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	20.0	-
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	32.0	-
74.4	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	12.0	→ 1039.1

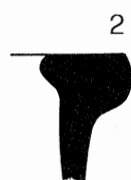
54



56



57



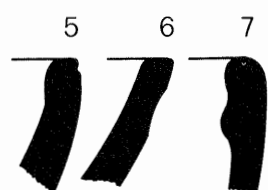
61



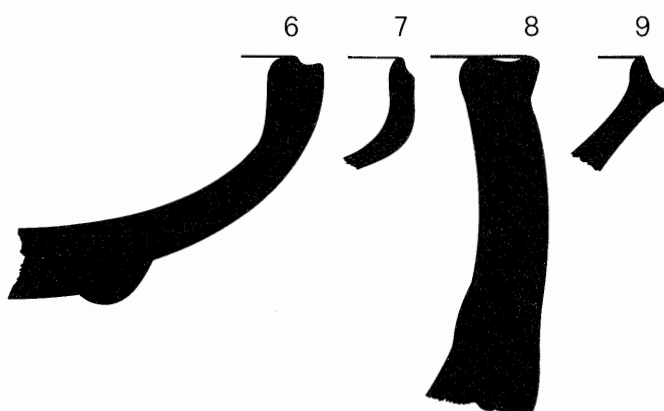
62



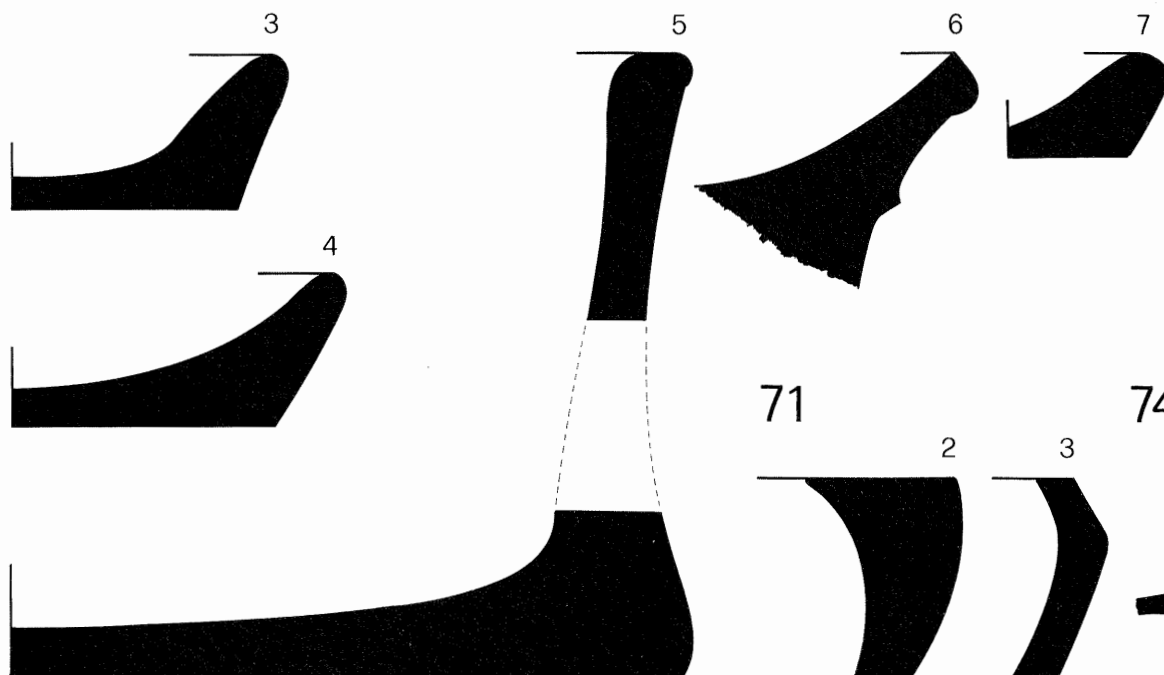
68



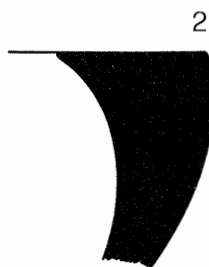
69



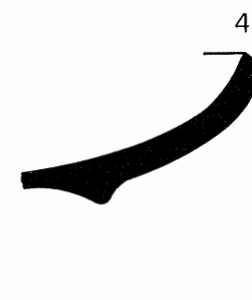
70



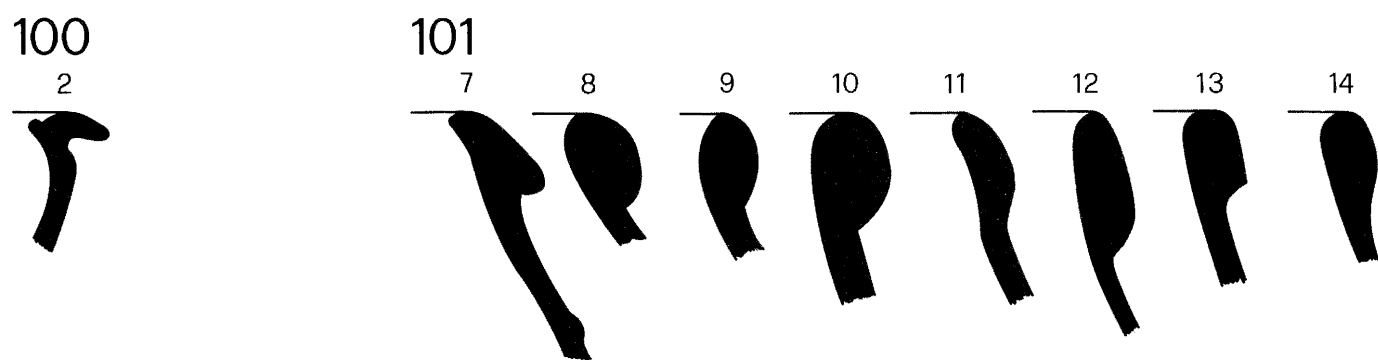
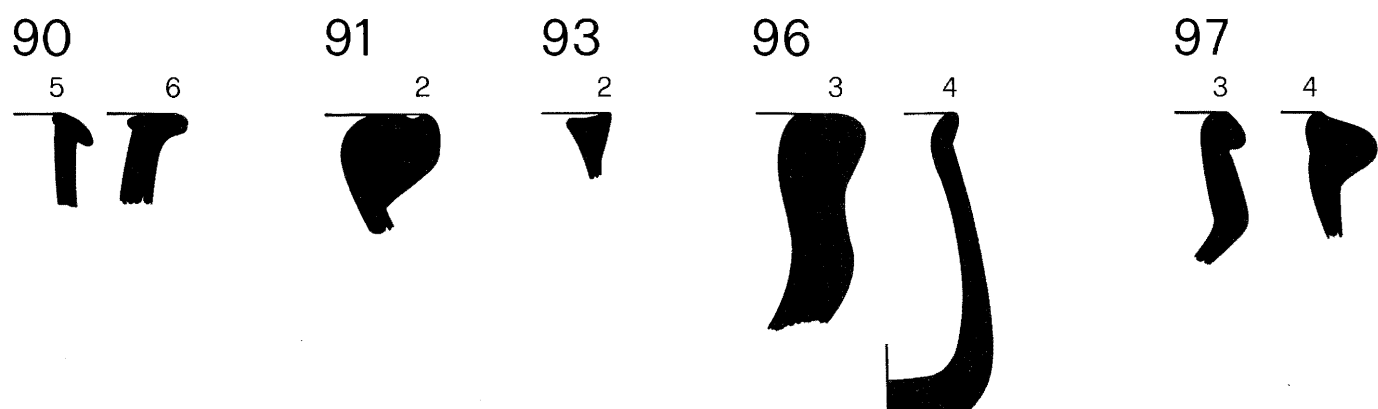
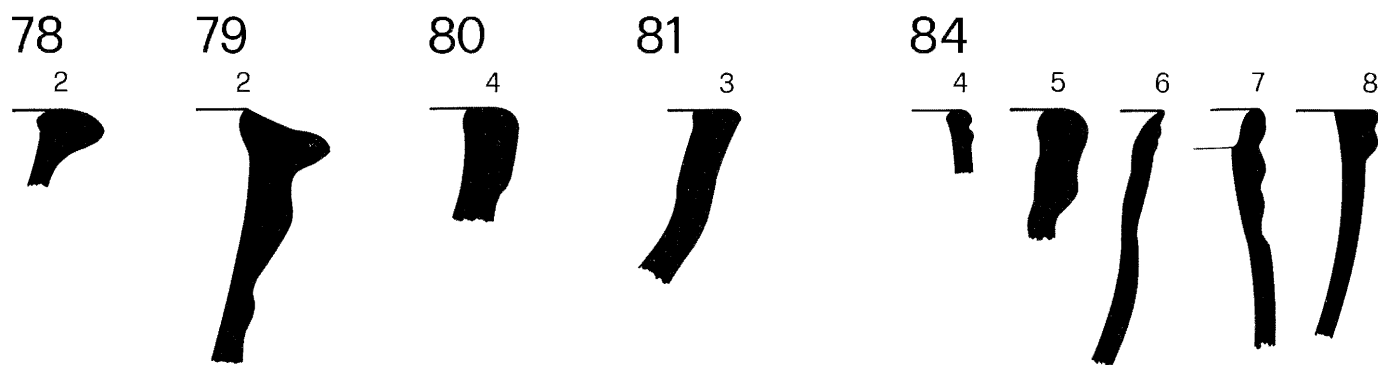
71



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Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
78.2	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	18	-	20.0	-
79.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1 -H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	5,10 10	3015.6,3020.2 3031.3	14.0 24.0	- -
80.4	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub> 41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10 6	- 4008.1-2	30.0 10.0	- -
81.3	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
84.4	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5 5	- -	6.0 6.0	- -
.5	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	4019.9-1	14.0	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	1	3030.6	10.0	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	3026.2,3027.13	14.0	-
90.5	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	6	4007.1-2	3.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	11	4013.1-5	21.0	-
91.2	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	22.0	-
93.2	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	1	-	12.0	-
96.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	40.0	-
.4	39/42-S 3	3	-	3.8	→ 1011.6 handgemacht
97.3	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
100.2	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -S 3	2	5005.1-1	18.0	-
101.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> 39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> 39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub> 40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub> 41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7,10,11 19 11 10 10,11 11	- - - - - -	8.0,16.0,32.0 22.0 11.0 14.0 20.0,22.0 14.0	- - - - - -
.8	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1 20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7 -L 4.2 39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10 41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11 11 11 11 10 10 6,10,11,19	- - - - - - -	10.0,12.0 16.0 14.0 14.0 28.0 15.0 9.0,10.0,11.0,12.0,12.5,13.0, 13.5,14.0,14.5,15.0,15.5,16.0, 18.0,20.0	- - - - - - -
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10,11 10	- -	10.0,16.0 13.0	- -
.9	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> 41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>  41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10 10,11,12  10 10	- -  - -	16.0 11.0,12.0,12.5,13.0,13.5,14.0, 15.0,16.0,16.5,18.0 16.0,18.0 13.0	- -  - -
.10	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9 20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7 -L 4.2 41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11 10 10 11 10,11	- - - - -	15.0 14.0 14.0 16.0 12.0,13.0,13.5,14.0,14.5,15.0, 16.0,16.5,18.5,24.0	- - - - -
.11	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10	-	14.0,15.0	-
.12	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	13.0,14.0,17.0	-
.13	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	9.5,10.5,11.0,12.0,13.0,14.0	-

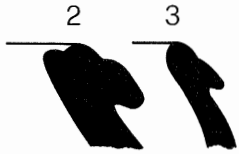


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
127.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	-	18.0,21.0,24.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	17	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	3031.1	11.0,15.0,24.0,32.0	-
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,10,11	3031.1,3032.2	12.0,14.0,20.5,24.0,24.5,28.0,30.0,32.0	-
.7	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	15.0	-
135.3	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	4	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10,18	2031.1	10.0,12.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
136.6	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	14	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	17	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
.7	39/43-H <sub>13,1</sub> (G hp 2.1)	2	2033.1	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	13	-	8.0	-
139.4	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	7.5	-
	40/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	6	-	7.0	-
141.3	38/42-H <sub>0,1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	5	-	28.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 5	10	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	5	-	15.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	3	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	17	3030.2	16.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	7,18	3033.1	12.0,16.0,26.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	13	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	18.0	-
.4	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	16.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	5	-	13.0	-
142.9	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	1,5	-	10.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	7.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	8	-	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	-	9.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3,5	4007.1-2	8.0,10.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	11.0,11.5	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	3,6,10,11	-	10.0,13.0,18.0,24.0,28.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	13	-	8.0	-
.11	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,11	-	22.0,24.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	10	-	16.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	12.0,18.0	-
	-L 4.2	11	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11,12	-	10.0,11.0,12.0,16.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
.12	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	18	-	14.0	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	28.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,10	3031.1	11.0,11.5,18.0,36.0	-

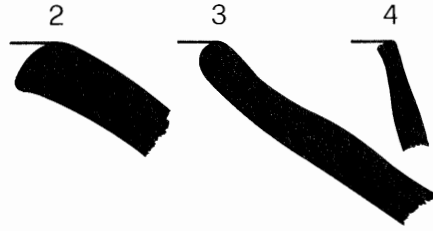
→ 1011.7  
handgemacht



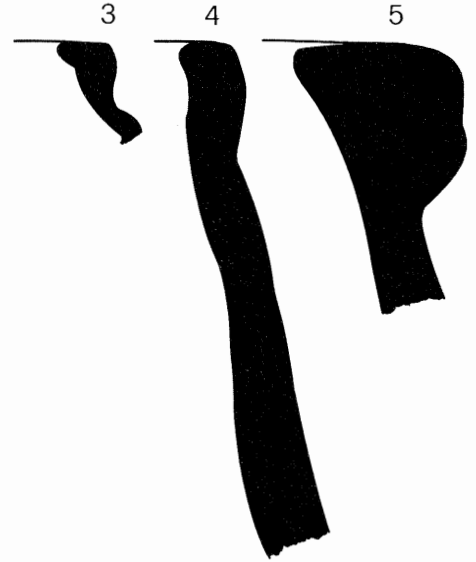
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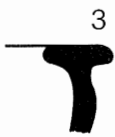
105



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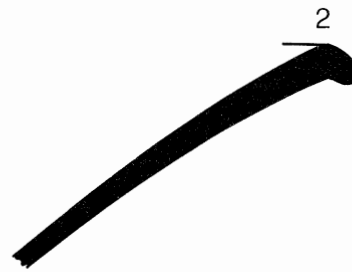
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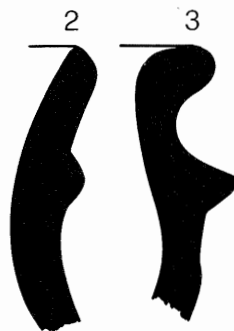
119



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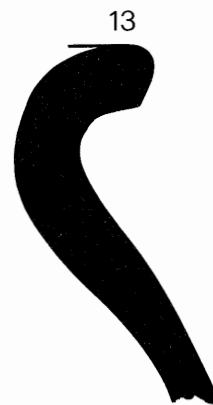
122



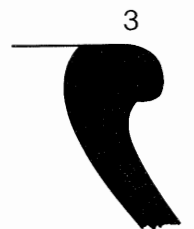
123



126



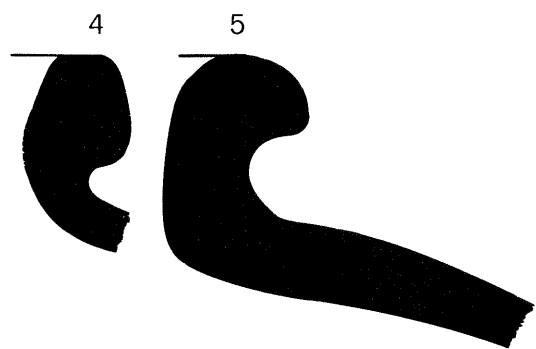
127



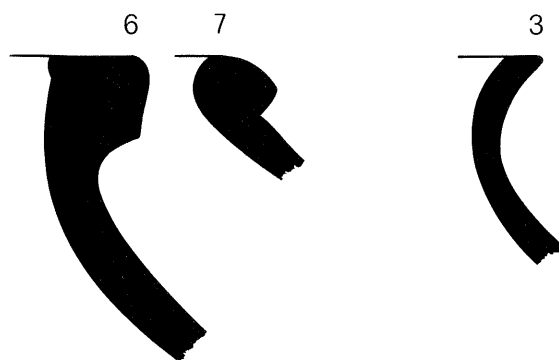
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
127.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	-	18.0,21.0,24.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	17	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	3031.1	11.0,15.0,24.0,32.0	-
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,10,11	3031.1,3032.2	12.0,14.0,20.5,24.0,24.5,28.0,30.0,32.0	-
.7	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	15.0	-
135.3	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	4	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10,18	2031.1	10.0,12.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
136.6	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	14	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	17	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
.7	39/43-H <sub>13,1</sub> (G hp 2.1)	2	2033.1	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	13	-	8.0	-
139.4	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	7.5	-
	40/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	6	-	7.0	-
141.3	38/42-H <sub>0,1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	5	-	28.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 5	10	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	5	-	15.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	3	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	17	3030.2	16.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	7,18	3033.1	12.0,16.0,26.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	13	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	18.0	-
.4	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	16.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	5	-	13.0	-
142.9	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	1,5	-	10.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	7.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	8	-	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	-	9.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3,5	4007.1-2	8.0,10.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	11.0,11.5	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	3,6,10,11	-	10.0,13.0,18.0,24.0,28.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	13	-	8.0	-
.11	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,11	-	22.0,24.0	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	10	-	16.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	12.0,18.0	-
	-L 4.2	11	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11,12	-	10.0,11.0,12.0,16.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
.12	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	18	-	14.0	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	28.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,10	3031.1	11.0,11.5,18.0,36.0	-

→ 1011.7  
handgemacht

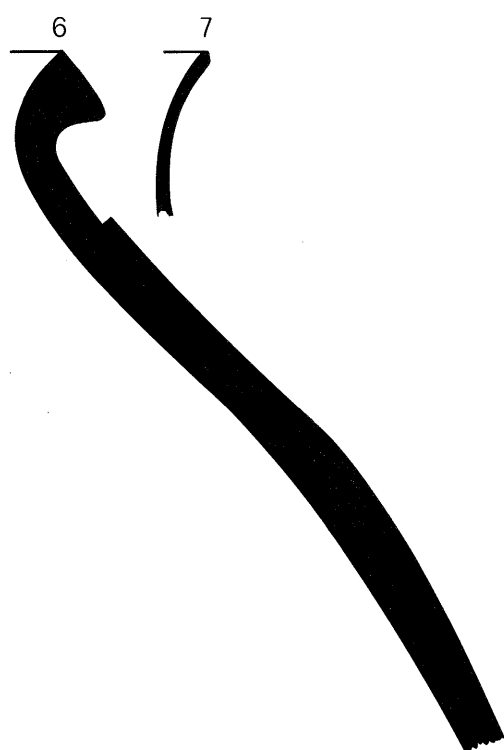
127



135



136



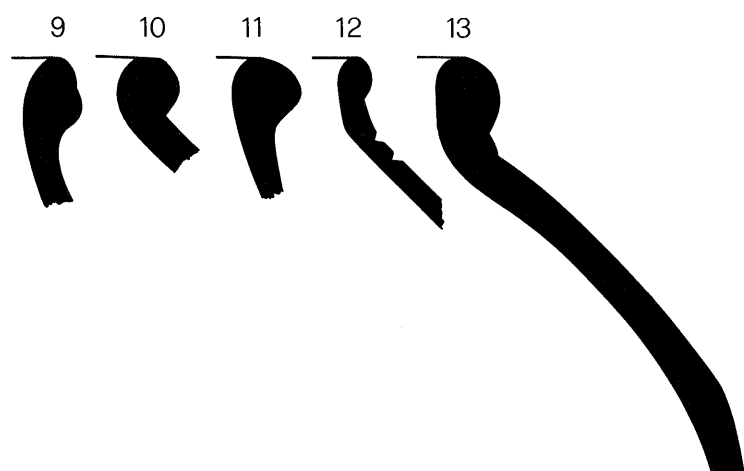
139



141

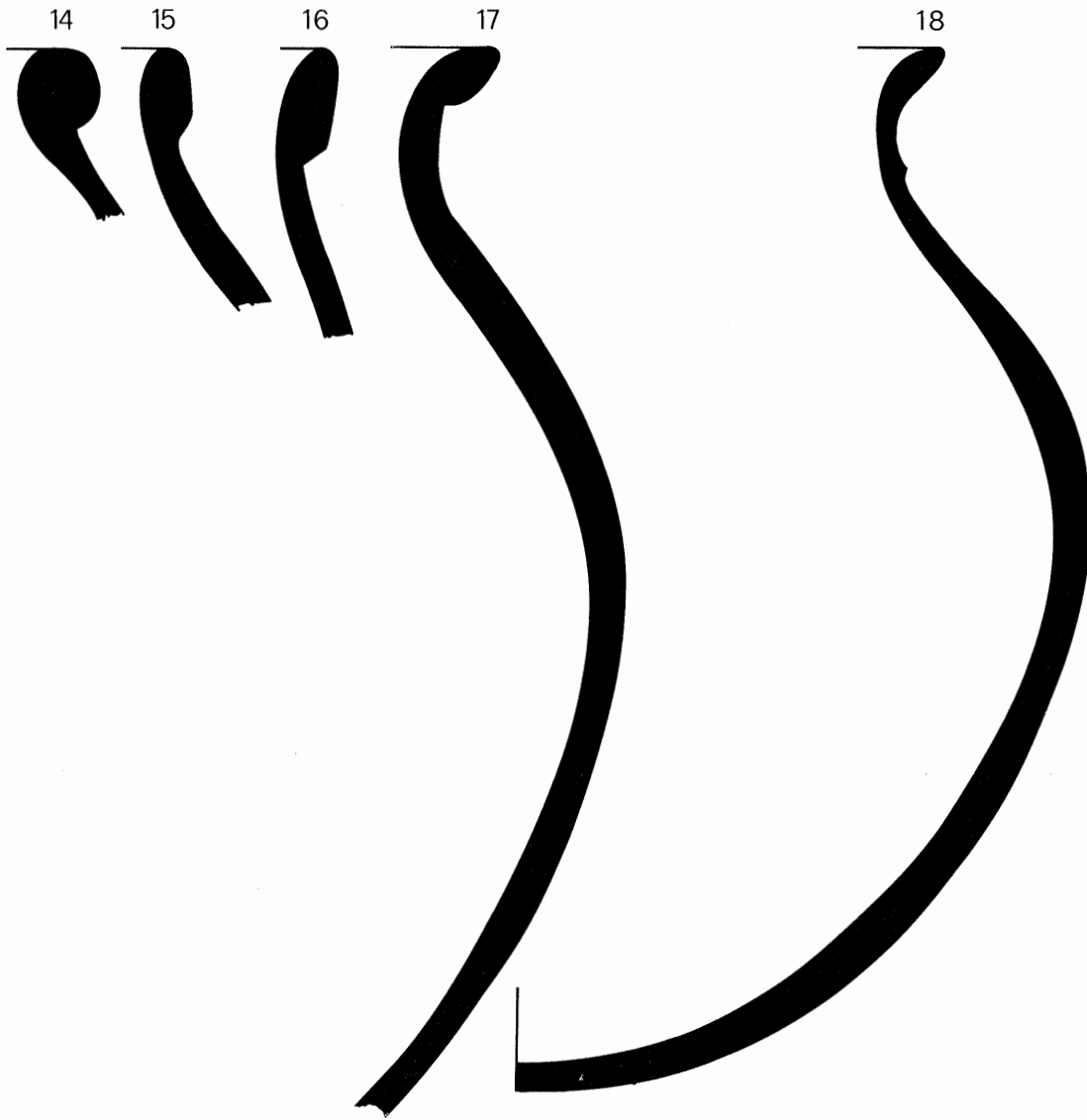


142

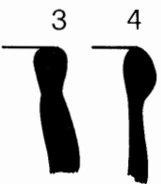


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
142.14	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	20.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	18.0,22.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	11	-	26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,10,11	-	11.0,14.0,20.0	-
.15	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	10	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	11.0,12.0,13.0,13.5,14.0,15.0, 15.5,16.0,18.0,22.0,24.0	-
.16	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
.17	35/47-H <sub>0</sub>	10	-	11.0	-
.18	35/47-H <sub>0</sub>	10	-	11.0	→ 1000.4
145.3	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	15	-	4.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	8.0	-
149.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	5	-	5.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	2	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	13	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	13	-	8.0,8.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	6.0,12.0	-
150.7	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	11.5,13.0,15.0,16.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 110	10	-	18.0	-
.8	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	11.0,13.0,13.5,14.0,14.5,15.0, 16.0,17.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,20.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
151.4	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	5	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	3,19	3012.6	11.0,12.0	-
152.5	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	11.0,14.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	11.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	8.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	18	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	19	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	10	-	10.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	6	-	12.0	-
.6	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10,11	-	3.0,9.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	6	4007.1-1	10.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	8,11	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	8	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	10.0,14.0,18.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -S 4	5	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10,11	-	12.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5,10,18	-	8.0,10.0,18.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	19	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
.7	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	6,11	-	10.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	11	-	11.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5,10	-	20.0,22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	9.0	-

142



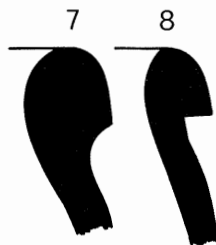
145



149



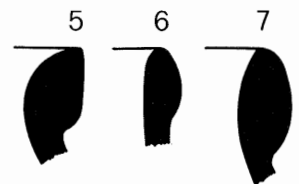
150



151

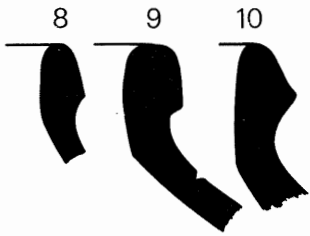


152

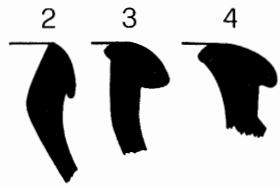


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
152.8	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -R 06 (L 1)	10	-	12.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	5,10,11	-	9.0,12.0,20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3	-	9.0,12.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5,11	-	8.0,10.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	3,6,11	-	9.0,11.0,20.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5,10	-	11.0,14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	11.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
.9	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	10	-	14.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3,10	-	10.0,12.0,14.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	3	-	15.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	12.0,13.0	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	11.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	9.0	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	41/40-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
153.2	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	11.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -L 1	6	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	11	-	28.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -S 5	11	-	10.0	-
.3	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	11.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
158.6	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	14.5	-
.7	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	18	-	22.0	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	6	-	16.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	2036.1	13.5	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	15.0	-
.11	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	3	-	17.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	11.0,12.0	-
.12	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	16.0	-
159.5	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	4	-	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5	-	16.0	-
161.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	34.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	10	-	30.0	-
.5	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	23.0	-
.6	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 2	10	-	20.0	-

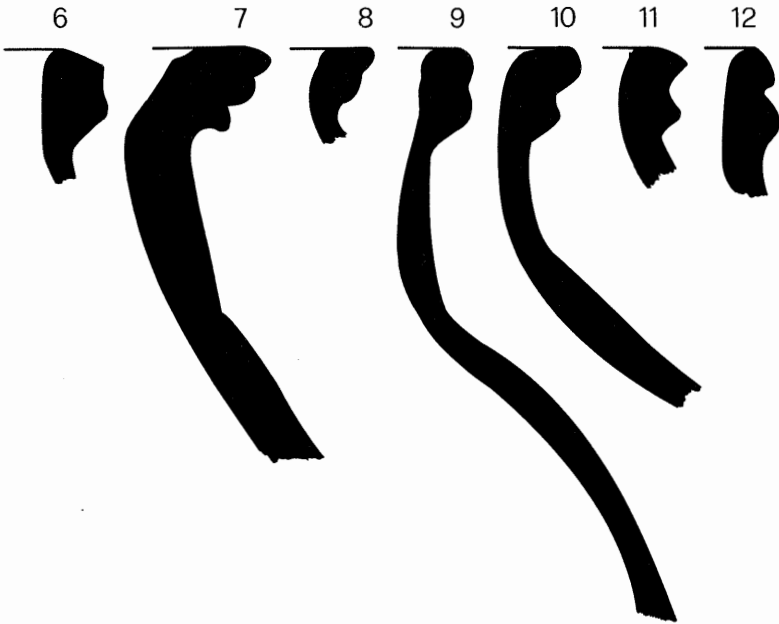
152



153



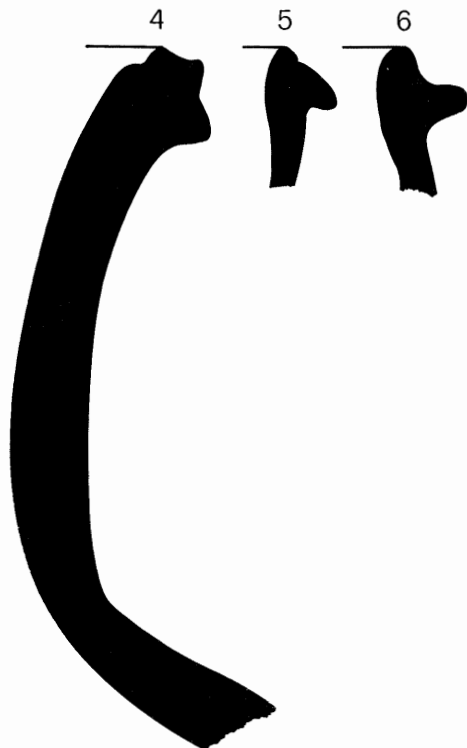
158



159



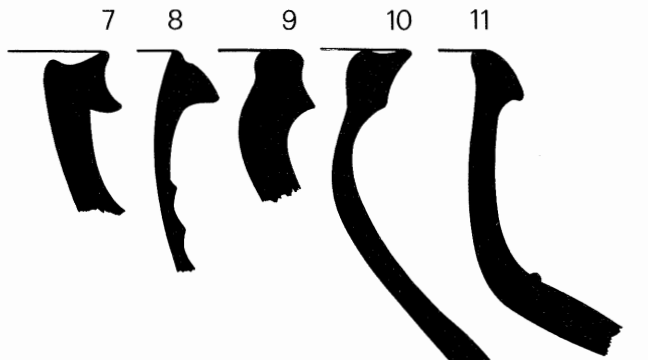
161



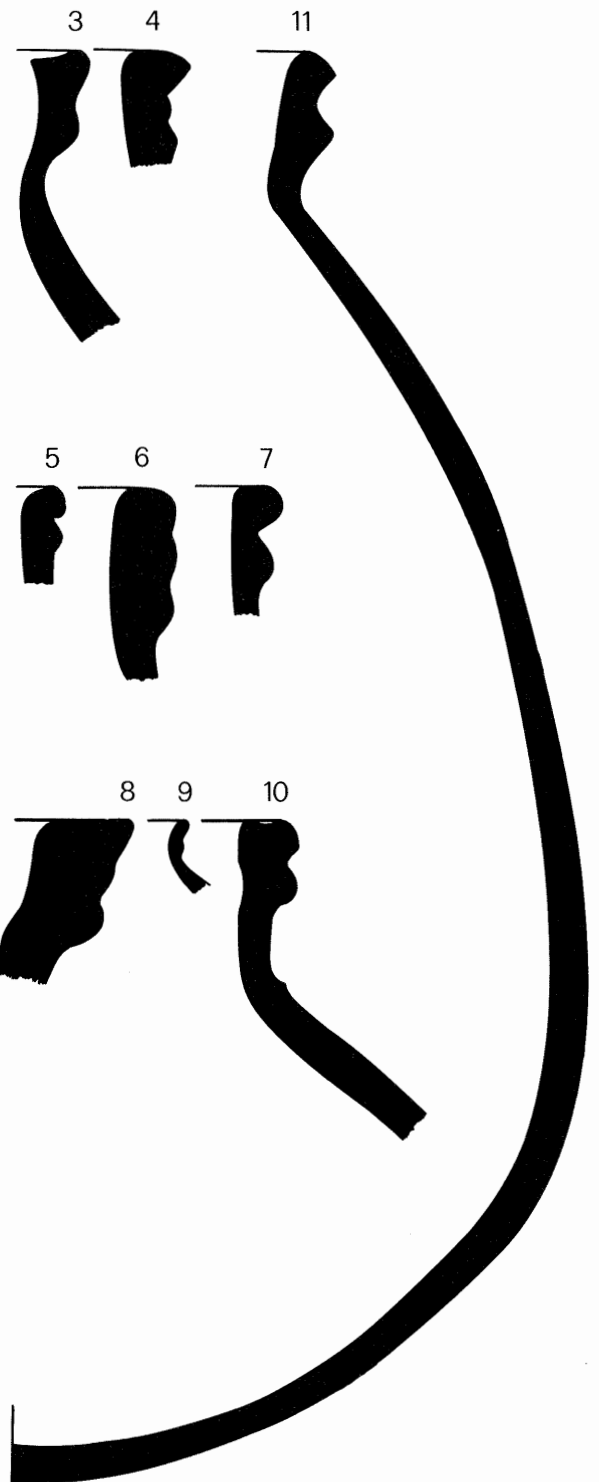
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
161.7	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8	-	16.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	17	-	12.0	-
.8	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	8	-	10.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	2035.1	18.0	-
.11	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
162.3	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	17	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1	-	12.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	17	3027.10,3031.1	32.0	-
165.2	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	44.0	-
166.4	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	5	-	14.0,16.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	9.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	4	-	16.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	9.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	3	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	4	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	3	-	12.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	9.0,11.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	9.0	-
.7	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.8	39/43-H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	11	4007.1-2	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	38.0	-
.10	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	12.0	-
.11	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	16.0	-
167.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	5	-	15.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	3	-	8.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
.4	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 1	18	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	11	-	16.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
.5	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	5	-	5.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	3	-	14.0	-
.6	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	36.0	-
.7	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	3	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
.8	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	18.0	-
.9	38/42-H <sub>2</sub> -R 03 (L 2)	11	-	2.0	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	3	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	30.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.11	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	6	-	14.0	→ 1000.4



161



167



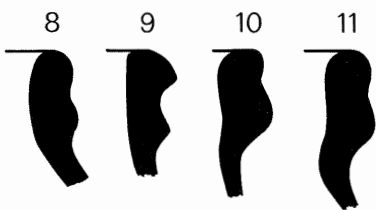
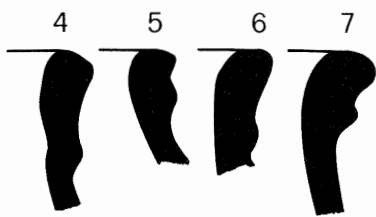
162



165



166

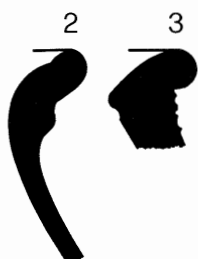


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
168.2	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
169.2	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	3	-	20.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	18	-	22.0	-
170.2	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	24.0	-
.3	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	10.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>13.1</sub> -S 4	6	-	13.6	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5	-	19.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	12.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	3,5	4007.2-5	9.0,12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	8.0,12.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	30.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	26.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7,17	-	16.0,30.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	3,10	-	10.0,12.0,16.0	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3,7	3031.1,4007.1-1	10.0,12.0,14.0,20.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	15.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	3	-	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	11	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	4	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	3,4,10	-	16.0,18.0,20.0	-
.7	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	5	-	17.0	-
.8	39/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	9	-	26.0	-
171.4	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	22.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	4000.5-1	14.0,16.0,28.0,32.0	-
.5	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-	12.0	-
.6	38/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	5	-	8.0	→ 1000.4
174.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10	-	15.0,22.0	-
	41/40-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	12.0	-
176.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	14.0,16.5,26.0	-
177.2	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11,18	-	14.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	15	4007.3-6	16.0	-
	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	11	-	15.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	17.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	10,18	4007.1-3	16.0,22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	4003.1-4	18.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,11	-	9.5,11.0	-
184.2	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
185.2	38/42-H <sub>2</sub> -R 03 (L 2)	11	3030.1	32.0	-
186.2	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	18	2034.1	12.0	-

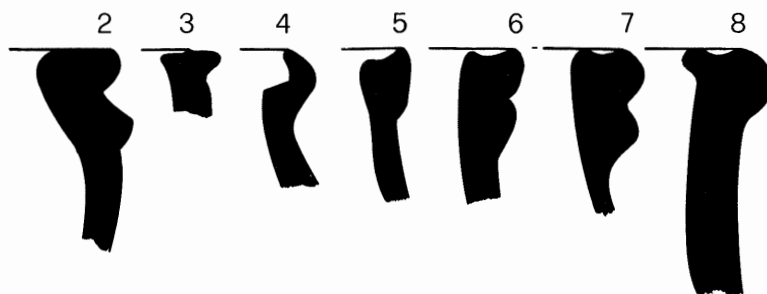
168



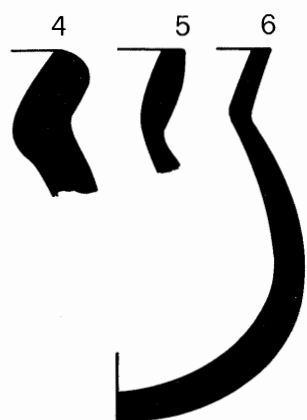
169



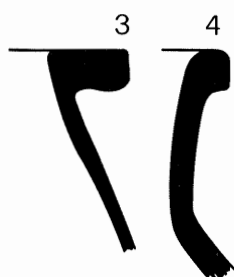
170



171



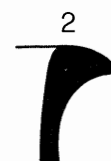
174



176



177



184



185



186

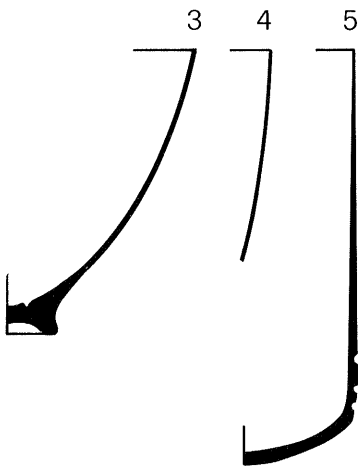


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
188.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1	-	9.0	-
189.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	4002.2-1	10.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11,13	4000.1-1	8.0,10.0	-
	50/45-H <sub>2</sub>	6	4002.5-2	10.0	→ 1063.2
.4	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7,11	4002.6-2	8.0	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	7,10,11,13,19	4002.1-1,4; .2-1,2;.3-1;.4-2; .5-2;.8-2,6;.9-6; 4007.3-2	8.0,9.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	6,8,11,19	4002.1-1,6; .2-1,2;.6-1,6; .8-1	7.5,8.0,9.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10,11,12	4002.1-1,2,3; .2-1,2; 4019.7	7.5,8.5,9.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	11	4002.2-1	8.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3,0,1</sub> -R 7	11,12	4002.2-1,4	6.0,8.0,10.0,12.0	-
	-L 4.2	11,12	4002.2-1	7.0,10.0,14.0	→ 1004.12
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12,13	4005.1-1,3	7.0,8.0	→ 1005.2
	H <sub>0</sub>	12	4026.5-1,4; .29-4;.30-4	8.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	6.0	→ 1000.7
190.3	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-	16.0	-
.4	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.5	9.0	→ 1006.11
191.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	2	-	16.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	24.0	-
192.2	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	15	-	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	6	-	10.0	-
196.5	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	6	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	13	-	10.0	-
.6	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	4004.1-1	12.0	-
.7	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	4019.10-1	7.0	-
.8	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	18	3003.14	22.0	-
.9	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	12	3003.16	14.0	-
.10	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	8	3003.17	12.0	-
199.2	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.20	9.0	-
.3	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	19	3003.10	9.0	-
	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	19	3003.2	16.0	-
204.2	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,13	-	9.0,10.0,16.0	→ 1020.1
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	8.0	→ 1038.2
207.2	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	13	-	22.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	13	-	19.0	-
208.4	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	3033.4	18.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	7	3033.1	3.7,30.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	28.0	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	2034.3	35.0	-
209.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-	26.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,6	2005.1,3033.1	14.0,44.0	-
.3	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	18.0	-

188



189



190



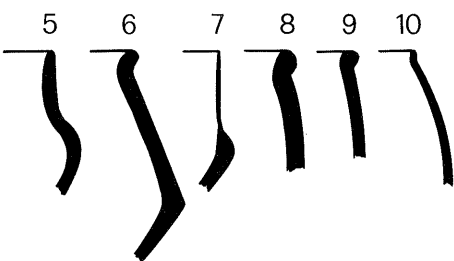
191



192



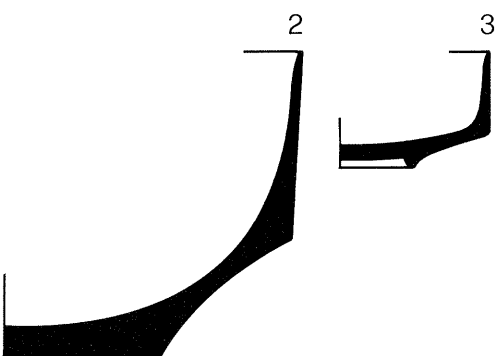
196



199



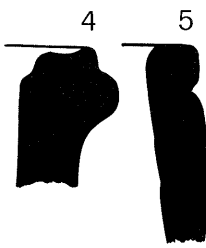
204



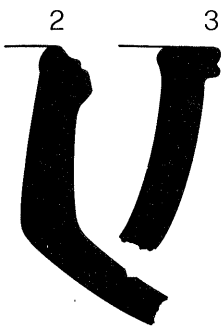
207



208



209



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
211.4	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	8	-	10.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	32.0	-
213.7	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	3006.6	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	9.0	-
.8	30/32-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.6	7.5	→ 1003.3
214.4	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	14.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	12	-	6.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	2	3045.1	10.0	-
219.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	12	4019.7-1	12.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	24.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	4006.5-1	22.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub>	7	-	-	-
222.2	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	17	3027.9	28.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	42.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	26.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	27.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	26.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	26.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
223.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	11	-	9.0	-
225.3	38/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	50.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	10	-	30.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	30.0,32.0	-
229.2	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	4	-	42.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
231.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	7	-	28.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	38.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	22.0,26.0,32.0,40.0,52.0,58.0,65.5	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	54.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	4013.1-1	8.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	32.0,36.0,40.0,50.0,52.0,64.0	-
234.4	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	14	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	14	-	16.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	27.0,32.0	-
235.7	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	40.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
.8	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	15.0,16.0,18.0,22.0	-
240.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	3	-	10.0	-
241.2	39/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	30.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	50.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	17	-	28.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	3,8,9,10	-	28.0,50.0,52.5,62.0	-

211



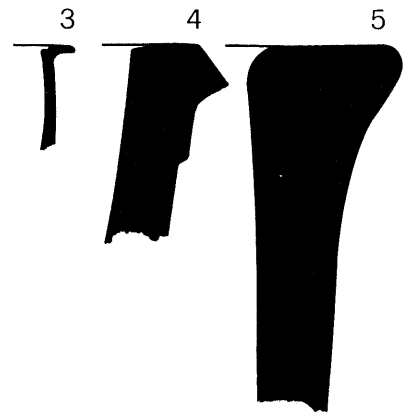
213



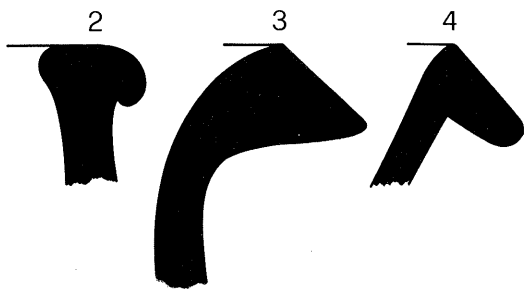
214



219



222



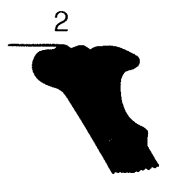
223



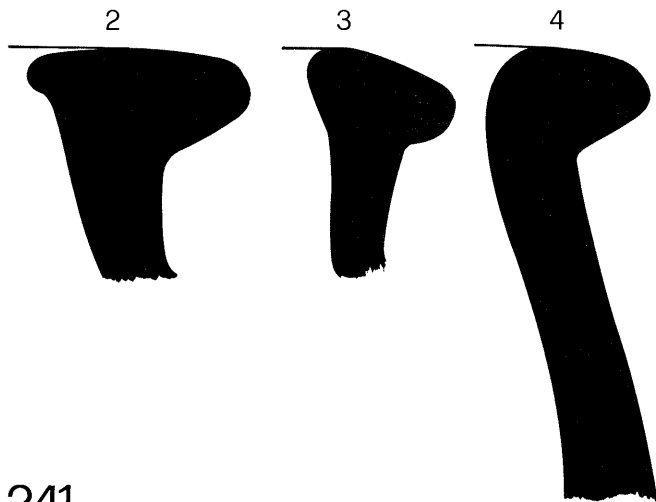
225



229



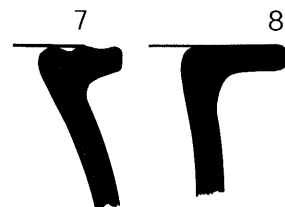
231



234



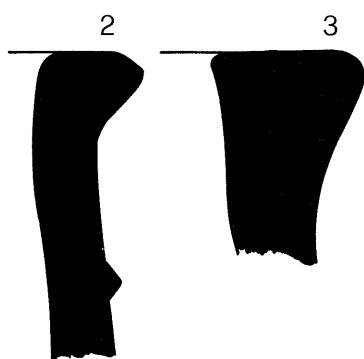
235



240



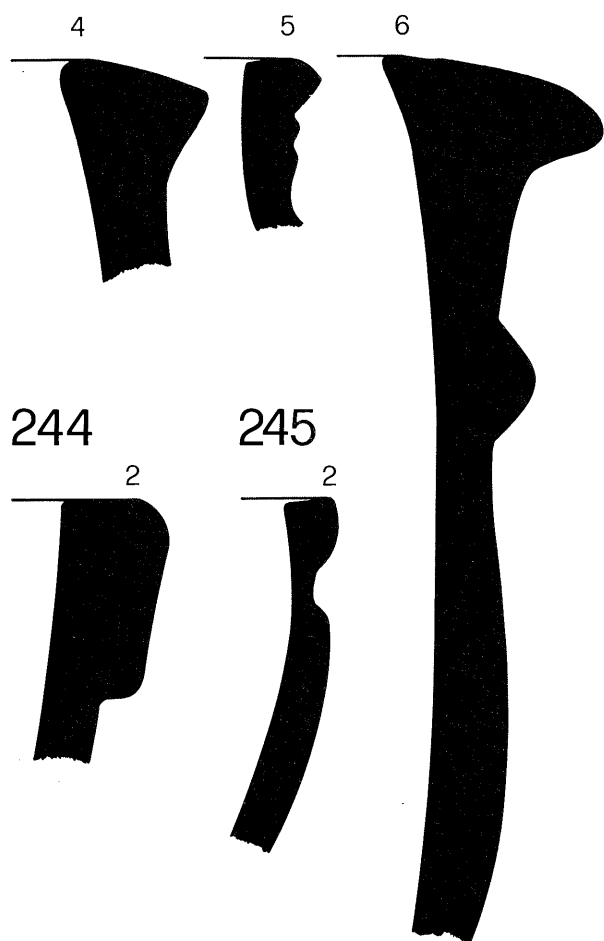
241



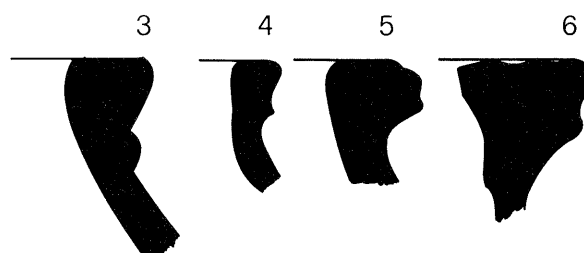
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
241.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	16.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	18	-	40.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
.5	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	34.0	-
.6	43/32-H <sub>0</sub>	10	3030.1	53.0	→ 1038.1
242.3	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	7	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	24.0	-
.4	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	4	-	10.0	-
.5	40/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	22.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	50.0	-
244.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	-	28.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	46.0	-
	-L 4.2	10	-	20.0,21.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10	-	16.0,42.0,44.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	56.0	-
245.2	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	14	-	30.0	-
248.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 1	11	-	16.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	3008.3	20.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 1	10	-	28.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,19	-	20.0,23.0,24.0,26.0	-
250.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	32.0	-
251.2	38/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	8	-	24.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	6	-	26.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	35.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
255.2	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	8	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
256.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	36.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
261.2	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	1	-	10.0	-
263.2	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7	-	22.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	28.0	-
264.2	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
.3	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
269.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	10	-	11.0	→ 1012.4



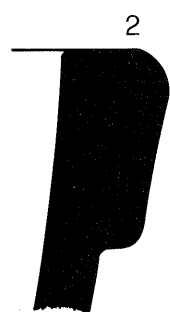
241



242



244



245



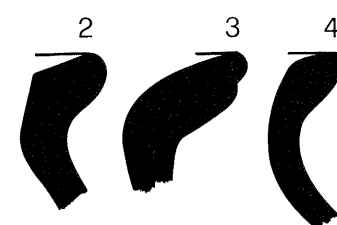
248



250



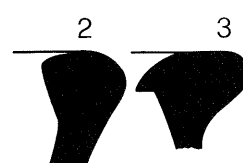
251



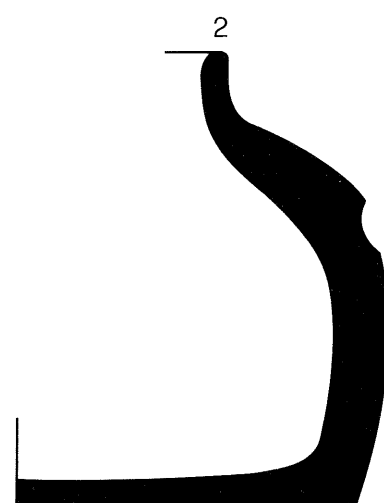
263



264



269



255



256

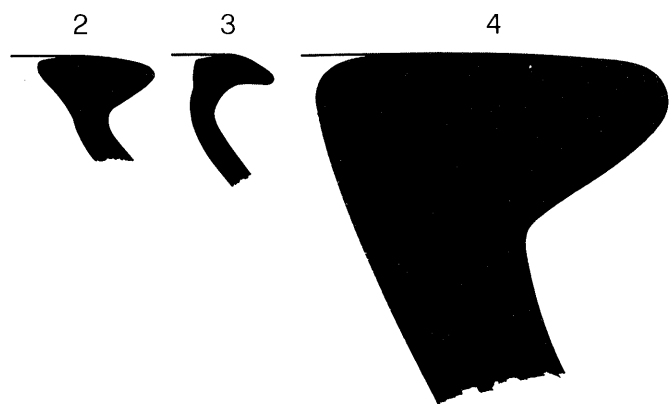


261

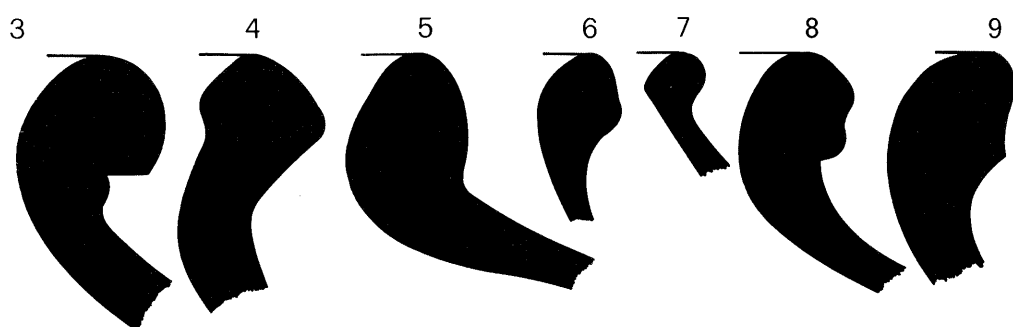


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
271.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,10,11,18	3027.7	16.0,18.0,22.0,24.0,34.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	24.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	28.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	1,11	-	28.0,36.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,11	-	14.0,16.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	16	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	35.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,15	4010.2-3	10.5,14.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	44.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10,11	-	28.0,46.0	-
277.3	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	28.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	7	-	40.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	7	-	34.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	36.0	-
.4	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5	-	38.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
.5	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,18	-	25.0,50.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	24.0	-
.6	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	24.0	-
.7	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	19	-	14.0	-
.8	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	24.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	26.0	-
279.2	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-	22.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	13.0	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	17	-	45.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	17	-	45.0	-
283.2	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	3014.3	8.0	-
287.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	7	-	28.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	7	-	36.0	-
294.2	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	7	-	10.0	-
.3	38/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	13.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	17	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	-	12.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	14.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	5	-	12.0	-

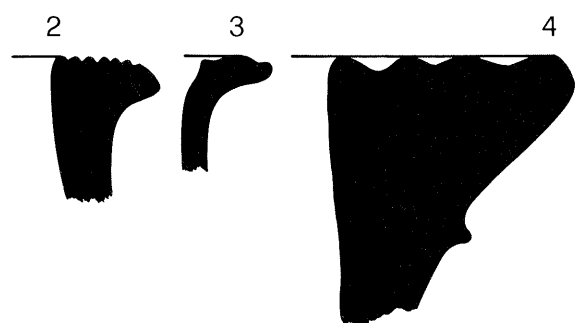
271



277



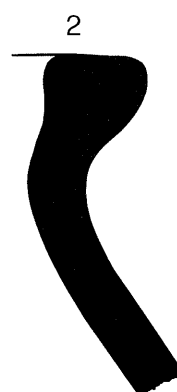
279



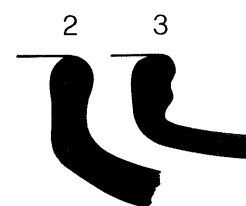
283



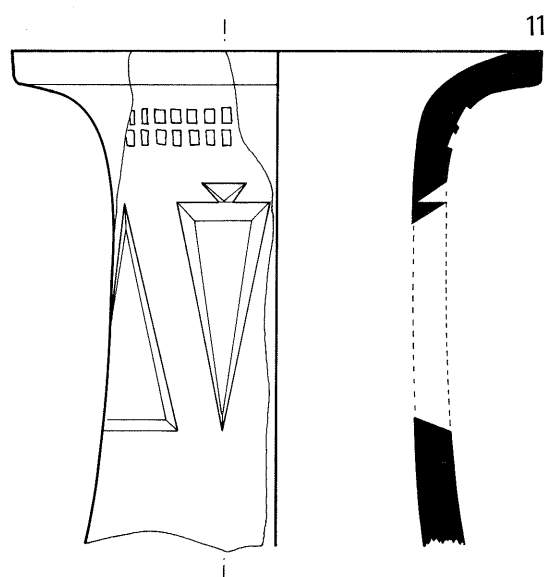
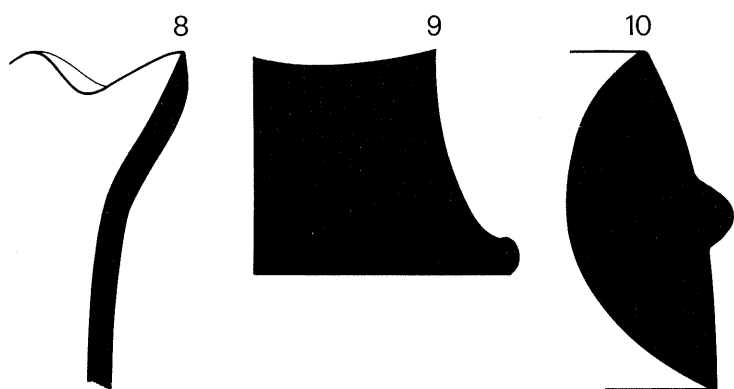
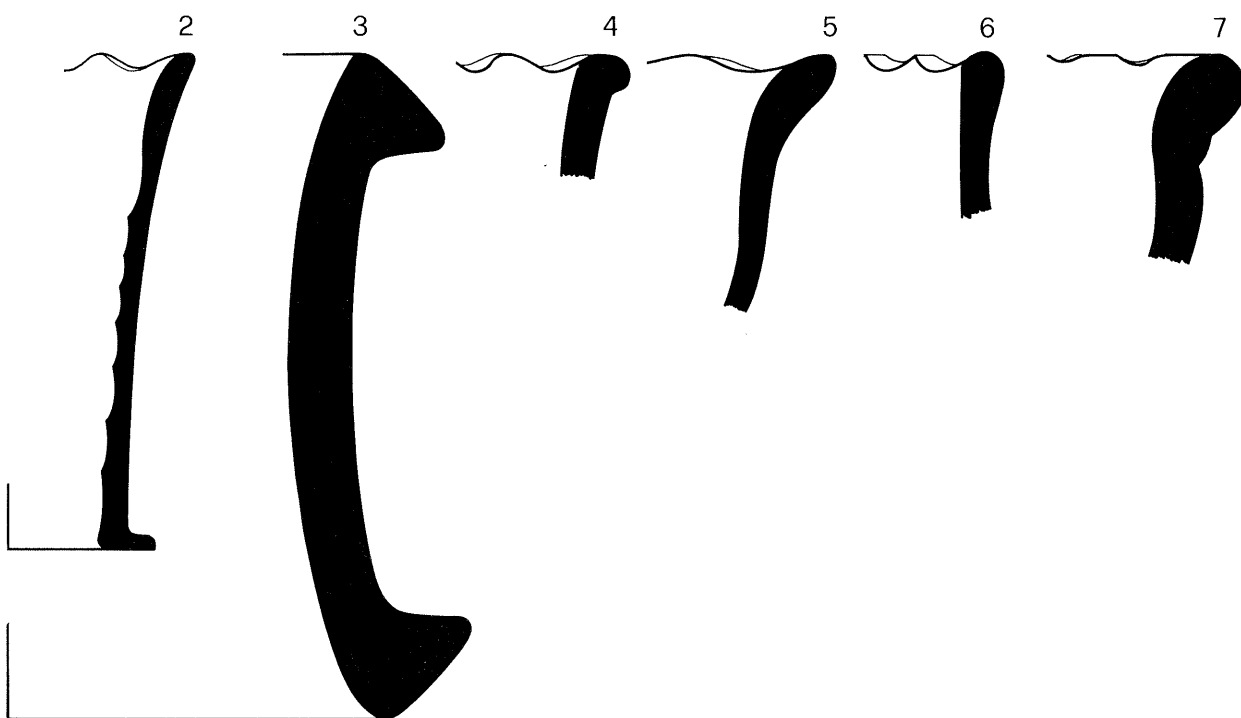
287



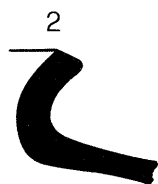
294



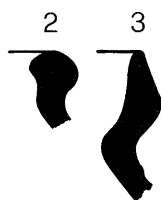
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
295.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	10.0	→ 1026.2
.3	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	20.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0	→ 1091.1
.4	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	3037.1	12.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	3037.1	14.0,16.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	3037.4	13.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> - R 108	10	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	3037.3	12.0,14.0,18.0,20.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	3037.3	12.0	-
.7	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	3037.5	15.0	-
.8	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	3037.6	16.0	-
.9	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> - R 9	10	5009.1-1	24.0	-
.11	35/37-H <sub>0</sub>	10	-	14.0	-
297.2	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	18.0	-
300.2	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	11	-	14.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	14	-	12.0	-
301.2	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	22.0	-



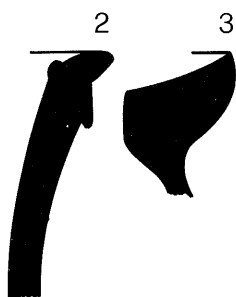
297



300

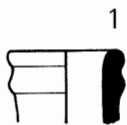


301



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
302.1	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	3.0	-
303.1	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,10	3042.2	16.0,18.0	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	-	18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	9	-	14.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub>	17	-	15.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9	-	20.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	9,10	3042.1	8.0,10.0,13.0,18.0,20.0,24.0	-
	-H <sub>13.1</sub> -S 4	9	3042.5	20.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub>	9	-	20.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,9,10	-	18.0,20.0,22.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -S 2	7	-	18.0,20.0	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	11	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	9	-	18.0	-
.2	20/23-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	17	-	12.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9	-	10.0	-
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	17.0	-
304.1	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	7	-	38.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	18.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	30.0	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	48.0	-
305.1	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>7</sub>	11	-	10.0	-
306.1	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	7000.1-0	26.0	-
.2	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	1	-	22.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>13.1</sub> (G hp 2.1)	1	-	22.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	1	4013.1-5	16.0	-
307.1	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	20.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	50.0	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	7	-	30.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	35.0,42.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7,8,9	-	28.0,36.0,38.0,46.0	-
.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	28.0	-

302



303



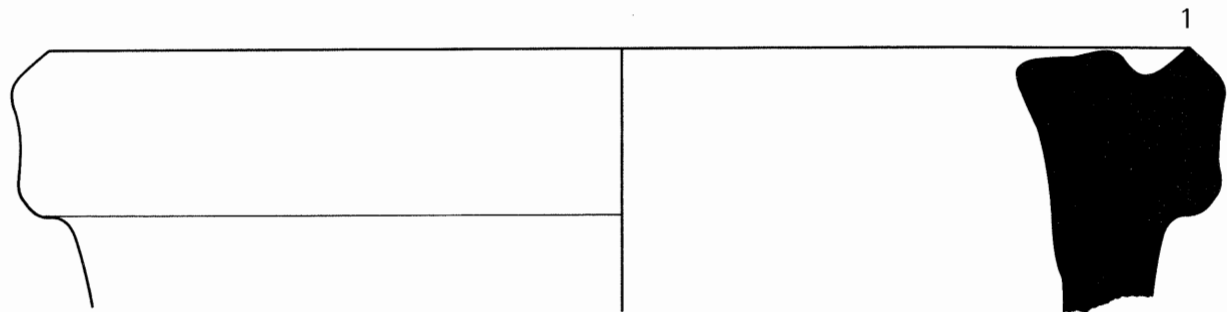
2



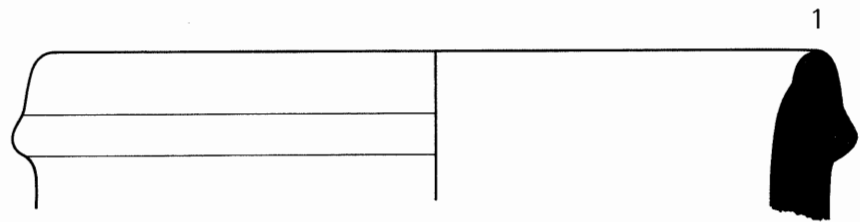
3



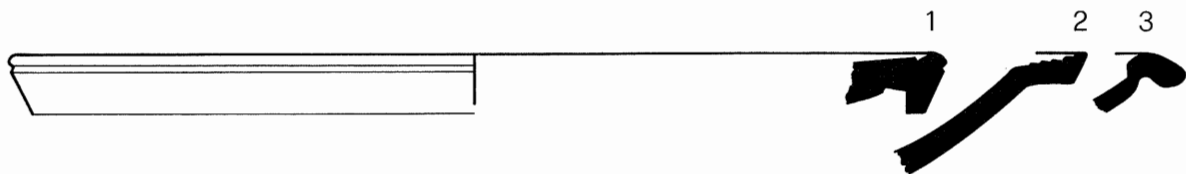
304



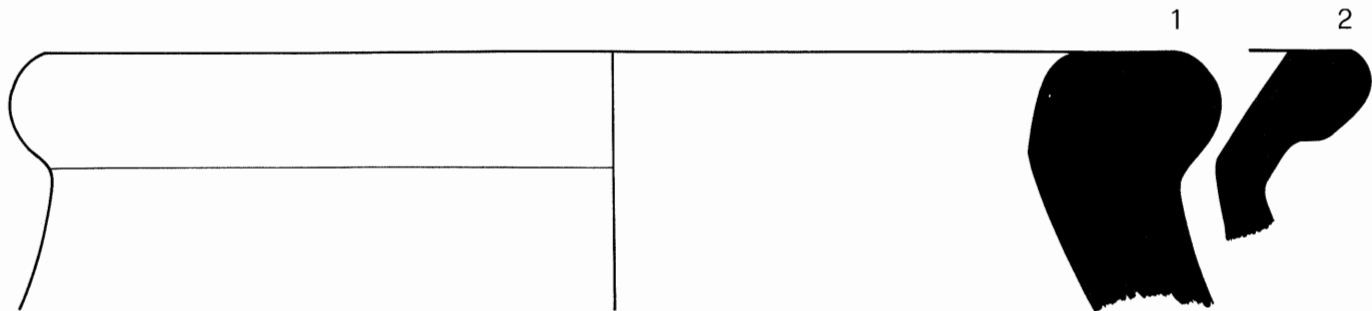
305



306



307

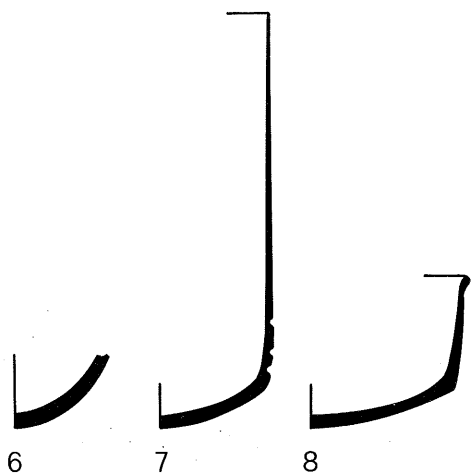


## 8.2 BOEDEN

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1000.6	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	-	-
	20/24-L 4.2	12	-	-	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>3.1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	-	→ 189.5
.8	30/32-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.7	-	→ 191.2
1002.2	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 2	8	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	13	-	-	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	15	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	13	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	2,12	-	-	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	-	-
1003.2	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	8	-	-	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5	-	-	-
.3	30/32-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.6	-	→ 213.8
1004.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	-	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	12,16,19	-	-	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	-	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	12	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,19	-	-	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>3.1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	6	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	18	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12	-	-	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	-	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	-	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	12	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	4,11,12	-	-	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	-	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12	-	-	-
.10	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.11	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12	-	-	-
.12	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	15	-	-	-
	-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	12	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	5	-	-	-
	20/24-L 4.2	12	-	-	→ 189.4
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,18	-	-	-
.13	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.14	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	-	-
.15	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
.16	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	13	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	-	-
.17	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11,12	-	-	-



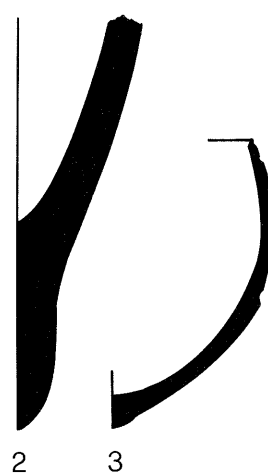
1000



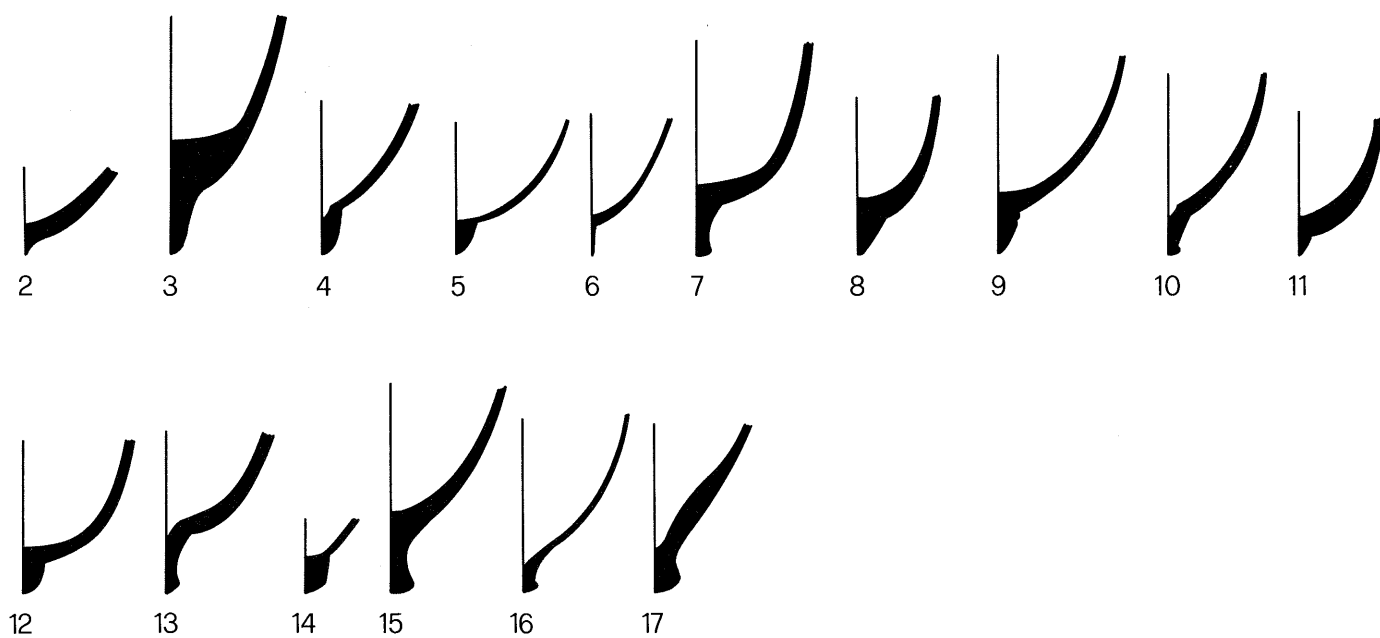
1002



1003

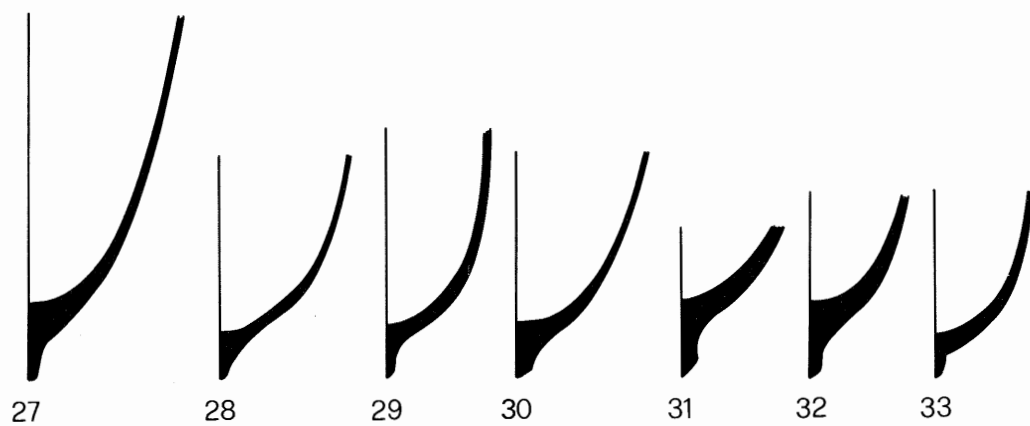
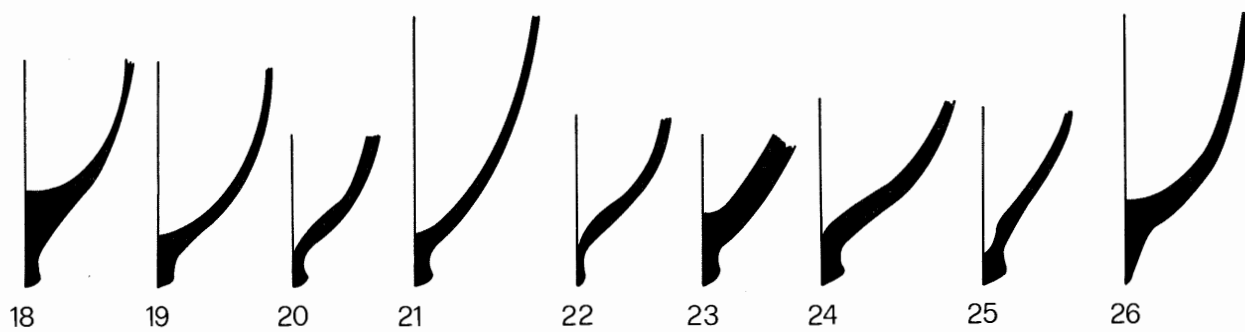


1004



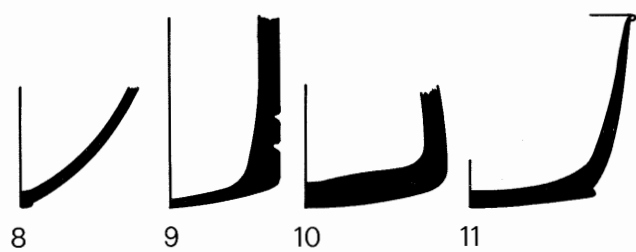
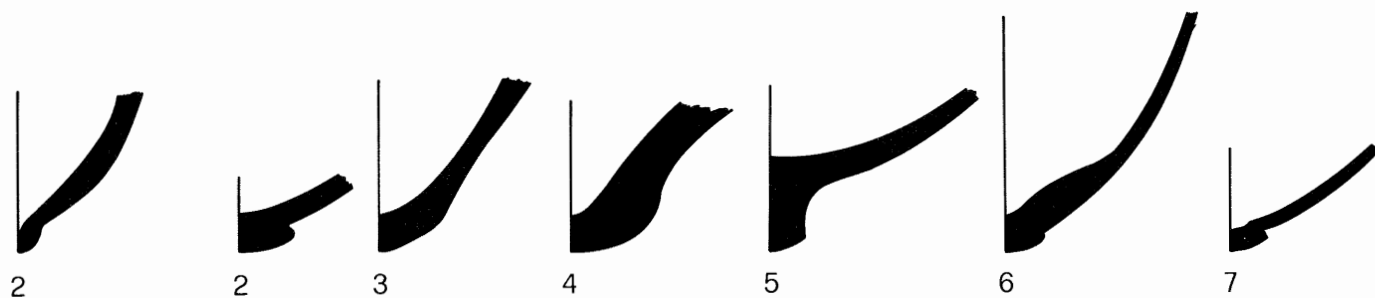
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1004.18	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	8	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11,18	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11	4022.2-2	-	-
.19	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11	-	-	-
.20	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,12	-	-	-
.21	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	12	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	-	-
.22	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	-	-
.23	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
.24	20/23-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	-	-
.25	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
.26	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12	-	-	-
.27	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,10,11,12	-	-	-
.28	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,12	-	-	-
.29	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,12	-	-	-
.30	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,8,11,12	-	-	-
.31	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11	-	-	-
.32	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11,12	-	-	-
.33	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11,12	-	-	-
1005.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	→ 189.4
1006.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,18	-	[1.5,5.0]	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	[2.0]	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	6	-	[1.5]	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	11	-	[1.5]	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	18	-	[1.0]	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	[1.0]	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-	[1.0]	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	[4.5]	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	[3.0]	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	[2.5]	-
	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	-	[2.5]	-
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-	[5.5]	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	8	-	[4.0]	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	9	-	[5.5]	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	[4.0]	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5	-	[4.0]	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	[4.0]	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	[2.0]	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	2	-	[2.0]	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	11	-	[1.5]	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	[2.0]	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	[2.0]	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	[1.0]	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11,12,13	-	[1.3,1.5]	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	5	-	[0.5]	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	[0.5]	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 110	11	-	[1.0]	-
	41/39-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	[1.7]	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	12	-	[0.5]	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	18	-	[0.5]	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	3	-	[5.5]	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	[8.0]	-
.11	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.5	[7.0]	→ 190.4

1004



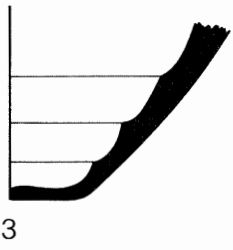
1005

1006



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1008.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	4.0	-
1009.2	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	8	-	-	-
1011.4	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9,10	3031.3	10.0,14.0,45.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	9	-	16.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	22.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	3,7	-	6.5,9.0	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	5.5	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	3	-	2.5	-
.6	39/42-S 3	3	-	4.5	→ 96.4 handgemacht
.7	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	7.0	→ 139.4 handgemacht
1012.4	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	10	-	18.0	→ 269.2
1014.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	4.0	-
1015.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	3.5	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	12	-	1.5	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	5	-	1.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11,13	-	1.8,2.0,2.5	-
1016.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	18	-	1.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	0.5,1.0	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	5,11	-	1.0,1.3,2.2	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	13	-	1.2	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,11,12	-	1.0,1.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11,13	-	1.5,2.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	1.0	-
.6	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11,13	-	0.8	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6,10,11	-	0.6	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	12	-	0.8	-
1017.2	20/24-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 7	11	-	2.5	-
	-L 4.2	12	4026.27-2	3.5	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,11	-	2.0,3.0	-
.3	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	4.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	19	-	3.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5	-	1.5	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	2.5	-
	-H <sub>3,1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	8	-	1.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	12	-	2.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	11	-	3.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.7	-
1018.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.0	-
.3	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	2.5	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.5	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	2.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-	2.0	-
.6	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	11	4001.2-3	3.8	-
1019.3	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	2.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-	2.4	-

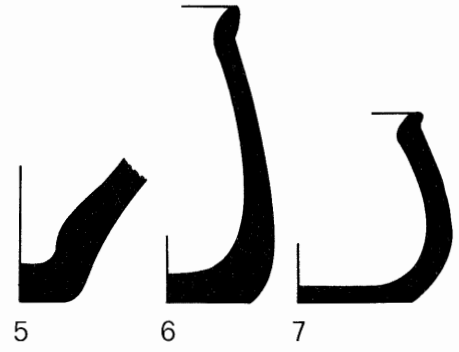
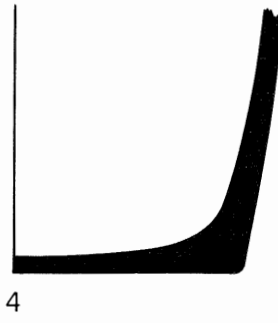
1008



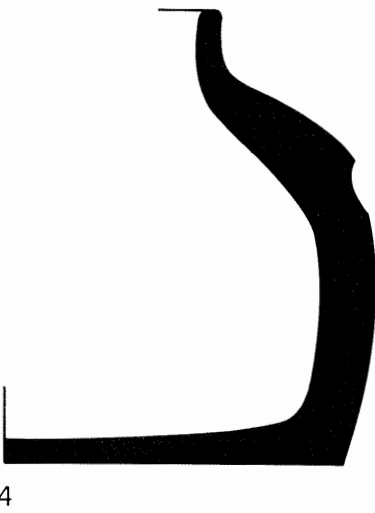
1009



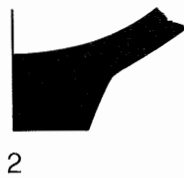
1011



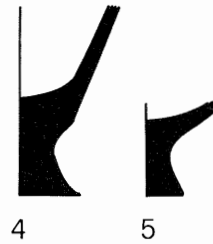
1012



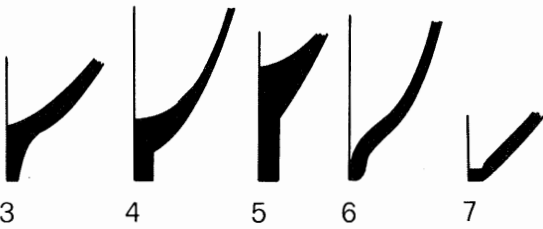
1014



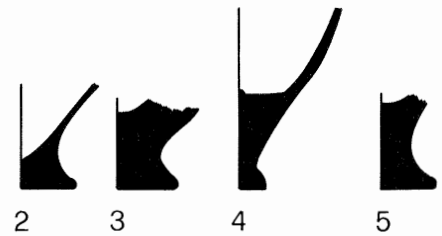
1015



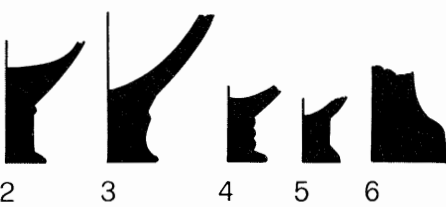
1016



1017



1018

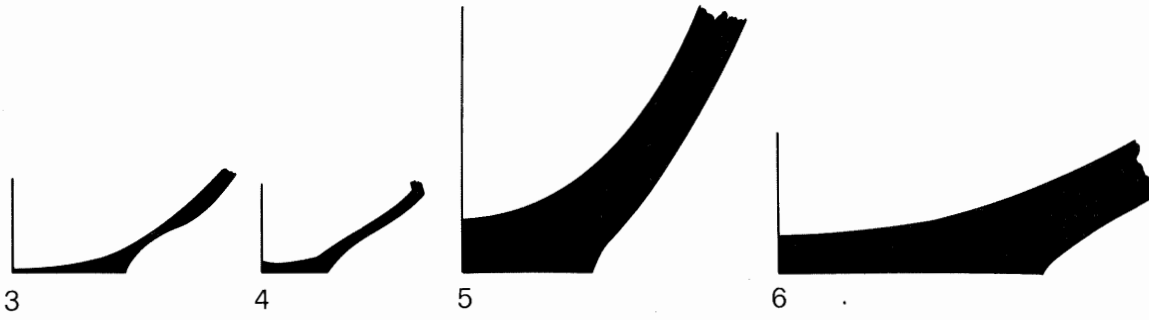


1019



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1020.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,6,10,11,12, 15,19	-	3.5,3.7,3.8,4.0,4.5,5.0,5.8, 6.0,8.0,8.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10,11	-	5.0,6.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,6,10,11,12, 15,19	-	3.5,3.7,4.0,4.5,4.7,5.0,5.5, 6.0,8.0,9.0,10.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,6,10,11	-	7.0,8.0,10.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	9.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	6.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	5	-	4.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	10.0,11.0	-
	-L 4.2	10	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,10,11	-	10.5,14.0	-
1025.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5,8,11	-	2.0,4.0	-
.3	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	12	-	2.0	-
1027.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	2.5	-
1028.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	3.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	-	8.0,10.0,12.0	-
1029.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	6	-	22.0	-
1030.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	2.0,4.0,9.0	-
.6	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	3003.4	5.0	→ 68.6
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11,12	-	2.0,2.3,4.0	-
.7	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	3.0	-
.8	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	12	-	2.2,6.0	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	7	-	9.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	10.0	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	5.5,6.0,7.0,8.0	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	3.0	-
1032.2	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	8.0	-
1033.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	8.0	-
.4	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	5.5	→ 51.54
1037.2	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	12	3055.1,7000.1-5	3.0	-
1038.5	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	8.0	-
	-L 4.2	10,11	-	12.0,13.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10,11	-	6.0,8.5,10.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-	8.0,9.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	11	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	10.0,14.0	-
	-L 4.2	10	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	3,5,8,10,11,19	-	5.5,6.0,7.0,8.0,8.5,9.0,9.2, 10.0,12.0,12.5	-
	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	8.0,10.0	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub> -R 1	10	-	9.5	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	10	-	10.0	-
	20/24-L 4.2	11	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11,19	-	8.0,8.5,9.0,10.0,11.0,12.0,14.0	-
.8	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	10.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10,11	-	6.0,8.0,9.0,11.0,12.5	-

1020

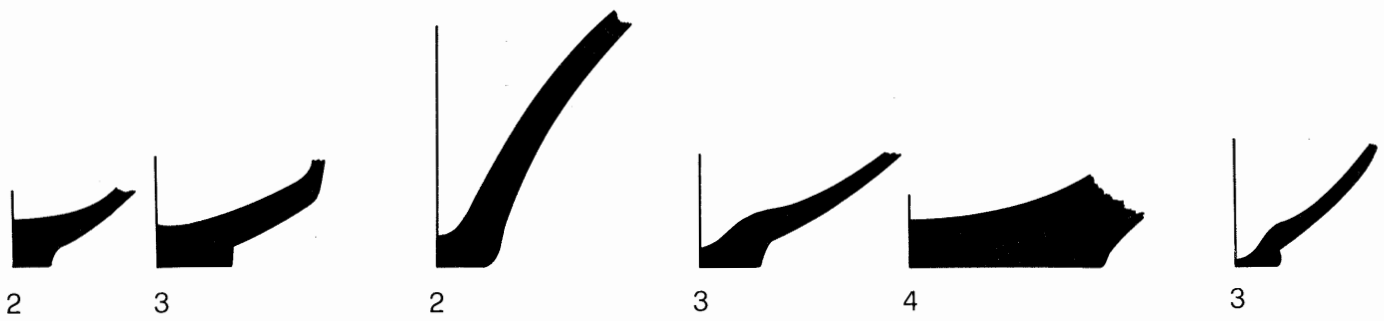


1025

1027

1028

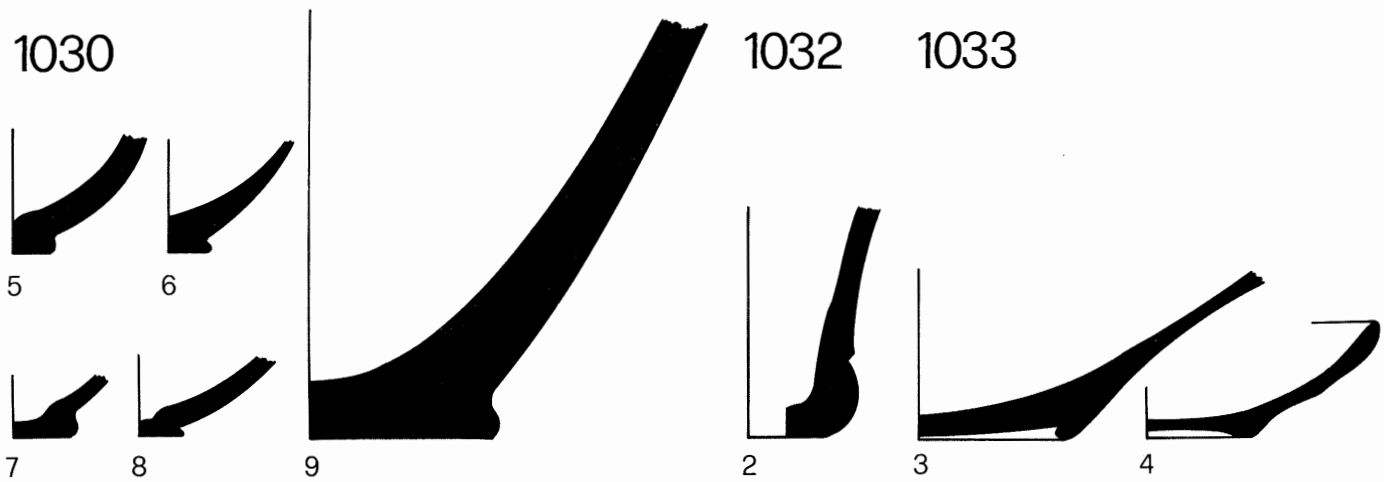
1029



1030

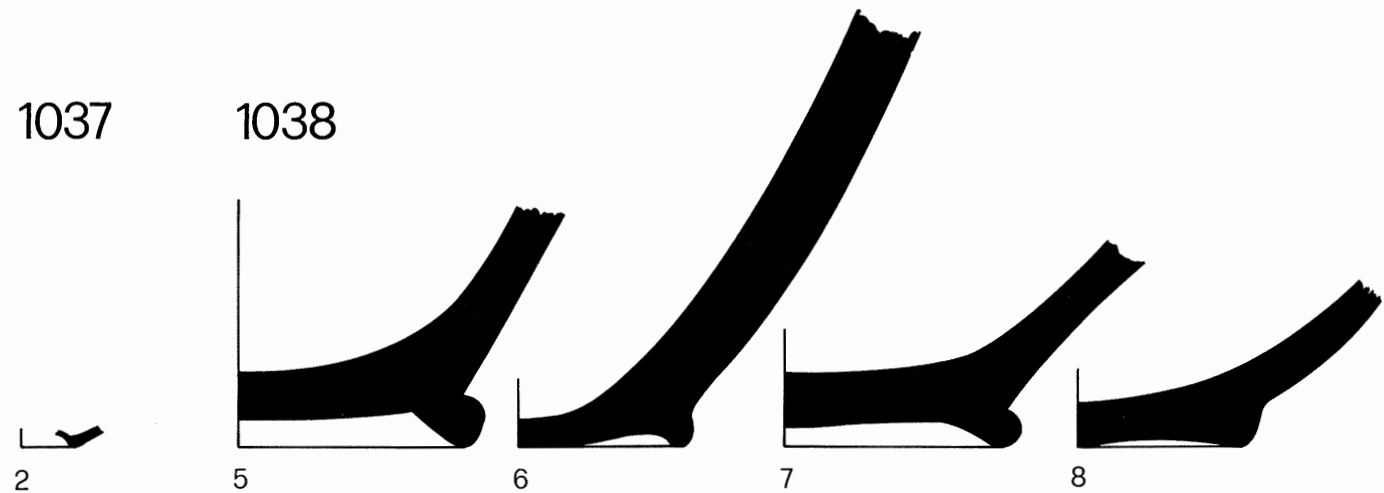
1032

1033



1037

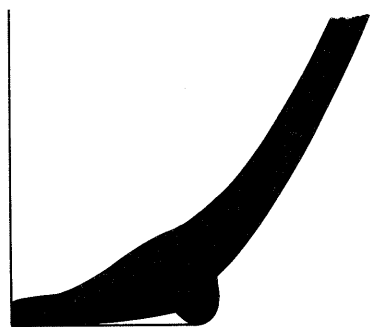
1038



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1038.9	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	8.0,10.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-	8.0,10.0,12.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	8.0,8.5,9.0,10.0,11.5	-
.10	20/24-L 4.2	10	-	8.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10,11	-	9.0,10.0,11.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	7.5,8.0,8.5,9.5,10.0,11.0	-
1041.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	4.0,5.5,6.0,8.0,8.5,9.0,10.0	-
1043.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	9.0	-
1045.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	8.0	-
1046.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	8.0	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	4.5	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,11	-	6.0,8.0	-
1047.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10,11	-	6.0,9.0,10.5	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7	-	7.5	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-	16.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10,11	-	11.0,12.0,16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	7.0,8.0,9.0,10.0,12.0,13.0,13.5	-
1051.3	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	15	-	5.5	-
.4	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	10.0,14.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	6.0,8.0,8.5,9.0,10.0,12.0,12.5,13.0,16.0	-
1052.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	9.0,10.0	→ 51.12, .18
1053.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.0	-
1059.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11	-	9.0,10.0,12.0	-
.4	38/42-H <sub>1</sub>	1	7000.1-0	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-	10.0	-
1061.2	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	4012.2-5	8.0	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	6.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8,10	-	6.0,18.0	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10,11,18	✓	8.0,8.5,10.0	-
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	9.0,10.0	-
1062.2	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	2	4012.1-1	7.0	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	4012.2-1,5	8.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1,2,11	4012.1-1, .2-1	7.0,8.0,10.0	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	-	4.0,7.0	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1,10	-	7.0,10.0	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,10	4012.2.-5	6.5,7.0,8.0,9.0	-
	-H <sub>13,1</sub> -S 4	13	-	7.0	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	2,11	4012.1-2	9.0	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	8	-	5.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -S 5	1	-	8.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	19	-	6.0	-

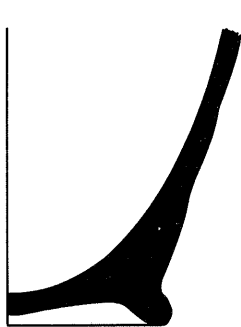


1038



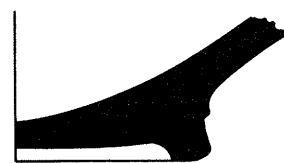
9

1041



10

1043



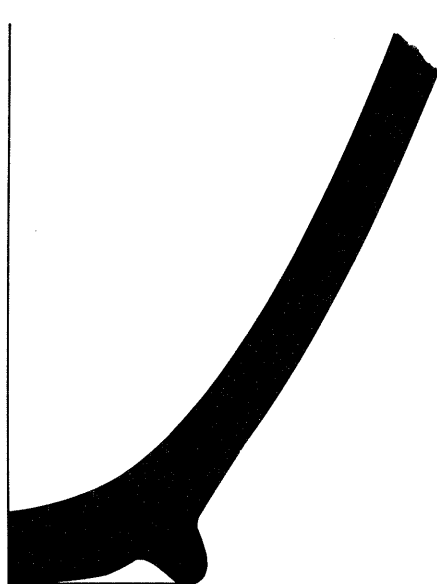
2

1045



2

1047



2

1051

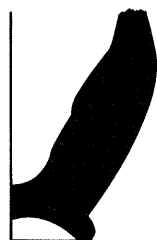


3



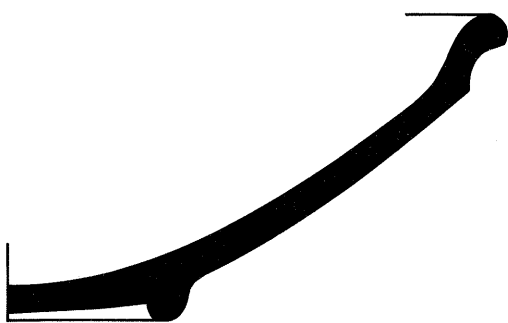
4

1046



2

1052



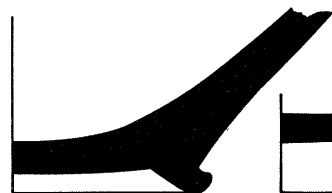
2

1053

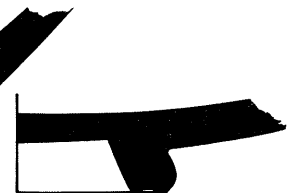


3

1059



3

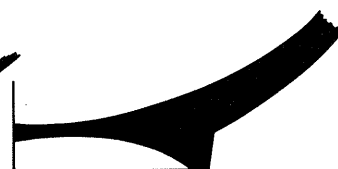


4

1061



2



3

1062



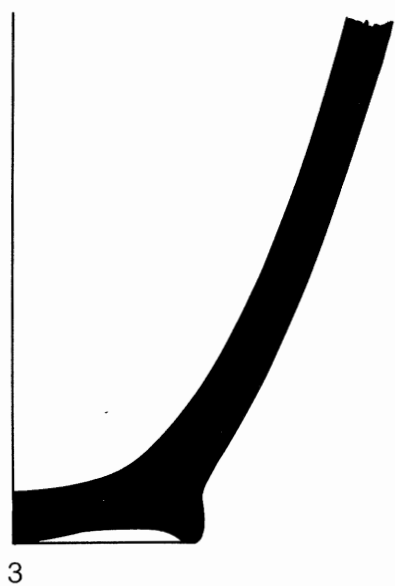
2

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1063.2	50/45-H <sub>2</sub>	6	4002.5-2	2.4	→ 189.3
.3	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	8.0,10.0	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	10	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	1,8,10,11	-	8.0,8.5,9.0,10.0	-
1068.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10	-	8.0,10.0	-
1072.2	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	5	-	10.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub>	11	-	6.0	-
1076.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8,10	-	8.0,9.0,10.0,11.0	-
1077.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9,10	-	9.0,11.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	10	-	18.0	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	16.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10,11	-	6.0,7.0,8.0,8.5,9.0,9.5,10.0,11.0,12.0	-
1078.2	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	7.0	-
	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> : S 8+10	12	-	3.5	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	11	-	6.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	4.0	-
1079.2	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -S 5	10	-	10.0	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	10	-	12.0	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	1	-	10.6	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	10.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5	-	14.0	-
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	4027.1-2	8.5,10.5,12.0,16.0	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	6.0	-
1084.2	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	11	-	4.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	3.0	-
1085.2	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	6.0	-
1086.2	40/43-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	-	3.5	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	7.0	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 6	11	-	8.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	7.0	-

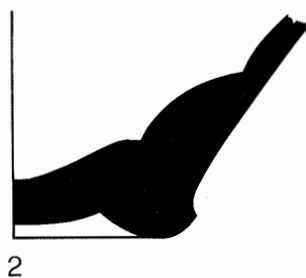
1063



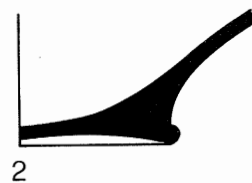
1068



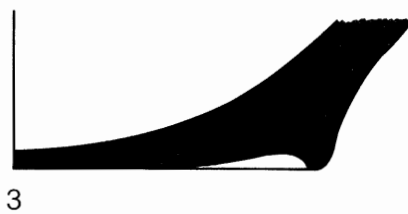
1072



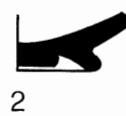
1076



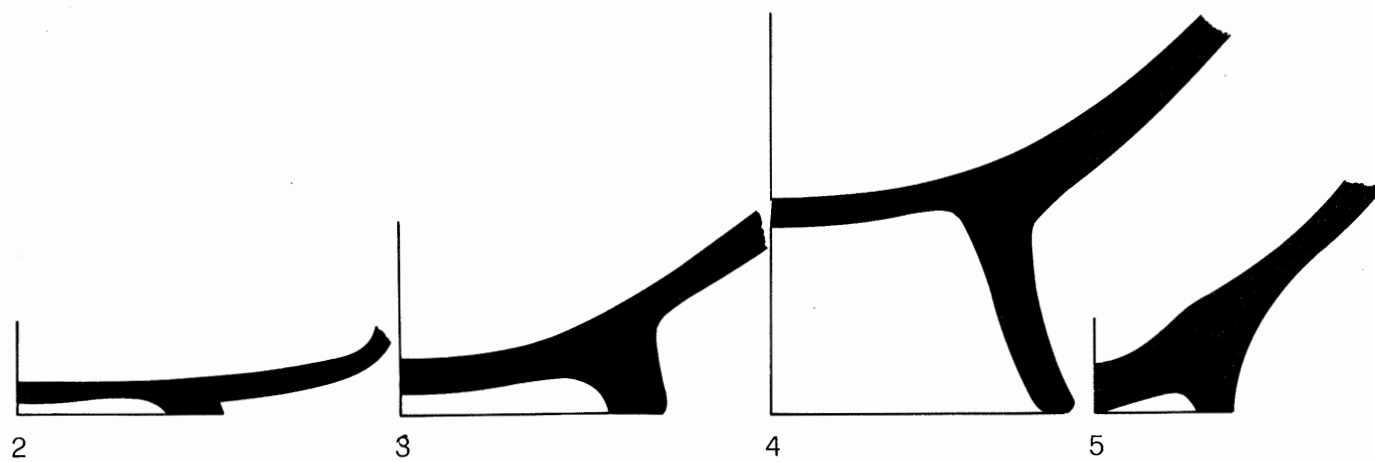
1077



1078



1079



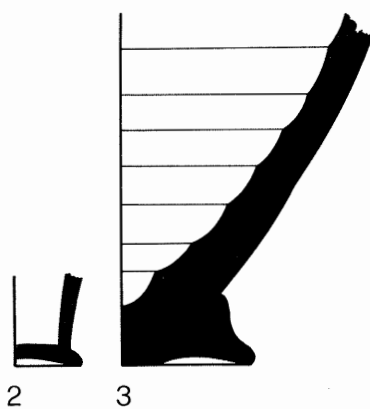
1084



1085

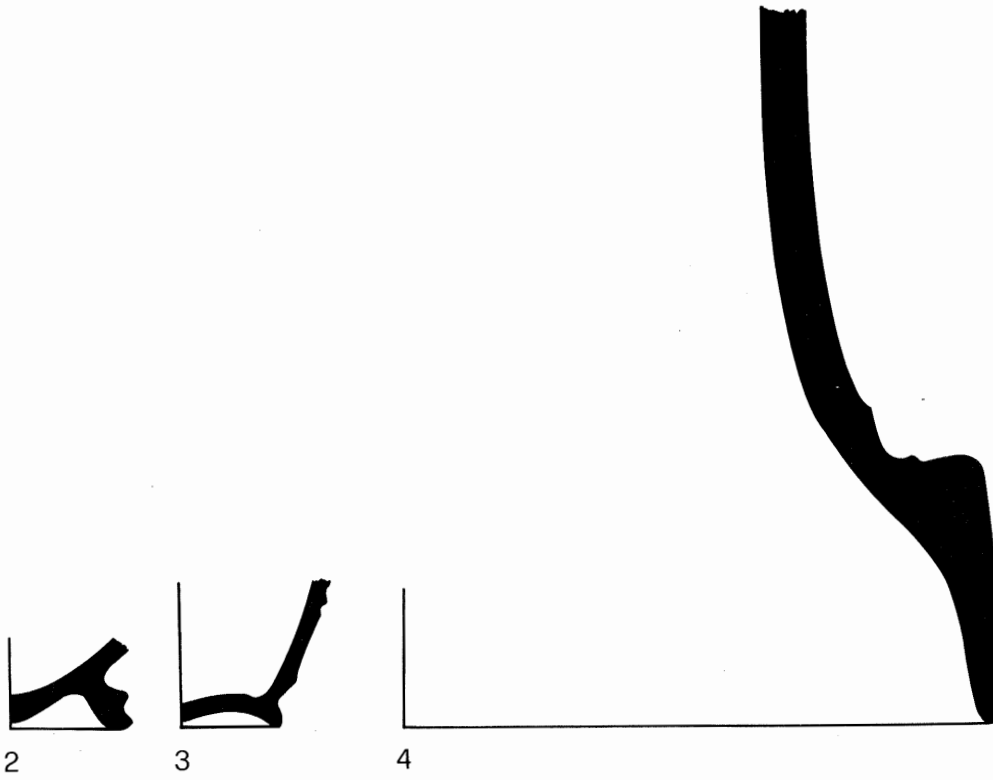


1086

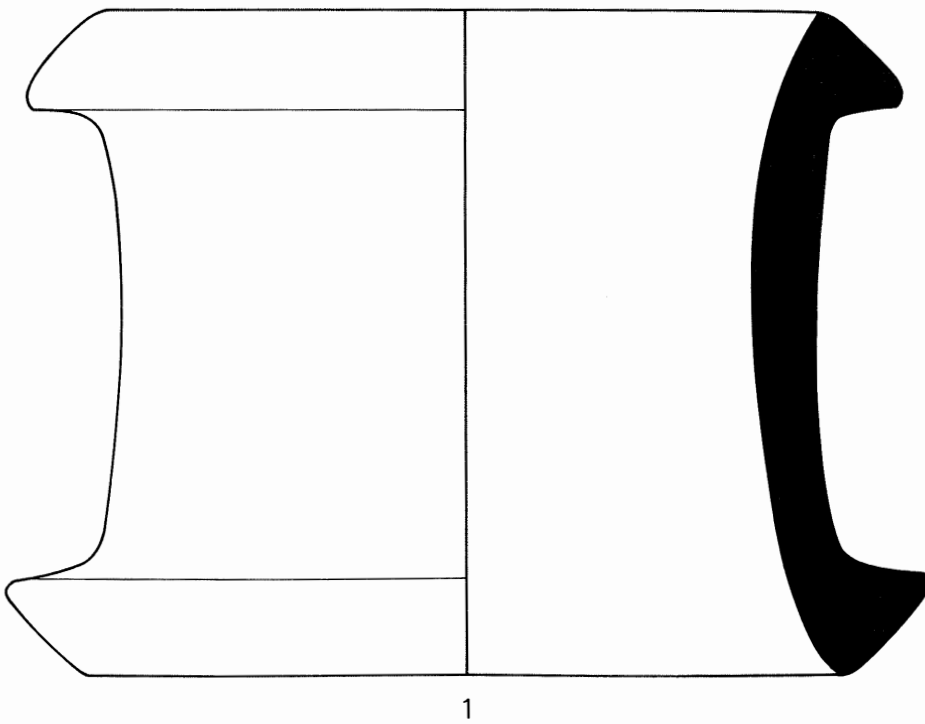


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
1090.2	39/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	6.0	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	2	-	5.5	-
.4	20/24-L 4.1	10	-	31.0	-
1091.1	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7	-	24.0	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	20.0	→ 295.3
1092.1	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	2.5	-

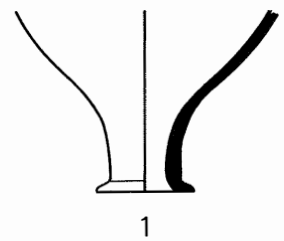
1090



1091



1092

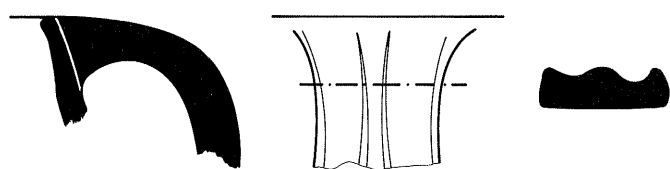


## 8.3 HENKEL

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
2003.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	4	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	3	-	-	→ 103.4
2005.2	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	5	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	-	-
2008.2	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	3	-	-	→ 130.1
.3	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	9	-	-	→ 129.1
2009.4	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9	-	-	-
.5	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	19	-	-	-

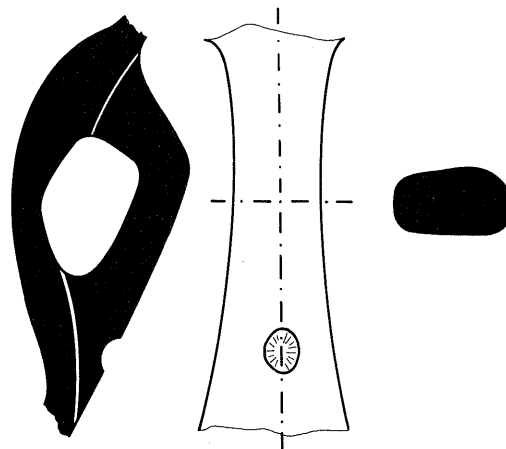
2003

3



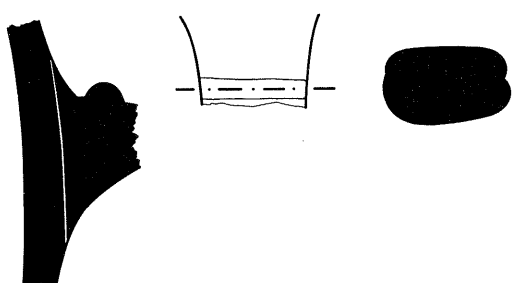
2005

2

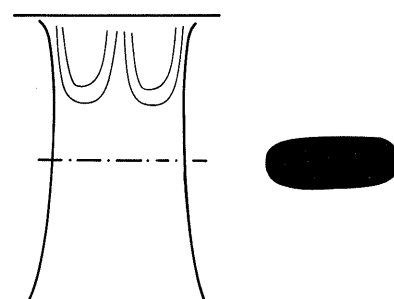
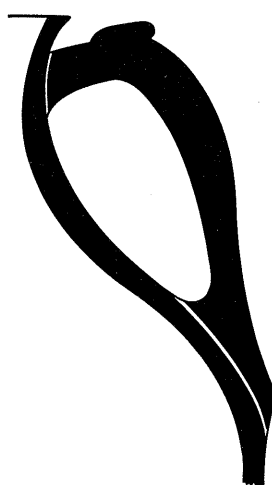


2008

2

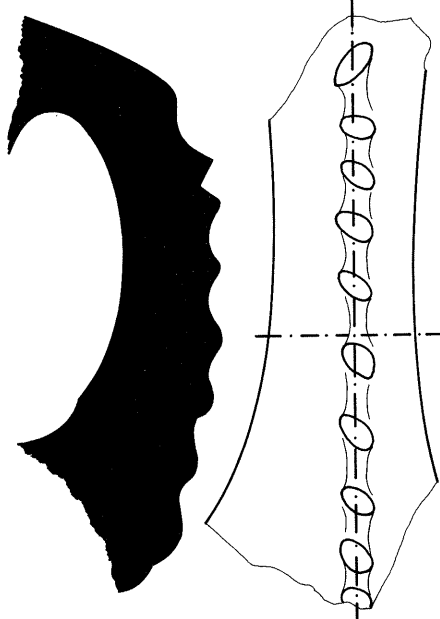


3

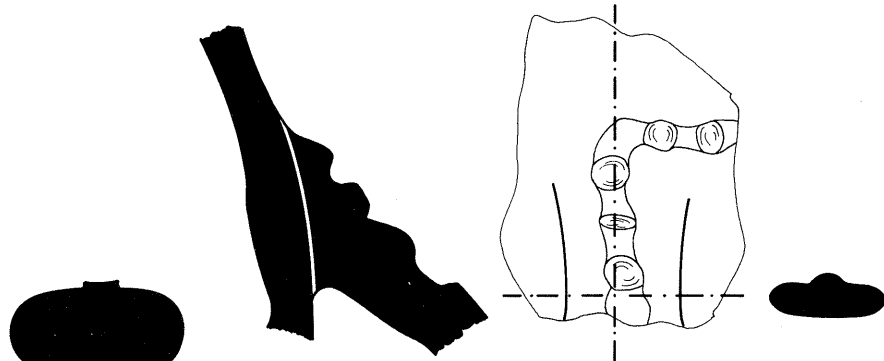


2009

4



5

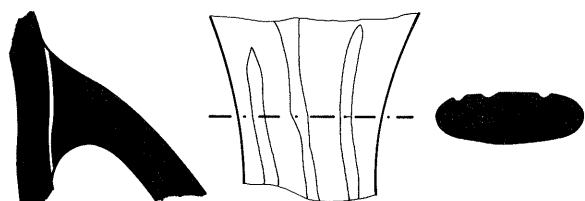


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
2011.3	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	-	-
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7,18	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	-	-
2015.5	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	-	-
2017.4	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	-	-
2019.2	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9,18	-	-	-
2024.5	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	18	-	-	-
2025.1	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2	10	-	-	-
.2	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	-	-



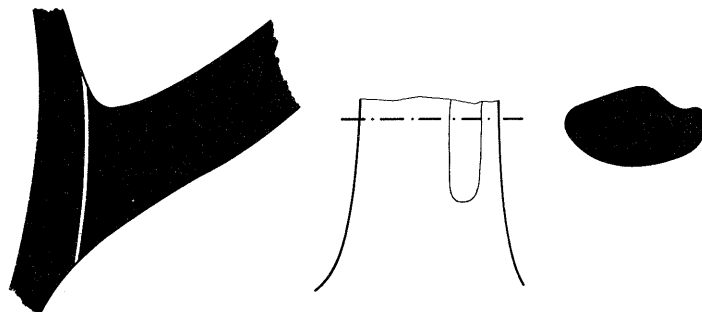
2011

3



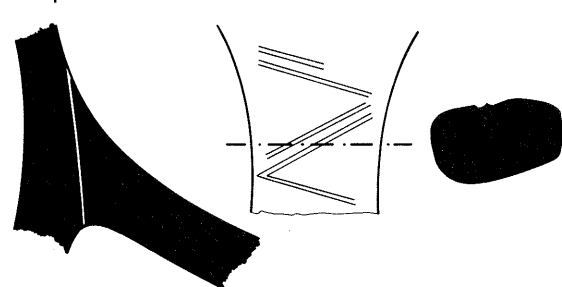
2015

5



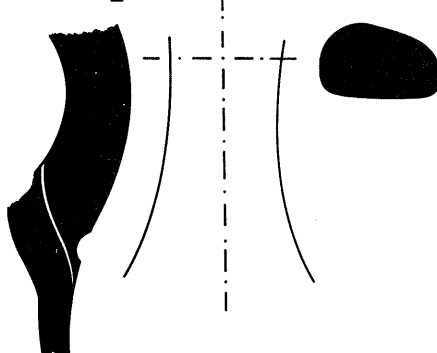
2017

4



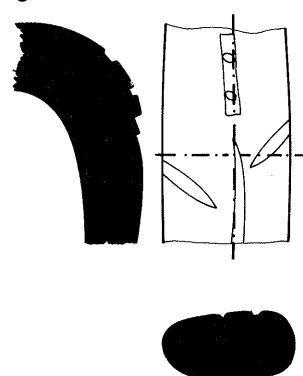
2019

2



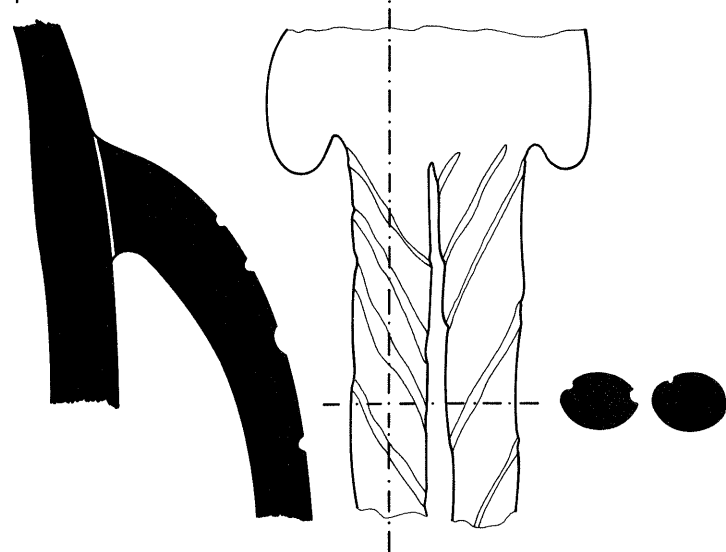
2024

5

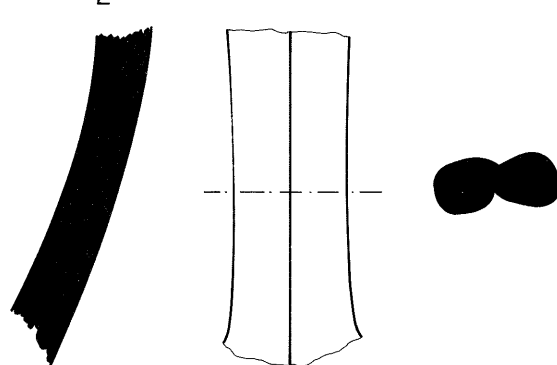


2025

1

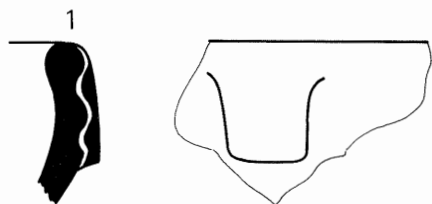


2

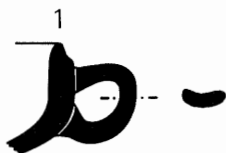


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
2026.1	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	8	-	-	→ 84.1
2027.1	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	6	4010.1-1	-	→ 69.7
2028.1	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	4	-	-	→ 70.2
2029.1	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	14	-	-	→ 70.1
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	-	-
2030.1	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 2	7	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	6	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	18	-	-	-
2031.1	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	18	-	-	→ 135.3
2032.1	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	9	-	-	-
2033.1	39/43-H <sub>13,1</sub> (G hp 2.1)	2	-	-	→ 136.7

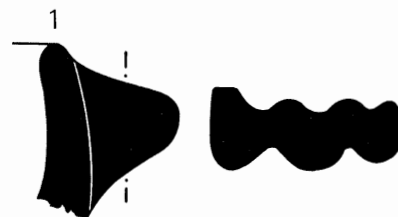
2026



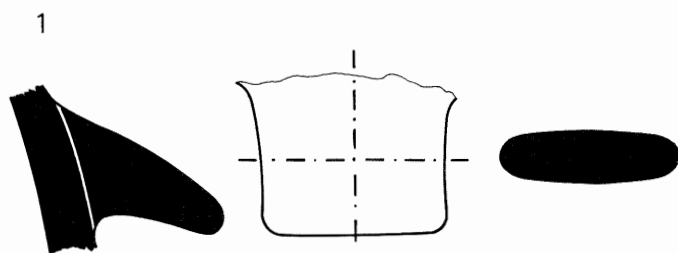
2027



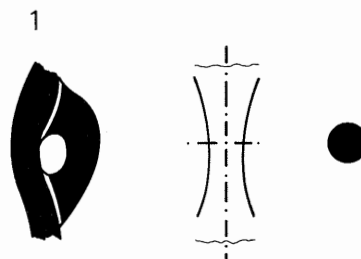
2028



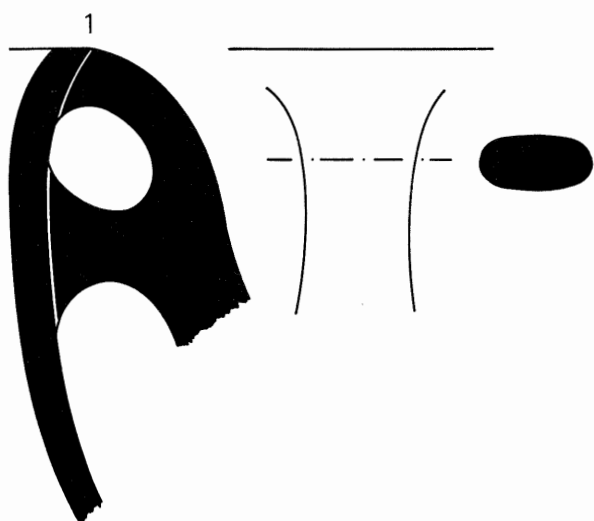
2029



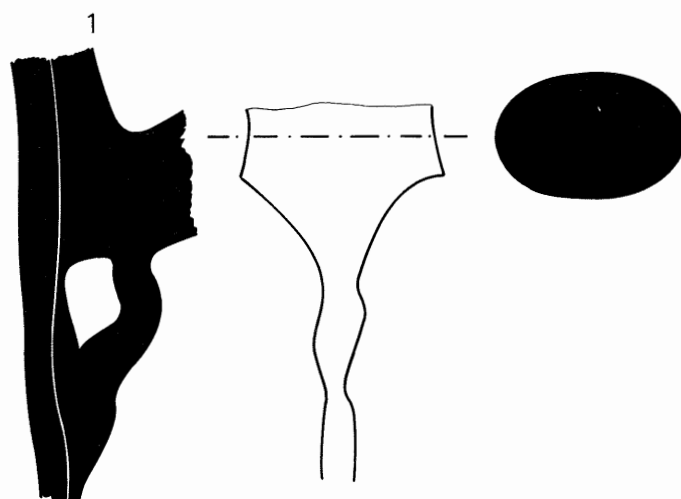
2030



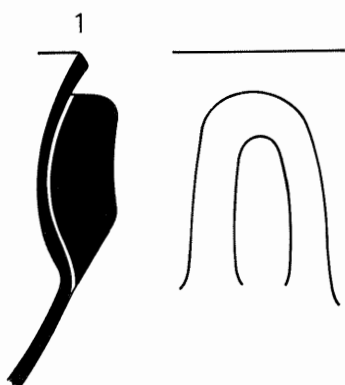
2031



2032

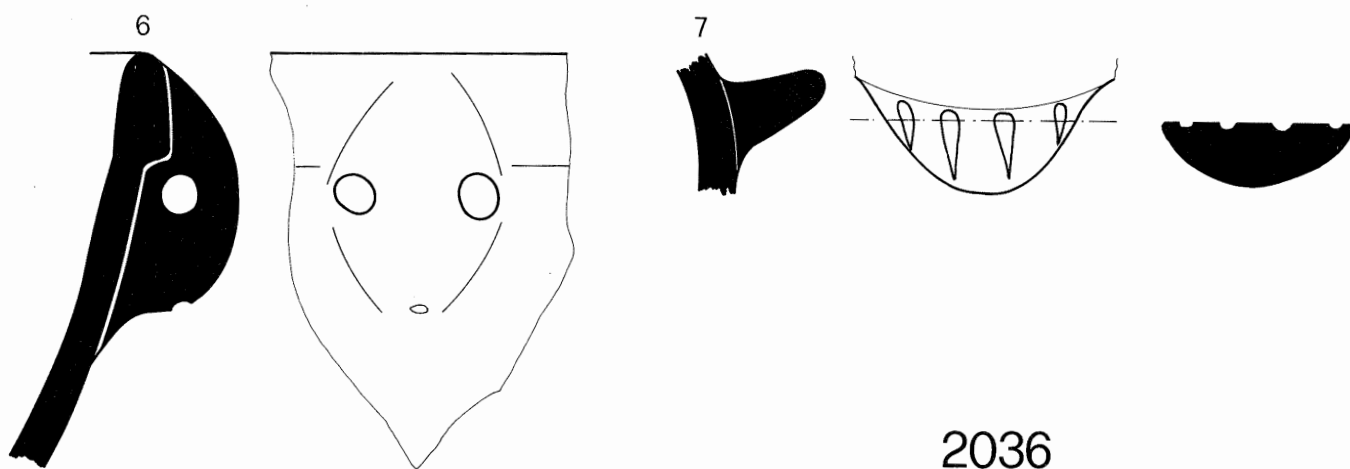
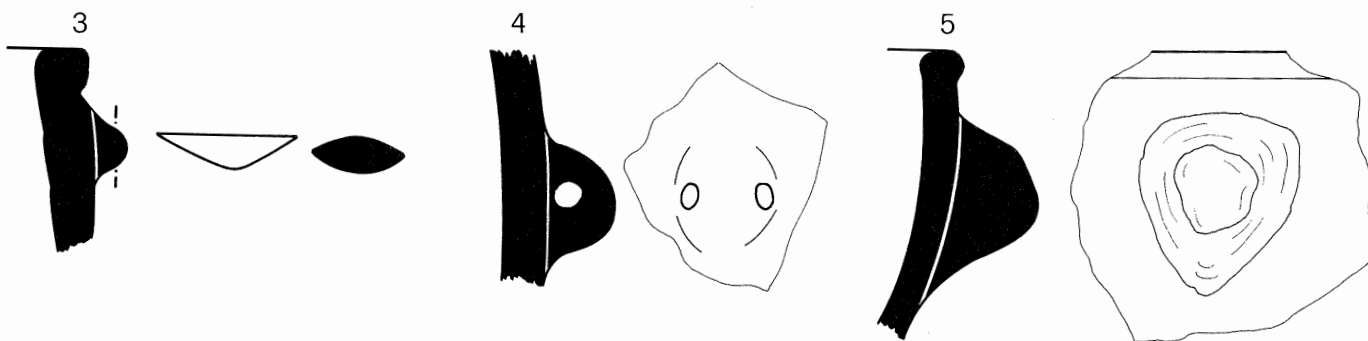
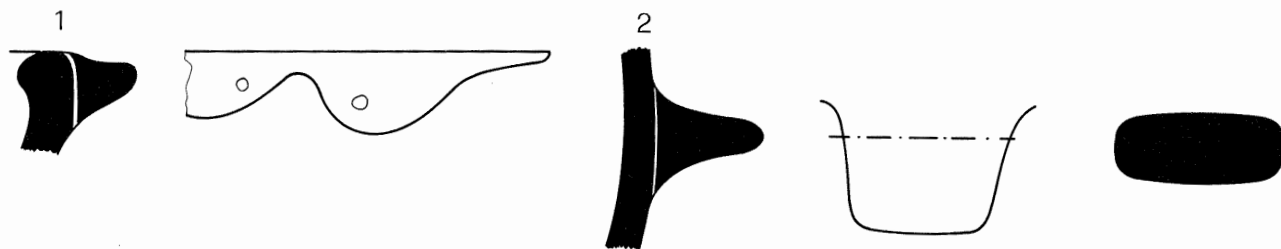


2033



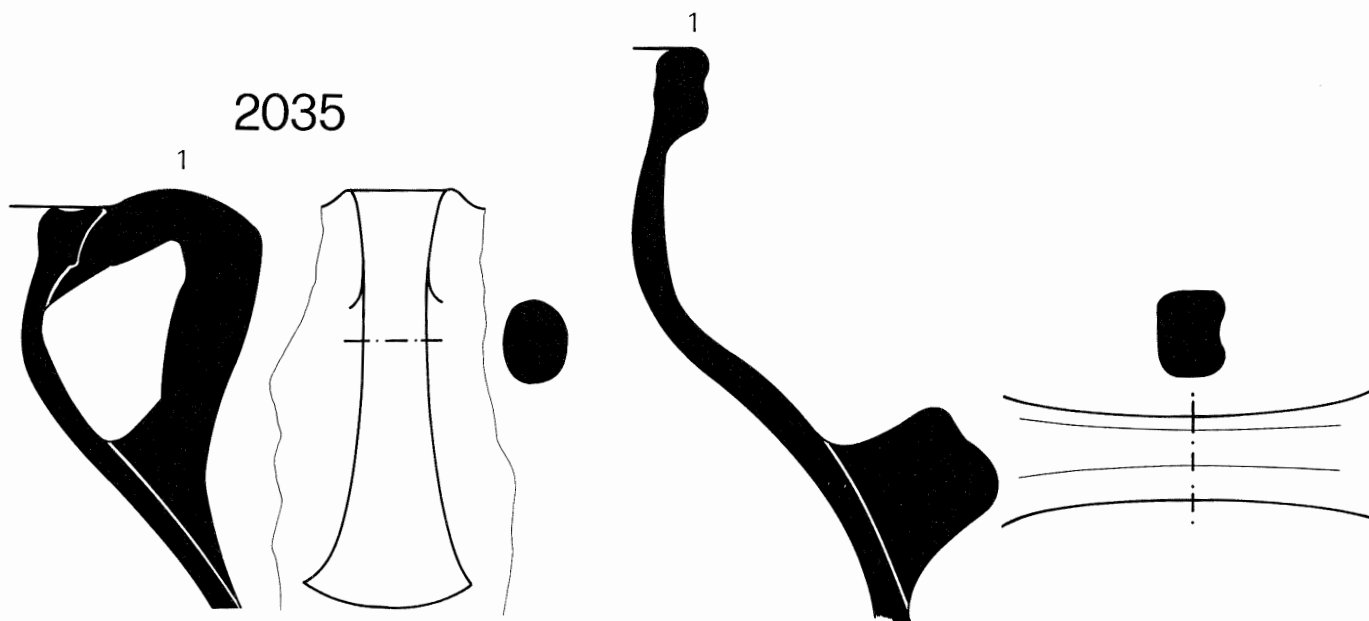
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
2034.1	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	18	-	-	→ 186.2
.2	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	10	-	-	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	4	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	-	→ 208.5
.4	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	10	-	-	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	-	→ 80.3
.6	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	-	→ 32.4
.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	3	3001.2	-	-
2035.1	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	-	-	→ 161.10
2036.1	39/43-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	-	-	→ 158.9

2034



2036

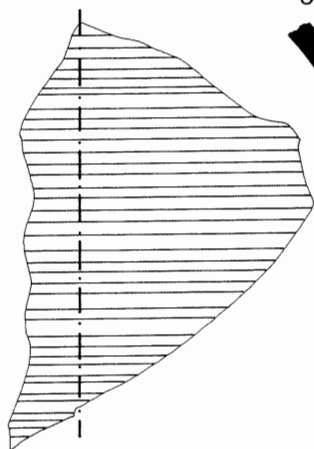
2035



## 8.4 RITZ- UND PLASTISCHE VERZIERUNGEN

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3002.9	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	6	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	14	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	14	-	-	-
	-H <sub>8</sub>	14	-	-	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	4	-	-	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	3	-	-	→ 66.2
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	10	-	-	-
3003.2	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	19	-	16.0	→ 199.3
.3	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	8	-	-	-
.4	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	-	7.0,5.0	→ 68.6, 1030.6
.5	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	-	9.0	→ 190.4, 1006.11
.6	30/32-H <sub>0</sub>	15	-	7.5	→ 213.8, 1003.3
.7	30/32-H <sub>0</sub>	15	-	8.0	→ 191.2, 1000.8
.8	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	12	-	16.0	→ 191.1
.9	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	12.0	→ 191.1
.10	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	19	-	9.0	→ 199.3
.11	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	19	-	16.0	→ 191.1
.12	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	18.0	→ 191.1
.13	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	18.0	→ 196.4
.14	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	18	-	22.0	→ 196.8
.15	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	8	-	8.0	→ 191.1
.16	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	12	-	14.0	→ 196.9
.17	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	8	-	12.0	→ 196.10
.18	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	19	-	10.0	→ 199.1
.19	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	19	-	8.0	→ 190.1
.20	38/54-H <sub>0</sub>	15	-	9.0	→ 199.2
.21	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	8.0	→ 195.1
.22	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	8	-	-	-
.23	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	8	-	-	-

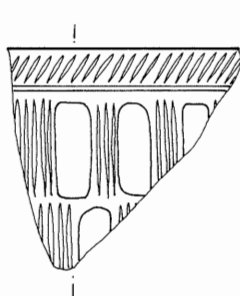
3002



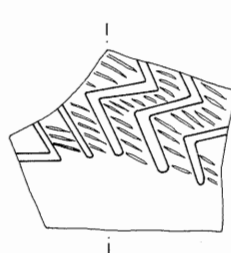
9



3003



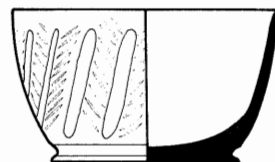
2



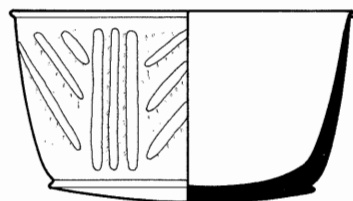
3



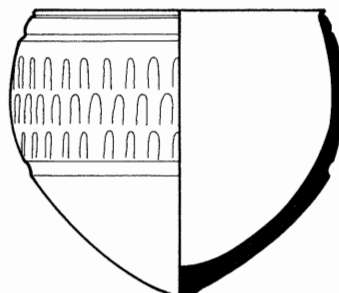
4



5



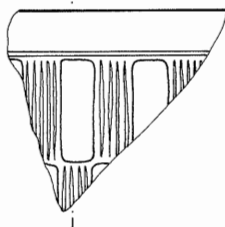
6



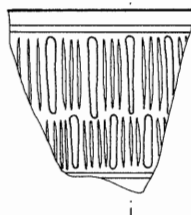
7



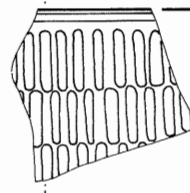
8



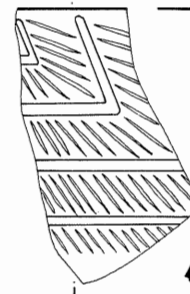
9



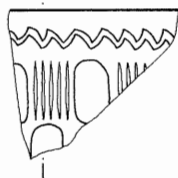
10



11



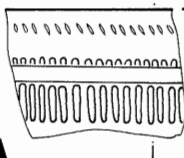
12



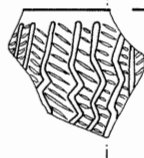
13



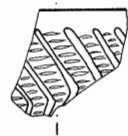
14



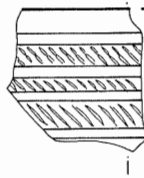
15



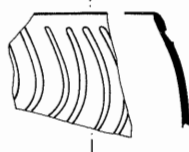
16



17



18



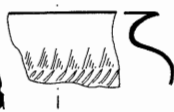
19



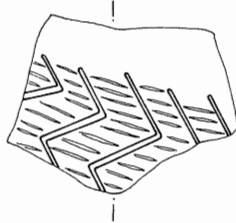
20



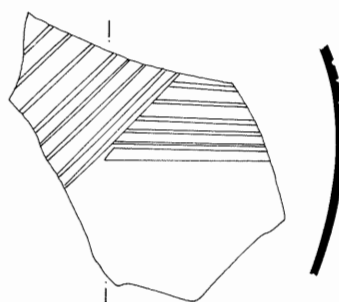
21



22



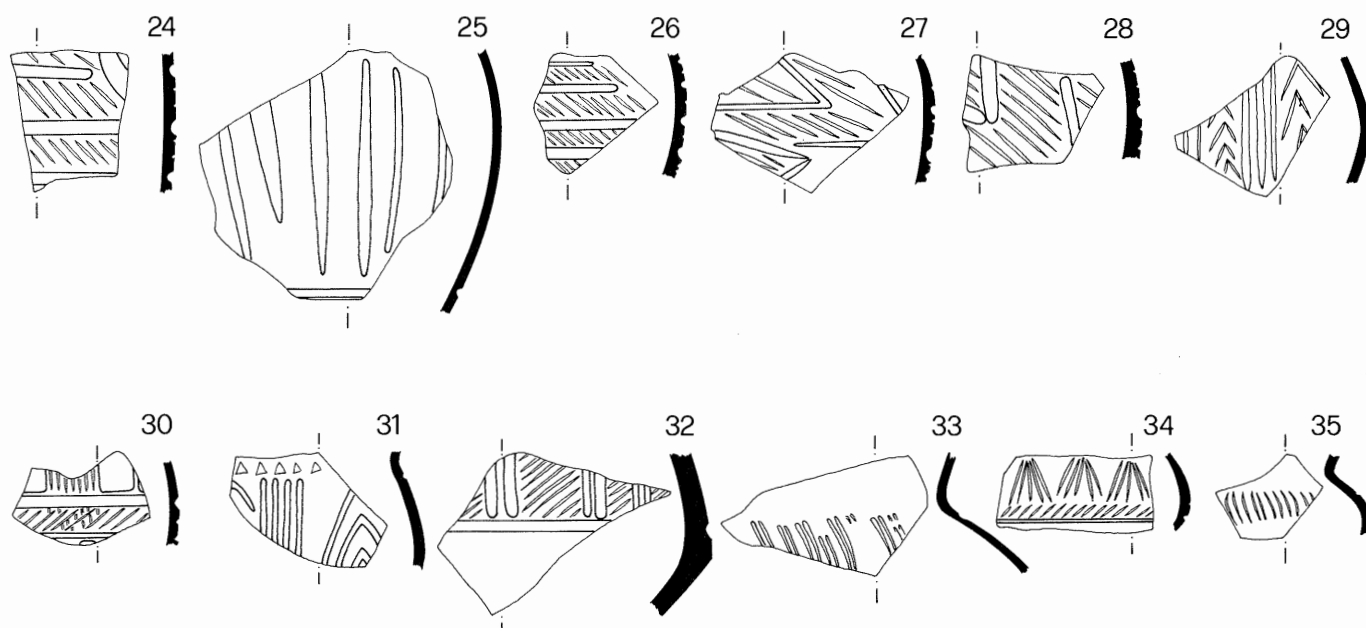
23



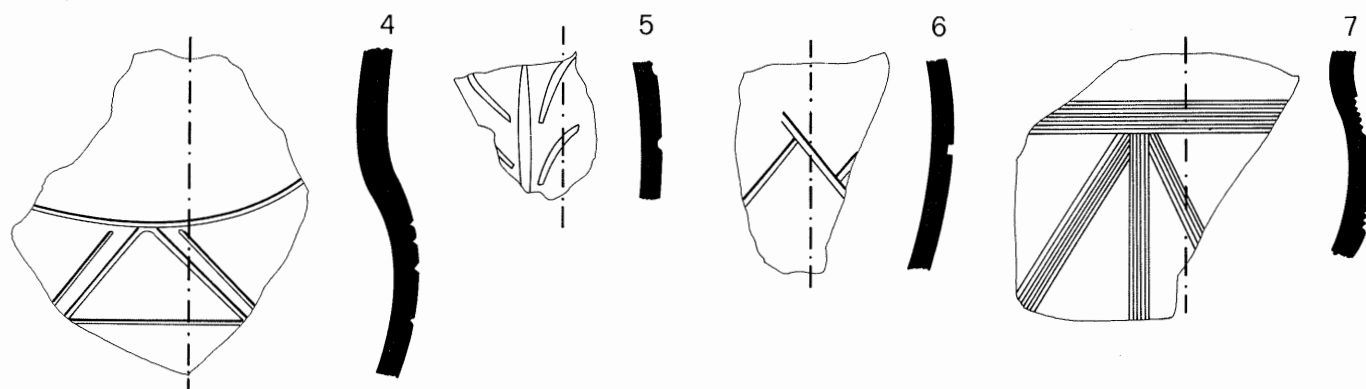
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3003.24	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	8	-	-	-
.25	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	12	-	-	-
.26	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	-	-
.27	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	-	-
.28	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	5	-	-	-
.29	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	-	-
.30	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	6	-	-	-
.31	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	12	-	-	-
.32	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	-	-
.33	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	12	-	-	-
.34	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	15	-	-	-
.35	H <sub>0</sub> → Abb.99	12	-	-	-
3004.4	40/42-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,17,18	-	-	-
.5	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	8	-	-	-
.6	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	19	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	-	-	-
.7	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	8	-	-	-
3006.4	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	9	-	-	-
.5	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	-	-
.6	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	10.0	→ 213.7



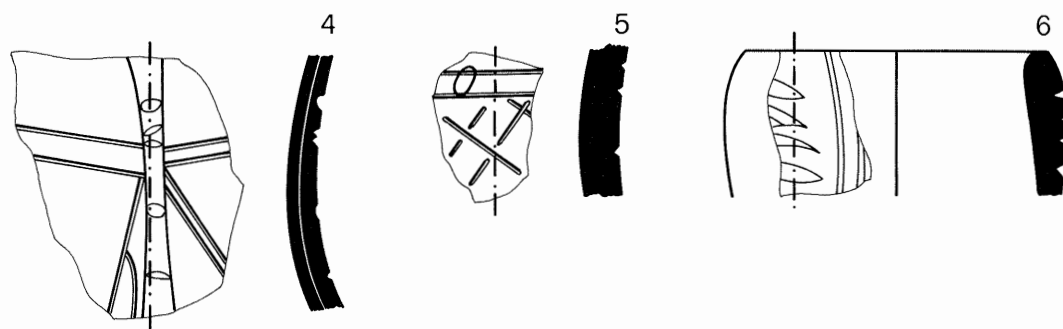
3003



3004

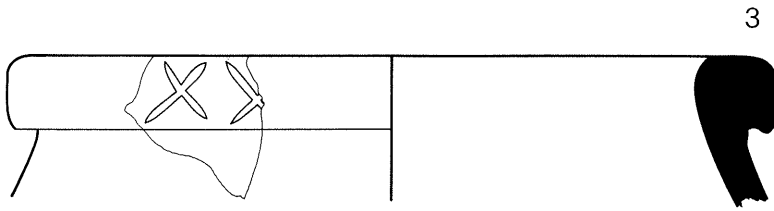


3006

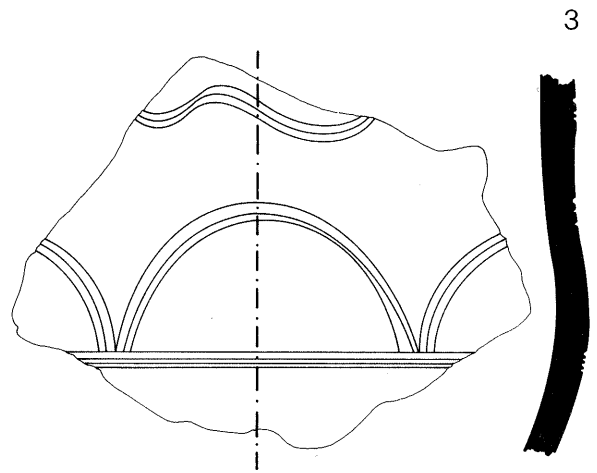


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3008.3	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	10	-	20.0	→ 248.4
3009.3	39/43-H <sub>4</sub>	17	-	-	-
3010.2	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	2	-	-	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
3012.5	39/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	11	-	-	-
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	3	-	-	- 24.1
	-H <sub>12</sub>	19	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -S 5	4	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	5	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	19	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	19	-	-	→ 151.4
3014.3	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	7	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	-	-	→ 283.2
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	→ 80.1
.4	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7	3015.7,3020.3	-	→ 49.6
3015.4	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	-
.5	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 2	11	-	-	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	5,10	3020.2	-	→ 79.2

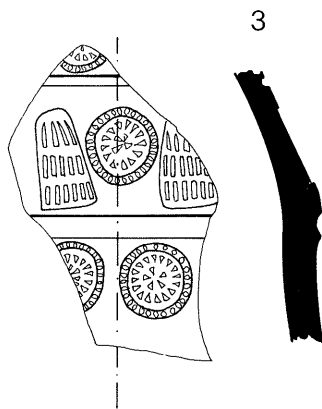
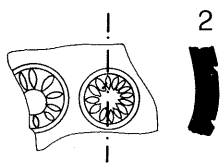
3008



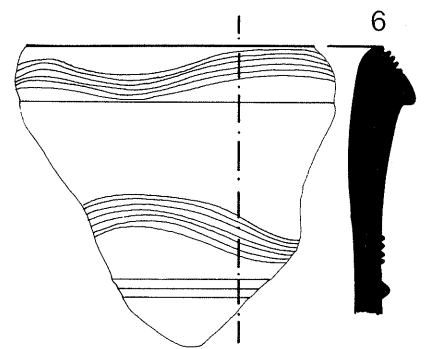
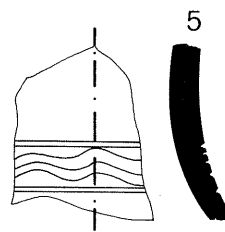
3009



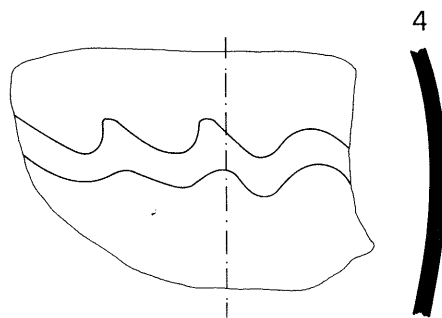
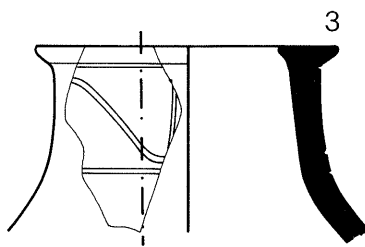
3010



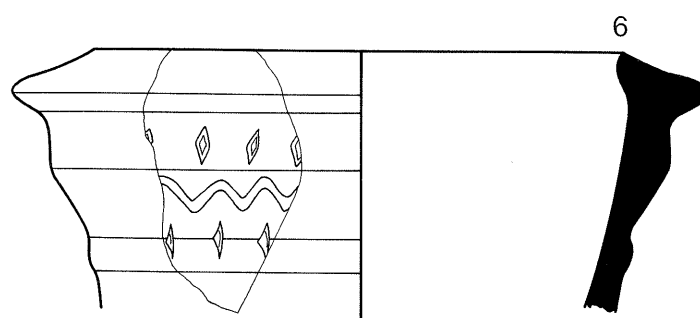
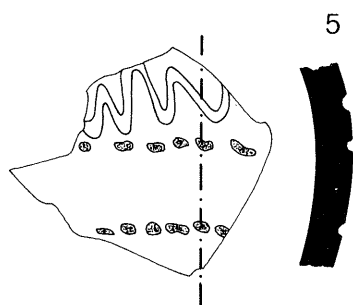
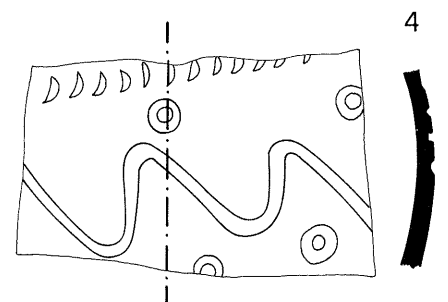
3012



3014

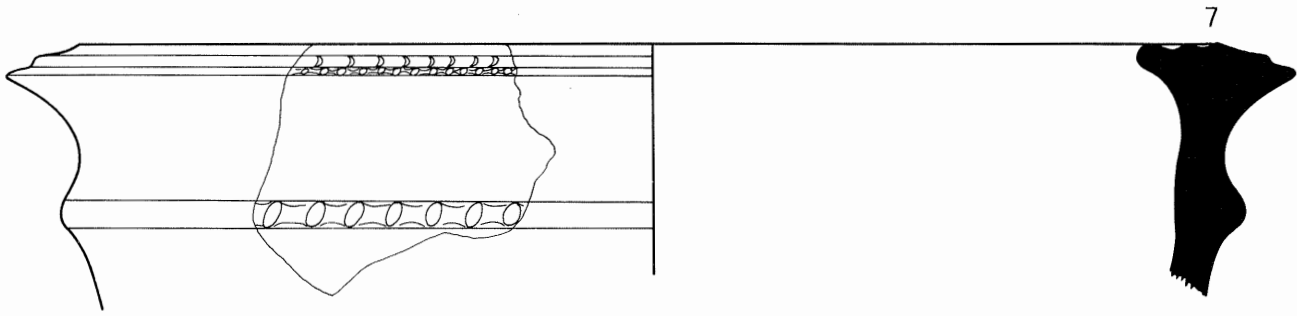


3015

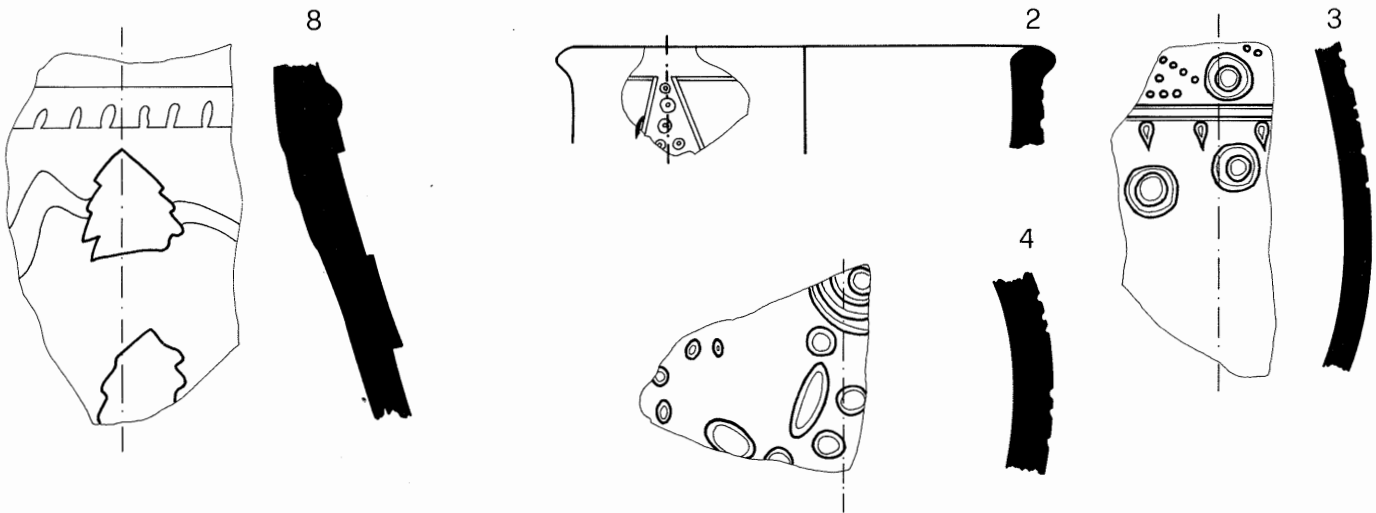


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3015.7	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7	3014.4,3020.3	-	→ 49.6
.8	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	-	-
3019.2	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	14	-	-	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	-	-
.4	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-	-	-
3020.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	5,10	3015.6	-	→ 79.2
.3	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	7	3014.4,3015.7	-	→ 49.6
3022.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	11	-	-	→ 121.1
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	19	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
3023.2	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	3	-	-	-
.3	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	19	-	-	-

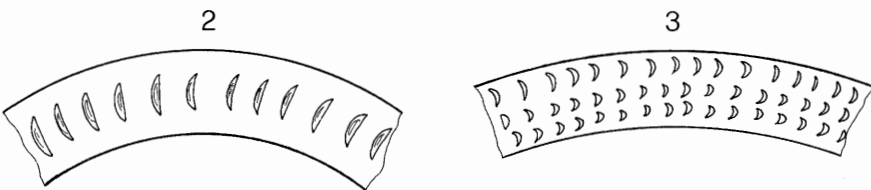
3015



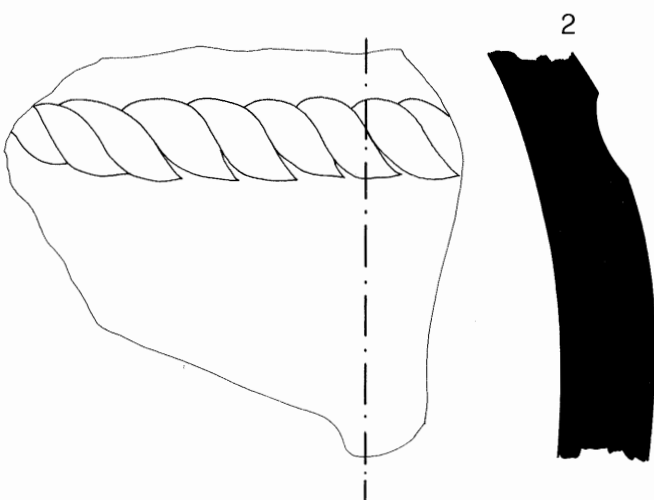
3019



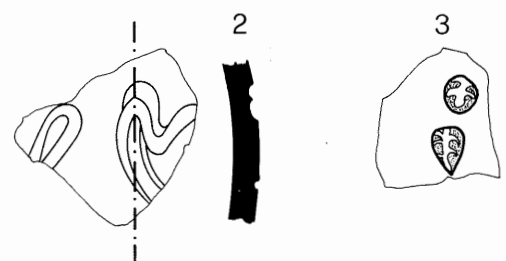
3020



3022

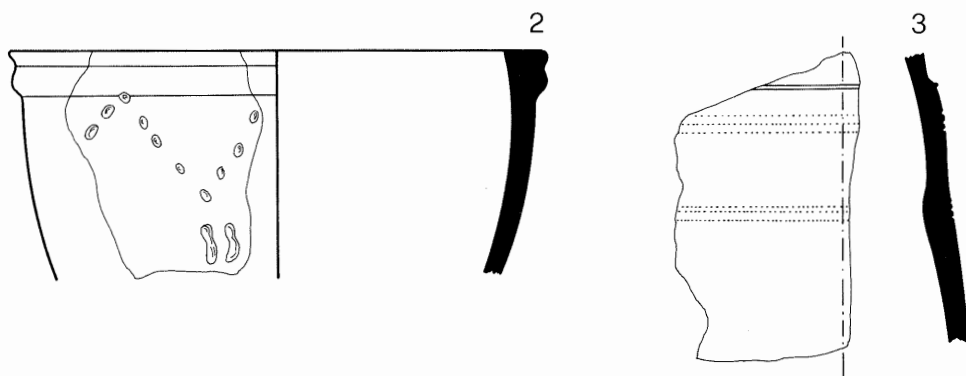


3023

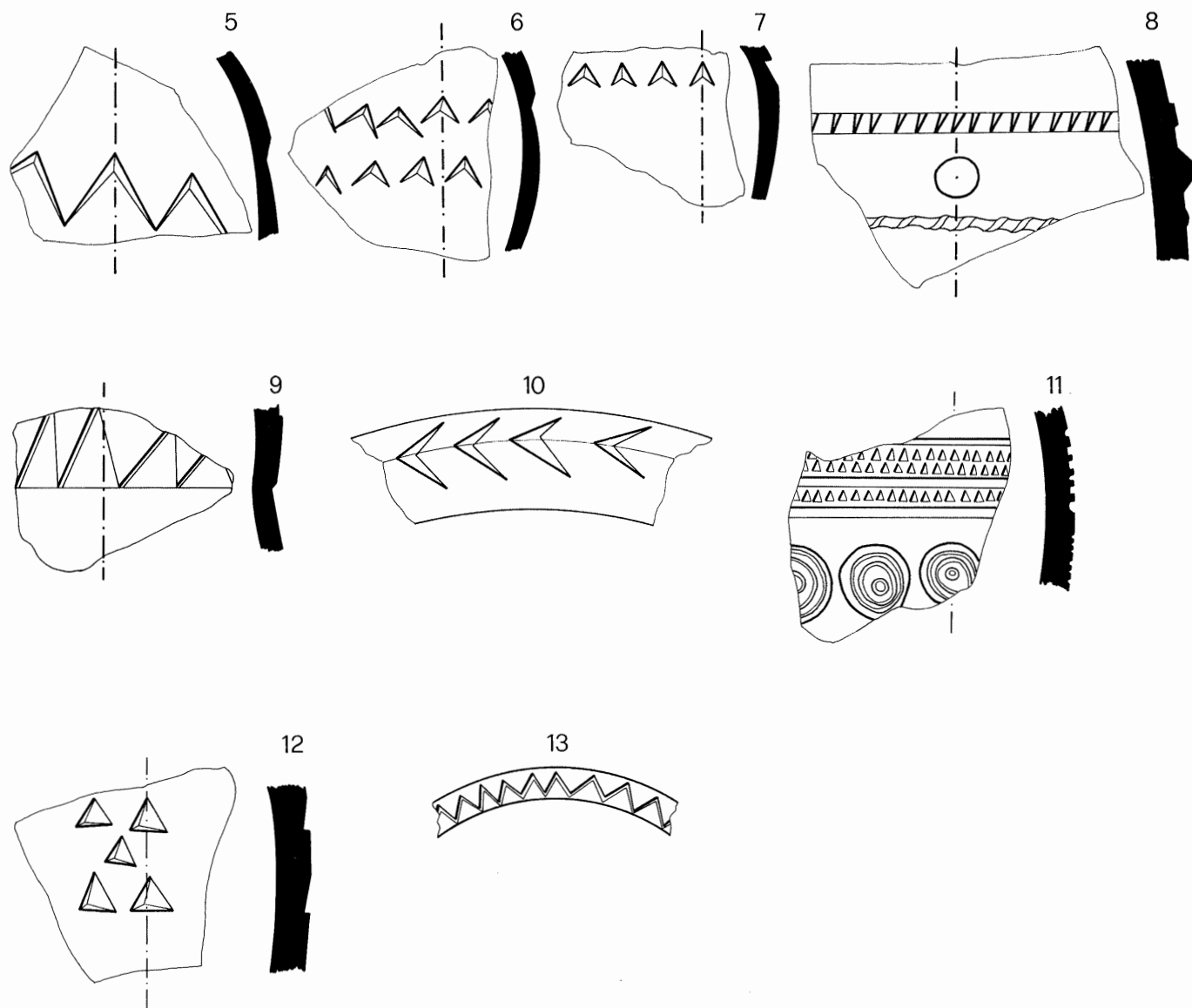


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3026.2	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	3027.13	-	→ 84.8
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	-	-
3027.5	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	7,10,11	-	-	→ 133.1
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	3047.1	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	7	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,10	-	-	→ 158.2, 235.4
.6	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	17	-	-	-
	-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	3	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	18	-	-	-
.7	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5,7,11	-	-	→ 40.5, 54.4, 152.1, 154.2, 271.2
	38/42-H <sub>0,1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	3	-	-	-
	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	6	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	-	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	17	-	-	-
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	3	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	7,10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	7	-	-	-
.8	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	7	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	-	-
.9	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	17	-	28.0	→ 222.2
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	17	-	-	-
.10	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	11	-	-	→ 291.1
	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	17	3031.1	-	→ 162.4
.11	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	-
.12	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	11	-	-	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	3026.2	-	→ 84.8

3026



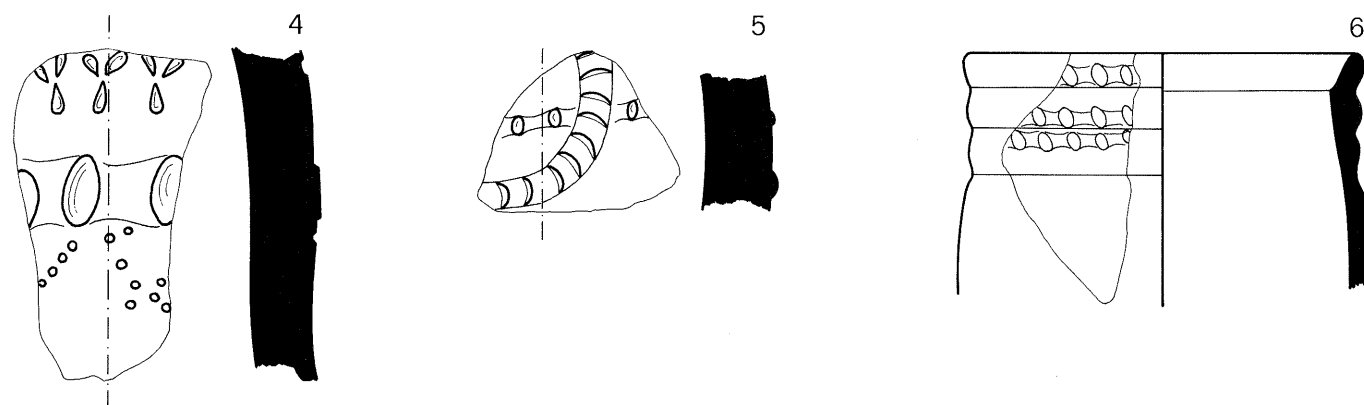
3027



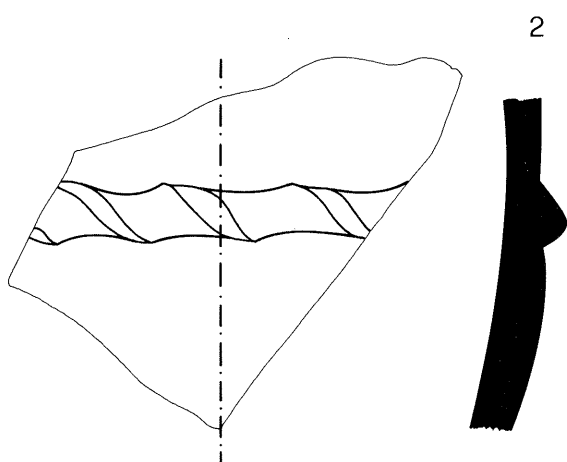
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3030.4	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	10	-	-	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>1,1</sub> -H <sub>1,2</sub>	7	-	-	-
.6	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	1	-	-	→ 84.7
3032.2	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-	-	→ 224.1
	39/43-H <sub>12</sub>	10	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7,9,10,11	-	-	→ 236.1
	-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	8,18	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3,7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	7,17	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	18	-	-	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	18	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	5,6,10,11,19	-	-	→ 42.2, 108.2, .3, 126.13, 127.6, 177.1, 226.1, 235.3, .5, 280.2
3033.4	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 2	7	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	-	→ 208.4
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	18	-	-	-
3036.3	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 5	11	-	-	-
	38/42-H <sub>2</sub> -R 03 (L 2)	10	-	-	→ 6.1, 8.1
	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	-	-	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-	-	-
.4	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	11	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	8	-	-	-
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	-	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-	-	-
3037.2	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	9	-	-	→ 119.3
.3	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10,11	-	-	→ 295.6
	41/38-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	10	-	-	→ 295.6
.4	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	→ 295.5
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	→ 295.7
.6	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-	-	→ 295.8
3039.2	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 2	2	-	-	-
	-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	1	-	-	-
	-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	2	-	-	-
	-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	2	-	-	-
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	1	-	-	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	2	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	1,2,16	-	-	→ 0.1, 1.3, 24.2, 217.1, .2, 1041.1
	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	1	-	-	-
	-H <sub>8</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	8	-	-	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	10	-	-	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-	-	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,2,6	-	-	→ 196.1, .4, 1042.2
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	18	-	-	-



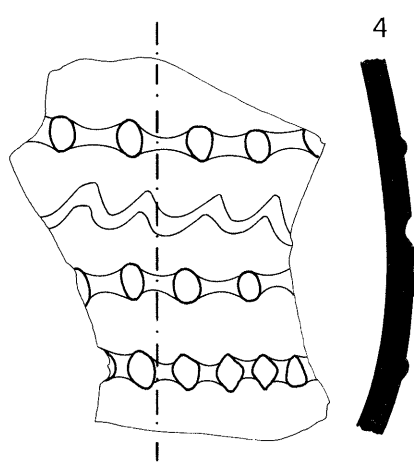
3030



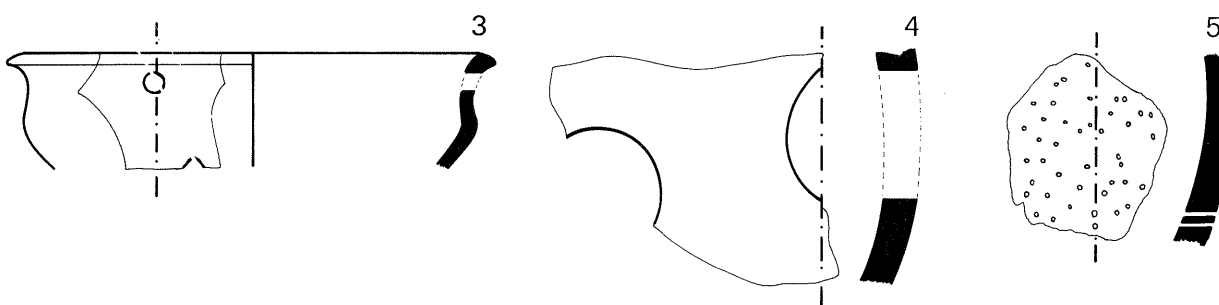
3032



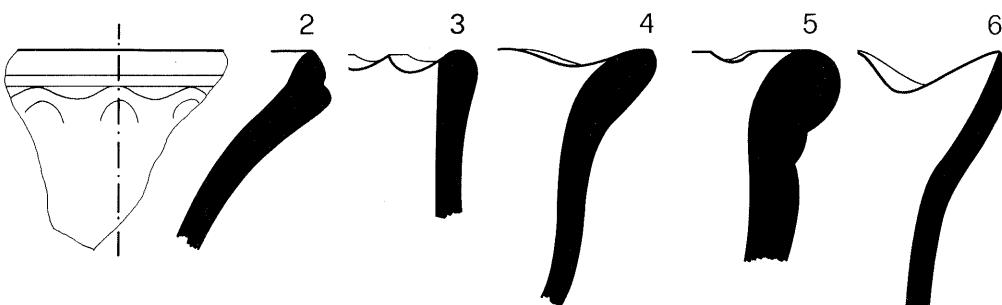
3033



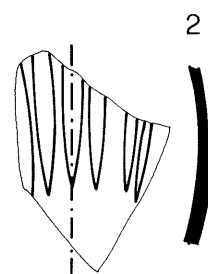
3036



3037



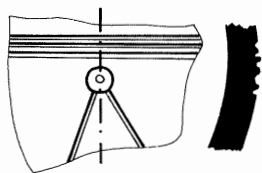
3039



Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3040.1	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	-	-	-
		7	-	-	-
3041.1	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -S 2 -H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-	-	-
		3	-	-	-
3042.1	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -S 2	9	-	-	→ 303.1
.2	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	7	-	-	→ 303.1
.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 1	7	-	-	-
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	7	-	-	-

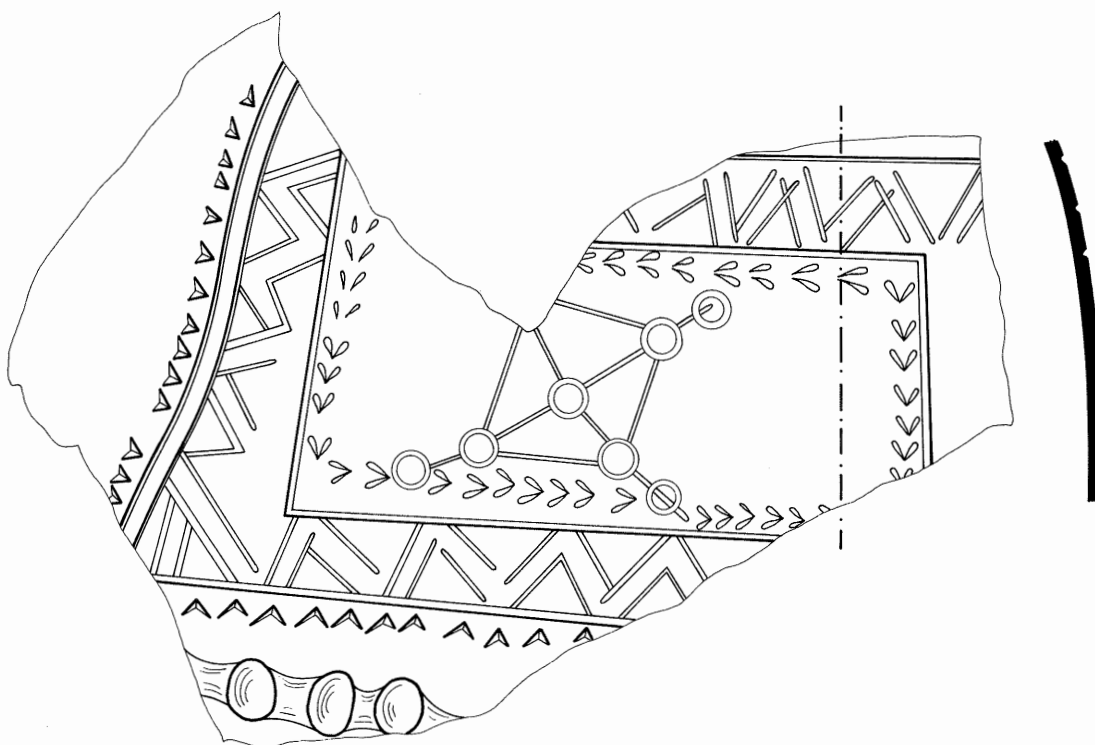
3040

1



3041

1



3042

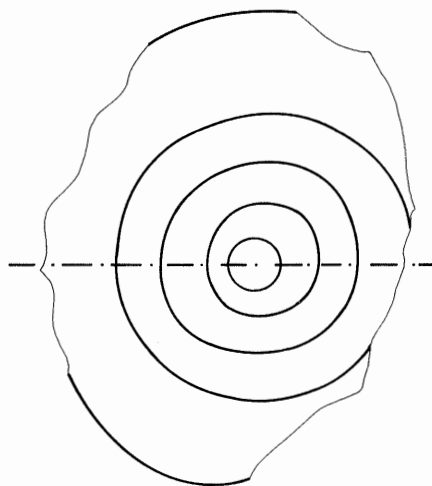
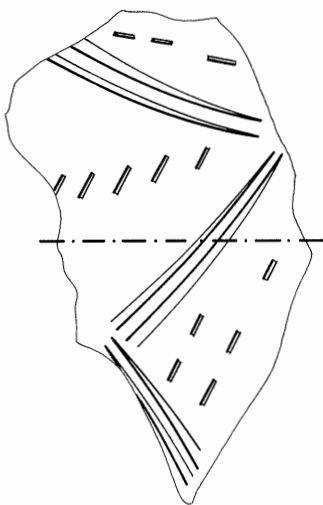
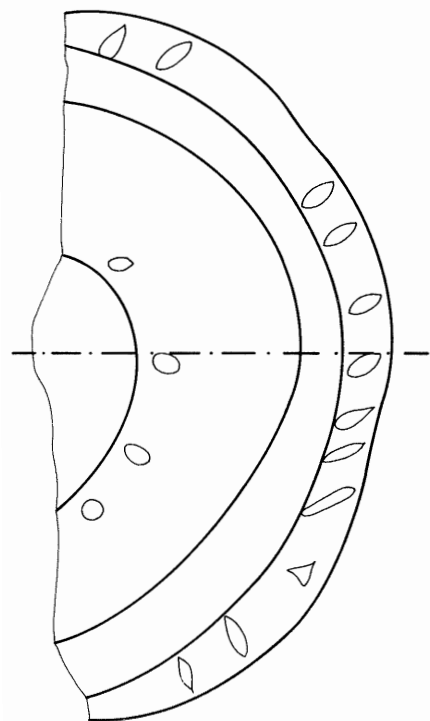
1



2



3

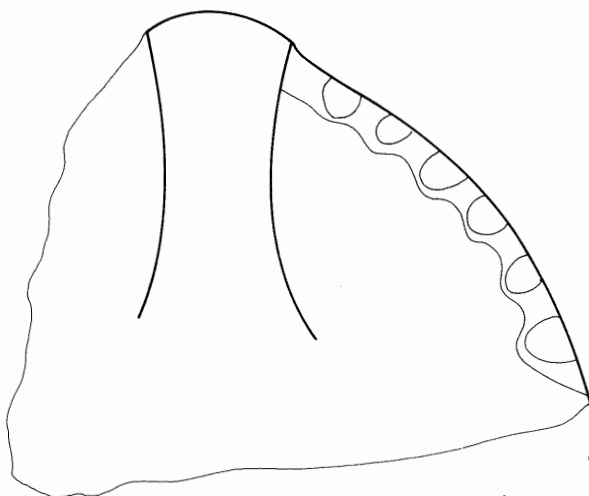
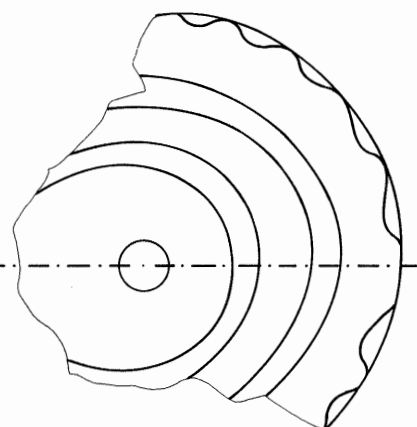


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3042.4	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	7	-	-	-
.5	39/43-H <sub>13,1</sub> -S 4	9	-	-	→ 303.1
	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	9	-	-	-
3043.1	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	18	-	-	-
3044.1	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	3	-	-	→ 132.1
.2	39/43-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>8</sub>	10	-	-	-
3045.1	40/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	2	-	10.0	→ 214.4
3046.1	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	-	-	-
3047.1	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	7	-	-	-
	-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	7	3027.5	-	-

3042

4

5



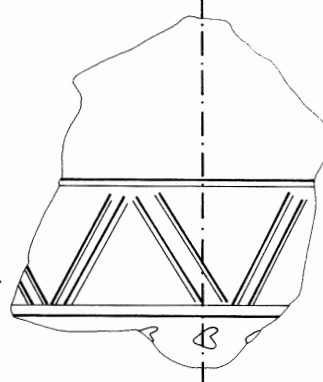
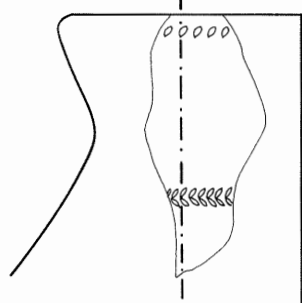
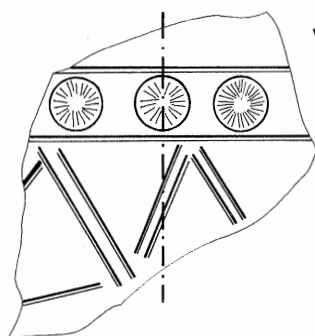
3043

1

3044

1

2



3045

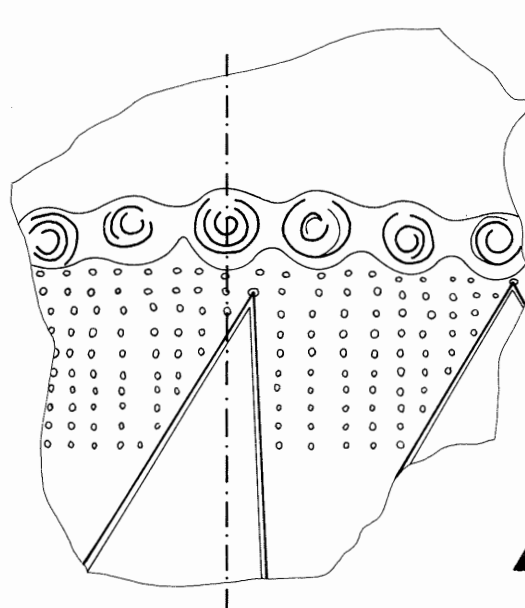
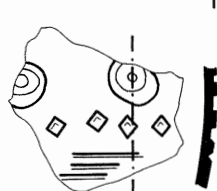
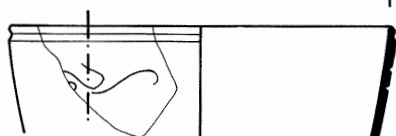
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3046

1

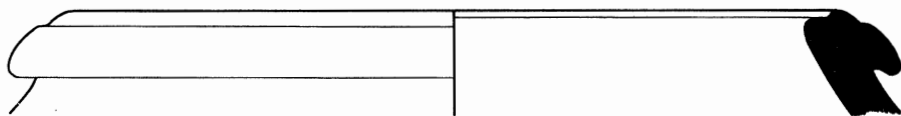
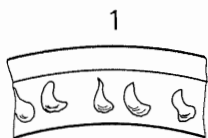
3047

1

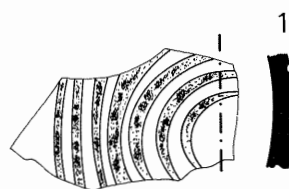


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Verzierungen	Durchmesser	Bemerkungen
3048.1	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	11	-	-	→ 102.2
3049.1	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	16	-	-	-
3050.1	39/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	18	-	-	-
	40/42-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	7	-	-	-
3051.1	40/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	18	-	-	-
3052.1	40/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	9	-	-	-
3053.1	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	6	-	-	-
.2	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	18	-	-	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	8	-	-	-
3054.1	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-	-	-
3055.1	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	12	7000.1-5	-	→ 1037.2

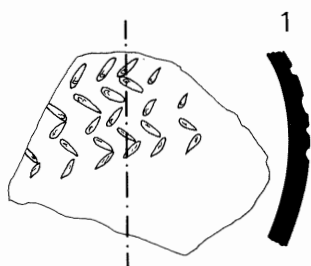
3048



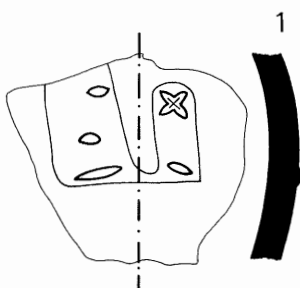
3049



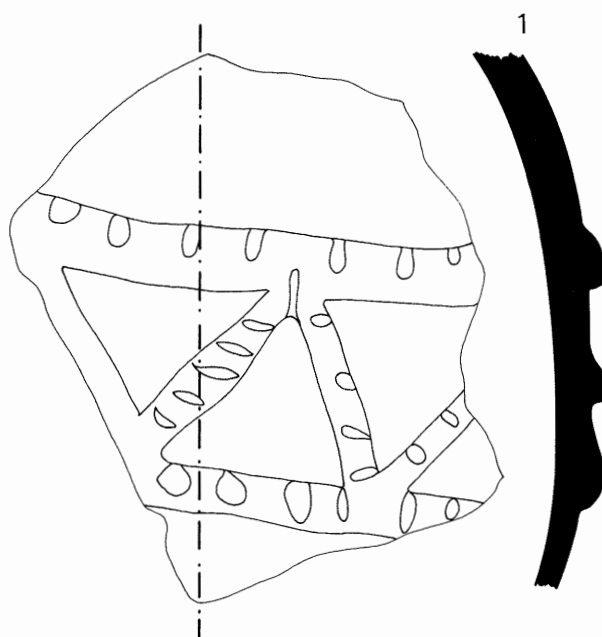
3050



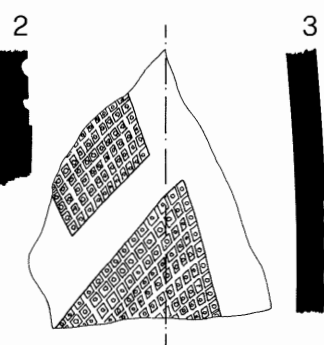
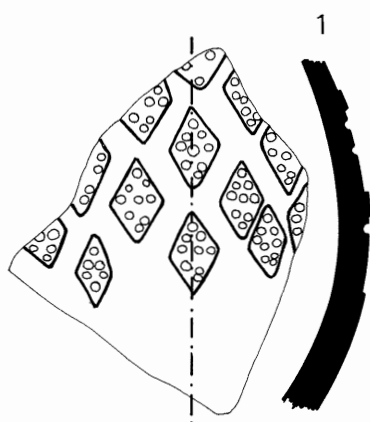
3051



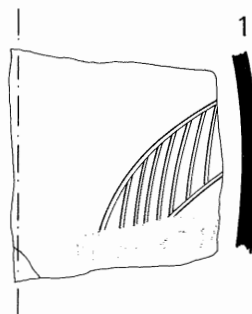
3052



3053



3054



3055

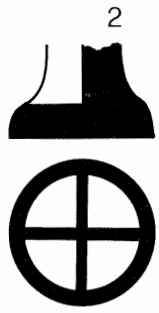


## 8.5 BEMALUNG

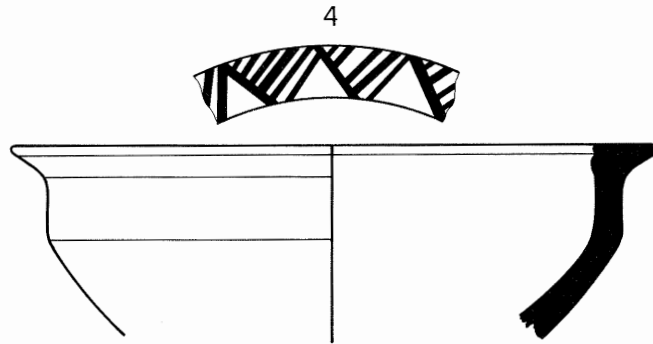
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Farbe	Bemerkungen
4001.2	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	11	-3	→ 1018.6
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-2	-
4006.4	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	13	-2	→ 56.5
.5	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	10	-1	→ 219.4
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	12	-1	→ 56.5
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	5	-3	→ 280.1
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-2	→ 235.4
4009.2	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-1,-3	→ 49.5
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	-2	→ 49.4
4012.2	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	1	-5	→ 1059.2
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	1	-5	-
	-H <sub>9</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-1,-5	→ 1062.2
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	-1	→ 23.1, 1062.2, 4015.3
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	-5	→ 1062.1
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-5	→ 1062.2
	40/42-H <sub>5</sub> -S 3	2	-1	→ 14.4
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,2	-1,-4,-5	→ 1047.1, 1059.2, 1061.1, 2, 1065.1, 1072.1, 1077.1
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	2	-1	→ 1075.1
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	2,10	-1,-2	→ 1059.2, 1060.1
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1	-1,-2	→ 1059.1, 1065.1, 1072.1, 1077.1
.3	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	1,3	-1,-3,-5	→ 1077.1
	39/43-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	1	-5	→ 1066.2
	-H <sub>7</sub> -H <sub>10</sub>	1	-5	→ 1065.1
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	-1	-
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	1	-5	→ 1065.1
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	1	-1	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-4	→ 1059.2
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1	-1	→ 1060.1



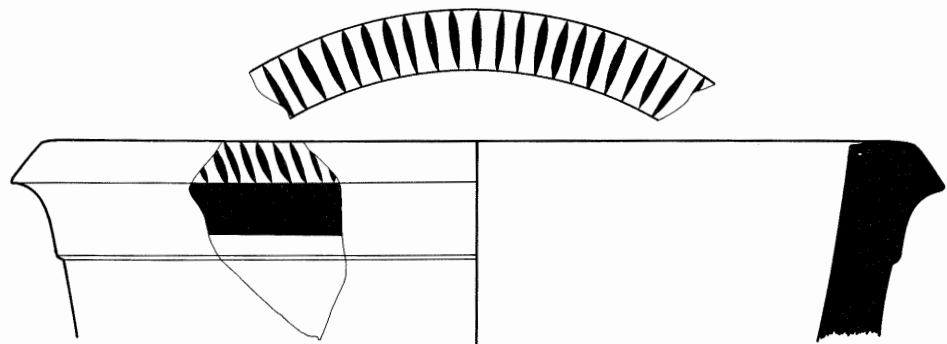
4001



4006

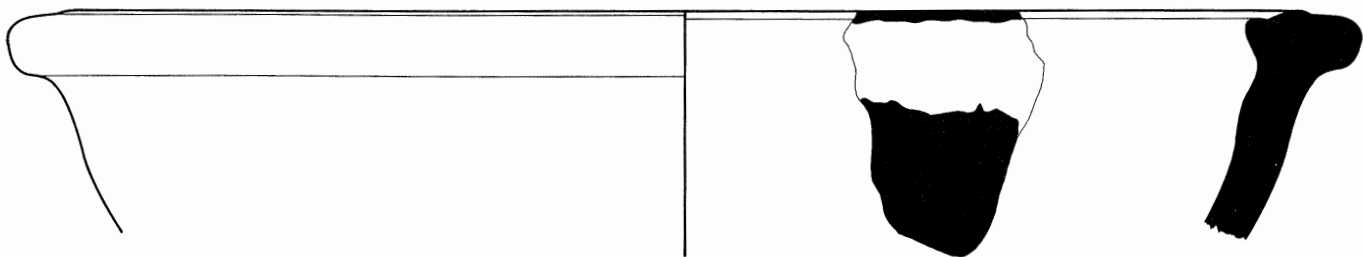


5



4009

2

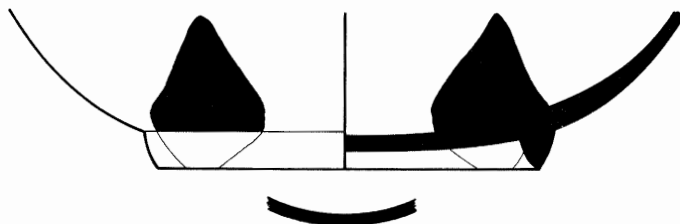


4012

2

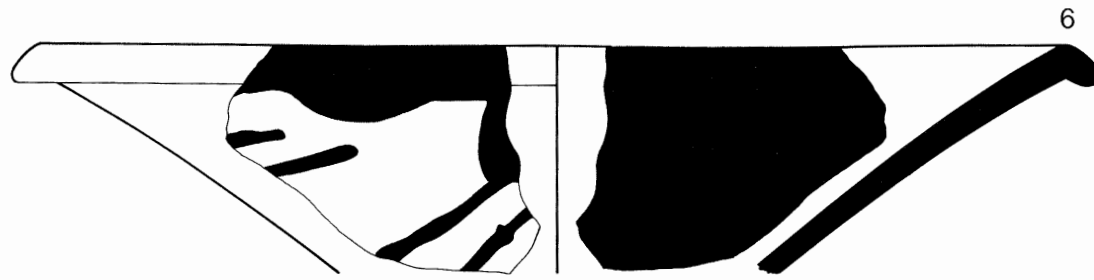


3

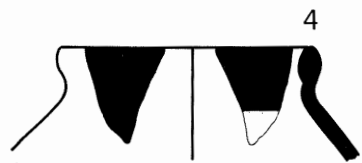


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Farbe	Bemerkungen
4015.6	39/43-H <sub>9</sub> -S 1	1	-5,-6	→ 112.2
4017.4	39/42-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	1	-2,-6	→ 126.8
4019.8	41/37-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-1	→ 53.6
.9	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	5	-1	-
	39/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1	-1	→ 84.6
.10	41/38-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	11	-1	→ 196.7
.11	50/45-H <sub>2</sub>	19	-1	-
.12	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10	-4	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-2	-
.14	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-1	-
4020.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-1	-
4022.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	12	-2	-
	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-1	-
.4	20/24-L 4.2	11	-1	-
.5	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-5	-
4023.2	20/23-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-2	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	6	-4	-
4025.4	20/24-L 4.2	12	-1	-
.5	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-3	-

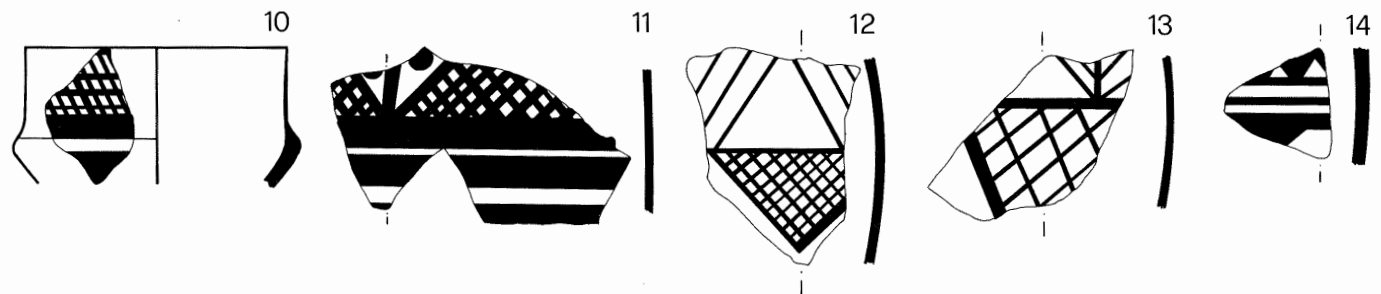
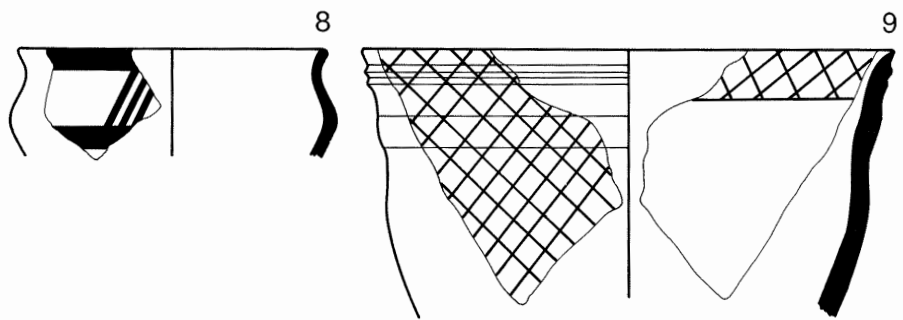
4015



4017



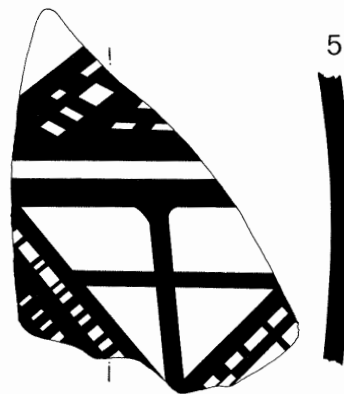
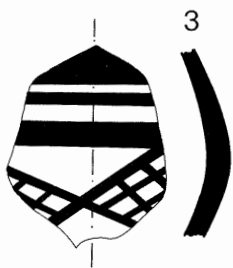
4019



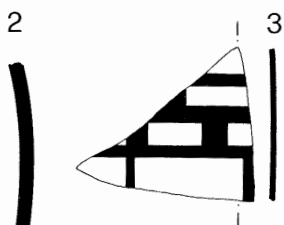
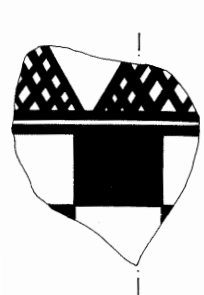
4020



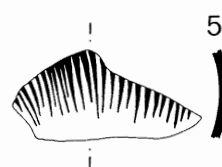
4022



4023

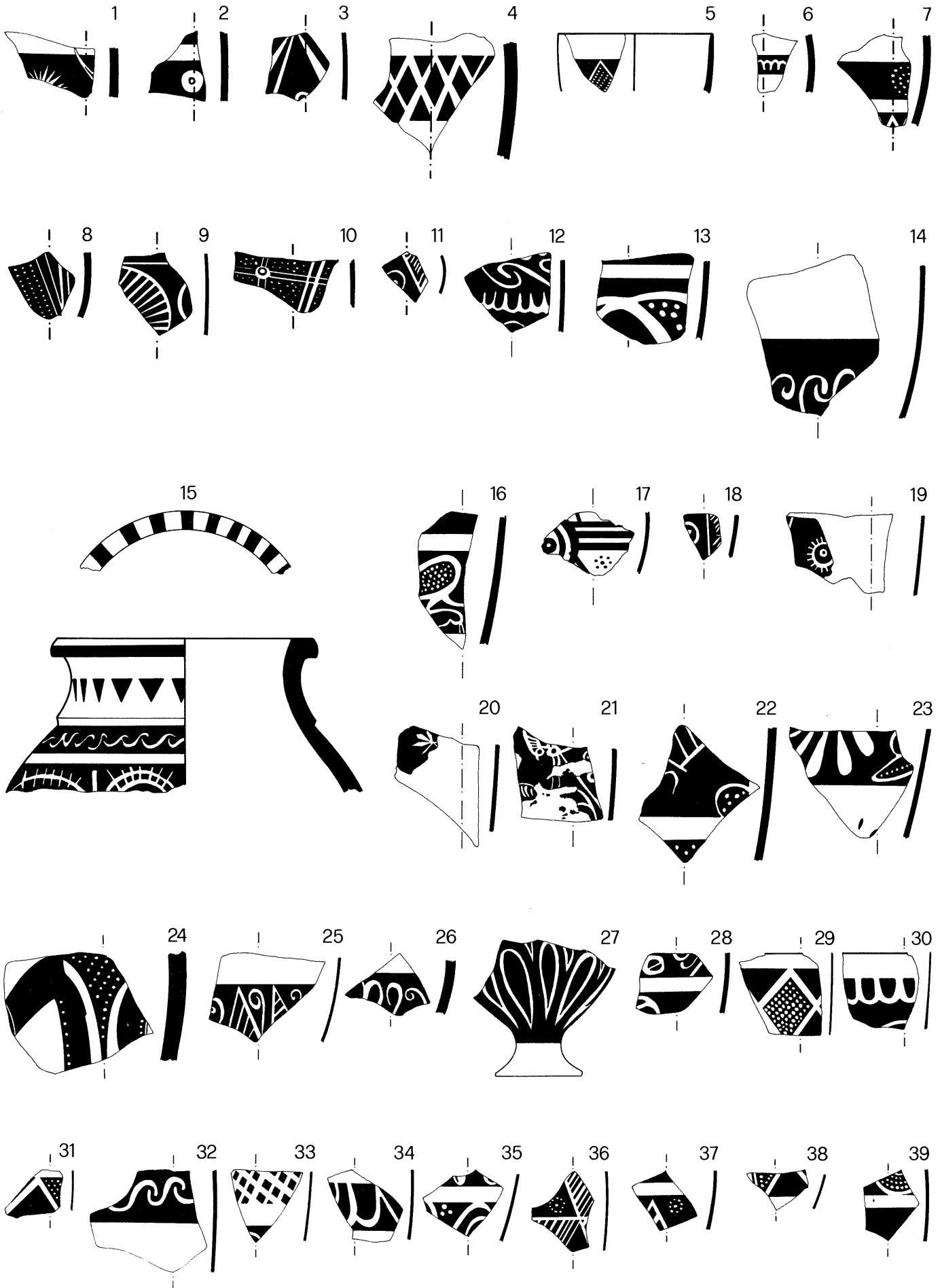


4025



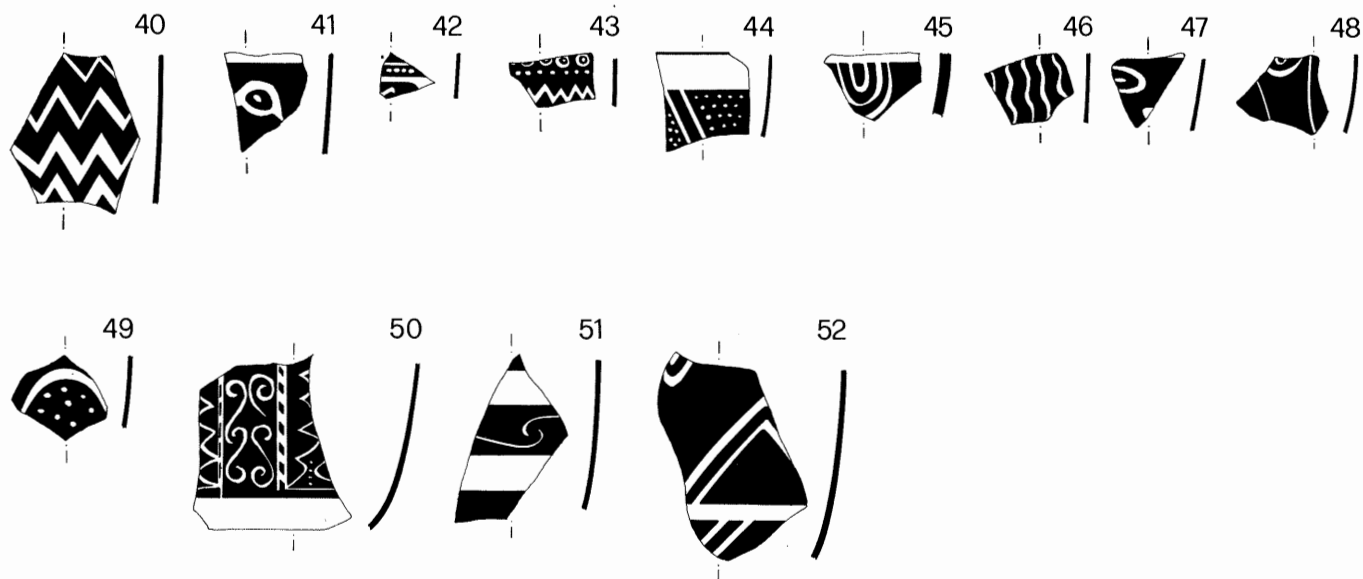
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Farbe	Bemerkungen
4026.1	49/45-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-5	-
.2	49/45-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-1	-
.3	49/45-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-1	-
.4	39/42-H <sub>0</sub> -S 3	8	-1	-
	51/45-H <sub>1</sub>	12	-5	-
.5	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1,-4	→ 189.4
.6	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.7	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.8	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.9	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-2	-
.10	49/45-H <sub>1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	12	-2	-
.11	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	11	-1	-
.12	19/23-H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.13	20/23-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	5	-6	-
.14	20/23-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	-4	-
.15	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	10	-2	→ 127.3, 4006.3-2
.16	20/23-H <sub>0.1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	12	-5	-
.17	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	13	-1	-
.18	38/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 3	12	-5	-
	39/42-H <sub>3</sub> -R 1	12	-5	-
.19	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-5	-
.20	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-1	-
.21	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	12	-1	-
.22	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-1	-
.23	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	6	-2	-
.24	20/23-H <sub>3.1</sub> -H <sub>4</sub> -R 101	10	-1	-
.25	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	12	-6	-
.26	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	12	-1	-
.27	20/24-L 4.2	12	-2	→ 1017.2
.28	20/24-L 4.2	12	-1	-
.29	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-4	→ 189.4
.30	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-4	→ 189.4
.31	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.32	H <sub>0</sub>	11	-5	-
.33	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.34	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.35	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.36	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.37	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-4	-
.38	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.39	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-2	-

4026

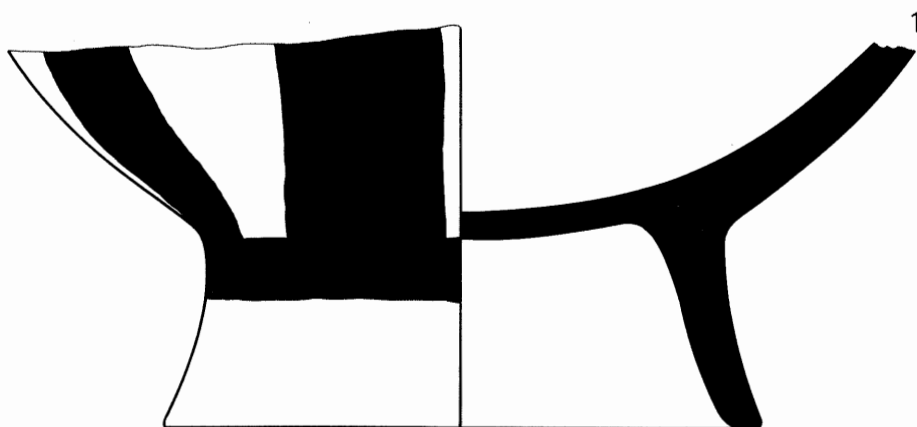


Typ	Fundort	Ware	Farbe	Bemerkungen
4026.40	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.41	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-2	-
.42	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.43	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-4	-
.44	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-1	-
.45	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-4	-
.46	H <sub>0</sub>	11	-4	-
.47	H <sub>0</sub>	11	-2	-
.48	H <sub>0</sub>	11	-4	-
.49	H <sub>0</sub>	13	-1	-
.50	H <sub>0</sub>	13	-5	-
.51	H <sub>0</sub>	13	-5	-
.52	H <sub>0</sub>	12	-3	-
4027.1	41/37-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>4</sub>	11	-2	→ 1079.4
4028.1	20/23-H <sub>2,1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	11	-1	-
.2	H <sub>0</sub>	11	-1	-
4029.1	20/24-L 4.2	11	-1,-5	-
4030.1	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-1	-
.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-1	-
.3	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub>	11	-1	-

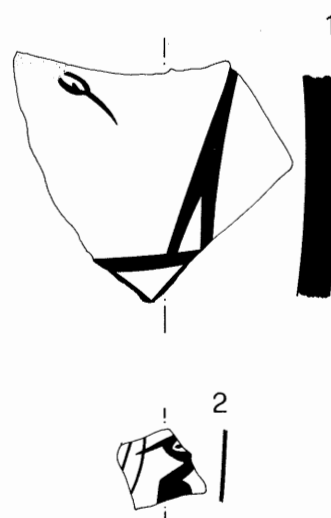
4026



4027



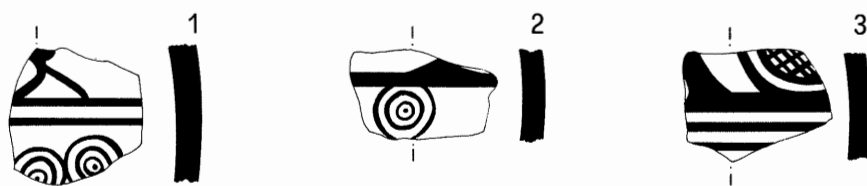
4028



4029



4030

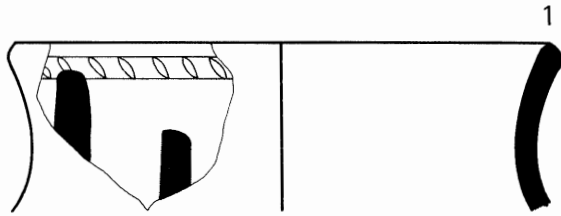


## 8.6 KOMBINIerte VERZIERUNGEN

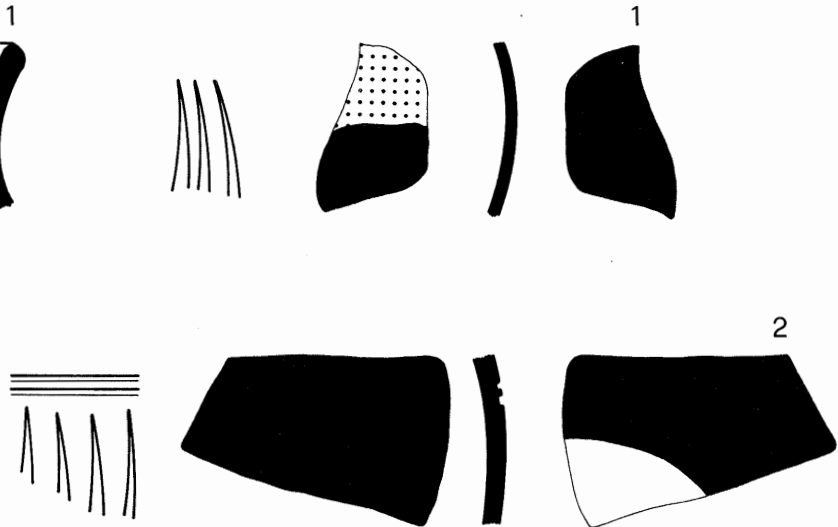
Typ	Fundort	Ware	Farbe	Bemerkungen
5006.1	40/43-H <sub>3</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	5	-4	→ 138.1
5007.1	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-5	-
	40/43-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	-2	-
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1,6	-2	→ 196.4, 1067.1
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	2	-1	-
.2	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	2	-5	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	1	-5	-
	40/42-H <sub>6</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	2	-1	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	2	-0	→ 196.4
	-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	1,6	-2,-5	-
.3	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	13	-1	-
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	10	-1	-
	40/43-H <sub>15</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	13	-0	-
5008.1	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>6</sub>	10	-1	-
5009.1	20/23-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 9	10	-1	→ 295.10
.2	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	11	-2	-



5006



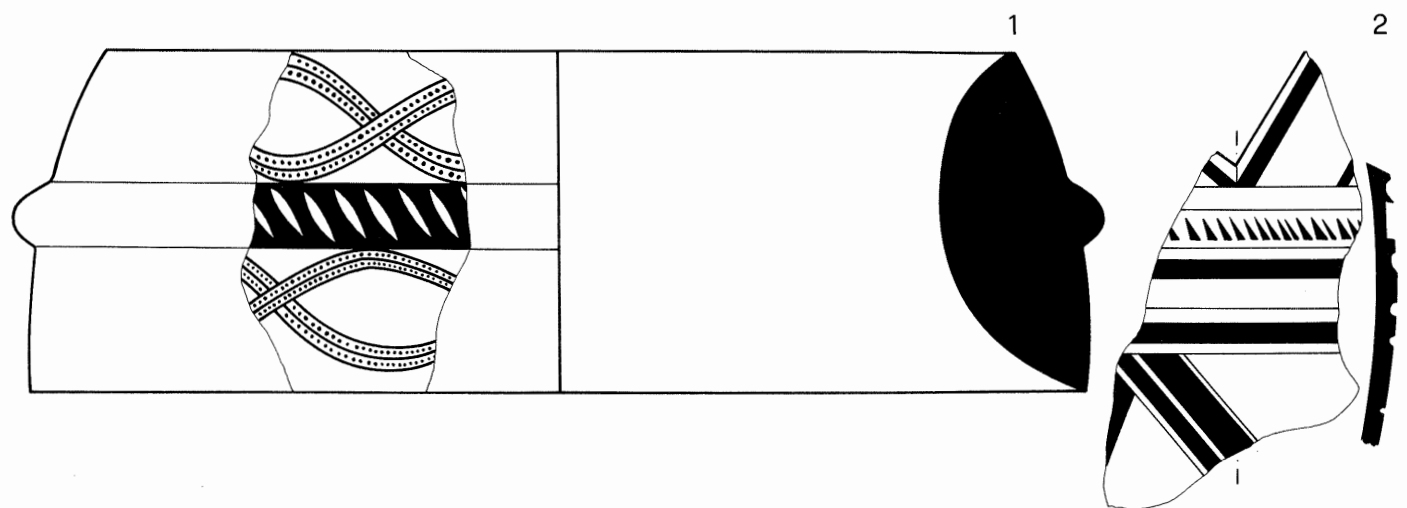
5007



5008



5009



## 8.7 OBERFLAECHEENBEHANDLUNG

6000.1	geglättet
6001.1	geglätteter Ueberzug
6002.1	aussen geglättet
6003.1	innen geglättet
6004.1	poliert

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Bemerkungen
6000.1	20/23-H <sub>0,1</sub> -H <sub>1</sub>	11	→ 54.2
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 101	16	→ 54.6
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 103	2	→ 32.2
	39/43-H <sub>0</sub> -H <sub>3</sub>	11	→ 44.1
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	10	→ 13.1; 4009.1-4
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>9</sub>	3	→ 19.1
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2, 10	→ 4.3, 5.1, 19.1, 24.7; 4004.6-2
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	3	→ 101.1
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	1	→ 54.1; 4006.2-3
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	→ 13.1; 4007.1-2
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	11	→ 54.2
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	10	→ 24.2
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>15</sub>	10	→ 73.3
6001.1	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	→ 4.12; 7000.1-0
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	2	→ 4.8; 7000.1-0
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	→ 204.1; 7000.1-0
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	17	→ 56.4
	20/23-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -R 108	10, 11	-
	20/24-H <sub>2</sub> -H <sub>3</sub> -R 7	11	-
	-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>5</sub> -L 4.2	10, 11	-
6002.1	39/43-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	5	→ 161.1
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	5	→ 4.1
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	5	→ 2.3

## 8.8 GLANZWAREN UND GLASUREN

7000.1	Glanzware
7001.1	Glasur, einfarbig

Für die Farben werden folgende Sigel verwendet:

-0: schwarz	-10: weiss	-29: grün
-1: dunkelbraun	-11: Eierschalen- / Elfenbein-farbig	-30: blau
-2: braun	-12: hellgelb	
-3: hellbraun		
-4: dunkelrot	-15: gelb	
-5: rot		
-6: hellrot	-20: türkis	

Typ	Fundort	Ware	Bemerkungen
7000.1-0	38/42-H <sub>1</sub>	1	→ 1059.4
	39/43-H <sub>4</sub> -H <sub>7</sub>	1	→ 4013.1-1
	-H <sub>10</sub> -H <sub>11</sub>	2	→ 4.12, 6.1, 14.14; 6001.1
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>12</sub>	1, 2	→ 4.8, 6.12; 6001.1
	-H <sub>11</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	→ 204.1; 6001.1
	-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	2	→ 4.12
	-H <sub>13</sub> -H <sub>14</sub>	1, 2	→ 4.12, 24.2
	-H <sub>14</sub> -H <sub>16</sub>	2	-
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	→ 306.1
			siehe auch: 39/43-38 (p.277) 39/43-110 (p.272)
7000.1-1	39/42-H <sub>1.1</sub> -H <sub>2</sub>	4	→ 1059.1
7000.1-2	40/42-H <sub>5</sub>	2	→ 1059.2; 4015.2-1
7000.1-5	39/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	12	→ 1037.2; 3055.1
	40/43-H <sub>12</sub> -H <sub>13</sub>	2	→ 1059.2
			siehe auch: 39/42-8 (p.272) 39/43-101 (p.263)
7000.1-6	38/42-H <sub>0.1</sub> (G hp 2.2)	1	→ 1065.1
7001.1-12	41/37-H <sub>2.1</sub> -H <sub>2.2</sub>	8	→ 0.3; 1000.5
7001.1-15			siehe: 41/37-17 (p.283)
7001.1-20			siehe: 39/43-26 (p.282)
7001.1-29			siehe: 39/43-37 (p.283)

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- هناك قطعة أخرى عليها رجل من المرجح أنه يحمل صينية مجوهرات - كما أنه قد تم العثور على قطعة أخرى ميكروسكوبية عليها رأس يوضح القدرات العظيمة لنحاتى العاج .

### العمـر الهلـينى

تقع عدة طبقات من العمر الهلينى فوق طبقة العصر الاثورى الحديث مباشرة ، الا أن معظم هذه الطبقات موجودة فوق بقايا القمر مباشرة - هذا وقد اندثرت معظم طبقات هذا العمر المكونة من بيوت مبنية من الطوب الطينى والتى لم تحفظ بصورة جيدة - وقد تم العثور على جزء من بيت يرجع تاريخه الى فجر هذا العصر . ويمكن تحديد تاريخ هذه الطبقة عن طريق قارورة عطر تم العثور عليها فى مقبرة رست فوق جدران البيت فى منتصف القرن الثانى قبل الميلاد - ويدقم هذا التارىخ عروة قارورة أخرى صغيرة مخومة بختم من جزيرة رودس وموجودة فى المدينة العليا .

### العمـر التـاليـة

إن الاكتشافات الاقل أهمية الموجودة فى الطبقات التى تعلو طبقة العمر الهلينى السالف الذكر ستذكر هنا من أجل التكملة فحسب . فعلى الرغم أنه لم يتم اكتشاف طبقة خاصة بالعمر الرومانى الا أنه قد تم العثور على قطعة نقود يرجع تاريخها الى سنة ٢٣٧ - ٢٤١ بعد الميلاد فى الانقاض المتركمة على سطح التل . وبعد فجوة زمنية قدرها خمسمائة عام نجد مستوطنة عيسانية فى المدينة العليا . كما يوجد مدفن صغير يحتوى على أربعين مقبرة فى حالة سيئة - من المحتمل أن تكون قد فتحت فى نهاية القرن الماضى ثم أهملت فى بداية عصر الانتداب الفرنسى - هذا بجانب مستوطنة صغيرة من بداية هذا القرن . أما الطبقة الحديثة فتخص عصر الانتداب الفرنسى .

١ - أن الحائط المتكون من قطع من الطوب المكسر قد بدأ يتساقط بعد مرور شهر من اكتشافه دون التعرض لضغط سقف فوقه . ثم أن الحائط يبدو أنه ذو عرض واحد فوق وتحت المطابق الجديد - وهذا يعني ضمناً أن الحائط لم يتعرض لحوامل البيئة لفترة طويلة . وبعد أن كانت الجدران قد تم تليطخها بالطين فانها قد أصبحت بيضاء بعد تليطخها . كما أن بقايا ألوان حمراء ، زرقاء وسوداء قد تم العثور عليها في الانقاض فوق الدور الثاني توضع أنها قد استخدمت في الطلاء . أن العناصر المفقودة لا يمكن ترميمها بأي حال من الأحوال لأنه لا يوجد شكل يمكن إعادة تكوينه بصورة معقولة من بقع الطلاء الملقاة فوق التراب .

٢ - وبغض الأهمية فإن قطع الفخار الاتية من المدينة العليا من فوق الدور الثاني مطابقة لنوعية الفخار الاتية من الانقاض الموجودة في جنوب الحائط العظيم المتبقى وهو : فخار نوزي وخابوري مع سلطانيات عريضة ذات لمعان وأخرى جوزجوية الشكل .

### العممر الأشوري الجديد

من المحتمل أن تكون تلك الجدران قد أعيد استعمالها مرة أخرى في العممر الأشوري الجديد في القرن التاسع قبل الميلاد . ويبدو أن هذه الطبقة قد اندثرت تحت تأثير عوامل البيئة لأن ما تم اكتشافه حتى الآن يقع اليوم عند طرق الانحدار الجنوبي الغربي من التل . ولم يتبق أي مبنى من هذا العممر . وكل ما تم العثور عليه هو صفان من الطوب يكوّنان جزءاً من مفسولة تفيل إلى البيضاء . ويعتبر هذا هو الشيء المعماري الوحيد المتبقى من هذا العممر .

أما الاكتشافات الأخرى فهي متباينة بشكل ملفت للنظر - ويمكن مقارنتها باكتشافات أخرى في عدد من الأماكن وخافرة في نيمورد : عدة دست من قطع المساج ومعها أشياء أخرى منها جزء من مصورة طولية الشكل لموكب حاملين الهدايا .

- توضع أحد القطع رجلاً ذا لحيحة يرتدى عصابة رأس معها تنسورة ( مثل الحوتلة ) تصل إلى حد رسغ القدم ومعها معطف مركزش ، وهذا يشير إلى أن حامل الهدايا من المحتمل أنهم قد جاؤوا من الغرب - من بيت ادبني أو بيت اغوسي (٦) .

الجدار العظيم المتبقى - حيث أنه قد تمّ اختيار هذه المجموعة من القطع الفخارية . وقد كانت أجزاء احدى اللوحيتين مكتوبة بنفس الخط الذى استخدم فى اللوحات المكتشفة حديثا فى تل برك - فكان مكتوب عليها : ورد شمش وكيدين شمشى .

ولكن الشئ الذى لا يمكن أن نجرم فيه بصورة مؤكدة انه يمكن ارجاعه الى تلك الانقاص هو جزء لوحة عليها ثلاثة أختام استخدم فى طبعها بهذه الصورة ختمان على الاقل - ومن هذين الختمين يوجد ختم يمكن اعادة تشكيله بصورة كاملة - وهو عبارة عن سجل مقسم الى شكل رئيسى وآخر ثانوى - يوجد فى الوسط صورة رجل يملى وهى صورة على الطابع البابلى ذات عامل ميثانى - أما البابلى فى هذا المنظر فهو شكل الاله ذى اليدين المعروفين - أى أنها توضح العابد والاله الرئيسى الذى يحتل أن يكون شمش . هذا بينما يتضح العنصر الميثانى عن طريق غزال مرسوم - رأسه متوازيه وعينه أكبر من المعتاد .

أما الشكل الثانوى فيتكون من أسدين واقفين بصورة متباعدة - ونظرا لت هشم اللوحة فإن النموص المختومة قد فقدت - ولكن الشكل يوضح أنّ هذه قطعة من اللوحة . وتعتبر قطع الفخار وأجزاء اللوحة وأشكال الاختام من أهم القطع الممنوعة التى تنتمى الى أقدم حقبة تاريخية تمّ التنقيب عنها حتى الان . وقد تمّ العثور على معظم هذه القطع فى المنطقة الواقعة حول الحائط العظيم المتبقى .

#### القمر : الحقبة التاريخية الثانية

إنّ الجزء الاصلى من المبنى الواقع الان تحت المدينة العليا كان قد تهشم ثمّ اعيد بناءه وتجديده مرة أخرى . كما أنّ الخندق الموجود عند الحفر المسترسلة والمورة (الموجودة على احدى اللوحات) يوضحان أنّه قد تمّ بناء طابق جديد بعد الانتهاء من تسوية الانقاص المتبقية - ويمكننا أن نستنتج أنّ الفترة التى فصلت هاتين الحقتين لا يمكن أن تكون طويلة للأسباب التالية :

أن هذه القطع الفخمة مصحوبة بالطبع بمجموعة أخرى من القطع الغير مزخرفة والممنوعة من نوعية خشنة من الفخار . هناك أربعة أنواع يمكن إعادة تركيبها بصورة كاملة وهى كما يلى :

١ - سلطانيات ( جمع سلطانية ) جوهرية الشكل - ذات نوعيات متباينة - وقد تمّ تصنيعها كلها تقريبا من النوع الفاخر والذى عولج بطريقة جيدة ويطلق عليه عندنا رقم ١١ (٥) - ويحتوى هذا النوع من الفخار على نسبة مرتفعة من الكوارتز وكربونات الكلس المتبلور - ونظرا لاحتمالاً ٥١ على نسبة مئوية مرتفعة من الديوسيد والجهينيت فيمكننا أن نفترض أنّ الحرارة التى استخدمت فى تشكيله كانت مرتفعة - حوالى ١٠٠٠ وحدة حرارية .

٢ - سلطانيات واسعة ذات لمعان وافصح يصل حجم قطر دائرتها الى ٤٠ سم - مع وجود أشكال مختلفة - وهى ممنوعة من نوعية الفخار رقم ١٠ التى لا تعتبر من الانواع الفاخرة . حيث أنّ هذه النوعية تتميز بأنّ مساميتها الدقيقة أقلّ تهديبا وأنّ كثافتها الفخارية أكثر كثافة من النوعية السالفة الذكر رقم ١١ - ولكن هذه السلطانيات قد تمّ تحفيرها هى الاخرى تحت درجة حرارة ١٠٠٠ وحدة حرارية . وقد تمّ استخدام نفس هذه النوعية من الفخار فى تصنيع الاطباق التالية .

٣ - أطباق ذات نوعية كبيرة - منحذرة من الجوانب وفيها ثقب جانبيه فى أطرافها - وعلى الرغم أنّه لا يوجد اختلافات كبيرة جديدة بالذكر بين هذه الاطباق الا أنّه قد تمّ العثور على عدد كبير من القطع الشخصية من هذا النوع .

٤ - كذلك فانه تمّ العثور على حوامل مصنوعة من هذين النوعين الخشنيين - السالفي الذكر - من الفخار - بنسب شبه متساويه من كل نوع - ويظهر فى عدد كبير من هذه الحوامل اطارات علوية موجية ( متموجة ) كنتيجة لفيغط باطراف الامابع .

وقد تمّ العثور على أجزاء لوجتين فى نفس تلك الانقاض فى الناحية الجنوبية من



تمّ العثور على قطع فخارية من نوعى خابور ونوزى فى الجنوب من الحائط المتبقى - وهما نوعان كانا قد احتكرا النهائية المتروفة لسوق الفخار . وعلى الرغم أنّ عددا من القطع النوزية المصغرة المزخرفة قد تمّ العثور عليها فوق السطح واثناء الحفر الا أنّ كوؤس النوزى السادة تشكل نسبة مرتفعة نسبيا من الفخار المكتشف .

كانت النذرة النسبية للقطع النوزية المصغرة المزخرفة ملفتة للنظر على الاقل بمقارنة الكميات الكبيرة من الكوؤس السادة التى تتميز بالدقة فى صنعها . ومن المحتمل أن يكون هذا عامل خادع أو مضلل فى تقدير مضمون المحتويات الاساسية الخاصة بالكوؤس المزخرفة - بل ومكونات التربة نفسها .

هذا ويبدو أنّ طبقتى الزخرفة الموجودتين على القوانى الفخارية النوزية التى تتميز برقتها وبأنّ نوعية النوزى الداخلة فيها قد سحقت قبل الاستخدام جيداً - كما يبدو أنّ هذه الزخرفة قد تعرضت لقوة شد خارجية ذلك أنّ هذا الفخار قد تعرض لتغيرات البيئة المختلفة ممّا أدى الى تساقط بعض اجزائه - وهكذا فيمكننا أن نتخيل أنّ جزءاً كبيراً من الكوؤس الغير مزخرفة من المحتمل جداً أنّها كانت مزخرفة فى الاصل ثمّ طمست هذه الزخرفة . أمّا الفخار الخابورى والادوات الممنوعة منه والتى استخدم فى تركيبها بعض المواد الهامشية الخشنة فلم تعان من هذه الظاهرة وبالتالي فهى لا تزال بحالة جيدة .

إنّ النظرية التقليدية تعتبر الخطوط المرسومة نوعاً من الزخرفة المتأخرة - حيث يأتى ترتيبها من الناحية التاريخية بعد المثلثات المخططة البارزة - ومن هنا فأنه من الملفت للانتباه أنّ نسبة مئوية بسيطة من هذه النوعية من الفخار ذى المثلثات قد تمّ اكتشافها مع الفخار النوزى والفخار الخابورى المخطط . ويقدم أحد الأمثلة تكوين مذهل من عناصر الفخار الخابورى المخطط ذى المثلثات المرسومة على أطرافه ثمّ عناصر الفخار النوزى فوق الكتف .

توجد حجرتان شبه متطابقتين - مساحة كل منهما حوالى ٨ x ٣ أمتار - وهما ذاتاً مدخل مستبدلة على طريقة محورية - وتمثل هذه المدخل صورة طبق الأصل لشكل المدخل فى ذلك الوقت - ويمثل هذا المدخل الى المحجرة الكبرى فى الشرق التى يدخل اليها عن طريق المدخل الثانى الذى يبلغ عرضه ثلاثة أمتار - هذا ولم يتم العثور على أرفسية هذه الحجرات الأصلية فى أى مكان بعد - حتى فى الحفر المسترسلة التى حفرت حيث يرتفع الحائط حوالى أربعة أمتار على الأقل .

إن أهداف بعثتنا القادمة للتعقيب عن الآثار ستكون كما يلى :

١ - توثيق العلاقات القائمة بين المناطق المختلفة -

٢ - مواصلة عمليات الحفر لاكتشاف بقية الحائط المتبقى الموجود فى المربيع - ٣٧/٤١ -

٣ - توثيق العلاقة بين الأرفسية والجدران فى هذه المدينة العليا -

٤ - التوسع فى عمليات الحفر والتقيب ناحية الشمال فى الحال - وفى الجنوب والشرق والغرب على الامد البعيد لتقرير الحجم الإجمالى للمبنى الذى يبدو أنه ٢٠٠ x ٢٠٠ متر على الأقل - بناءً على نوعية التربة التى تغير لونها من اللون الأحمر -

لقد تشوّه شكل المدينة العليا بشدة عن طريق الحفر المسترسلة التى يرجع تاريخها الى المعمرين الهلنئ والعباسى - وأيضاً عن طريق مدفن يرجع تاريخه الى عصر لاحق - كما أن قلابين من الطوب المسجل ( المكتوب عليه ) كان قد تم إبعادهما من الطبقات السفلى عن طريق السكان المتتابعين فى هذه المنطقة - ولكنه قد تم العثور عليهما أخيراً فى التربة الخاصة بعصر الانتداب الفرنسى .

القالب الأول من هذين القالبين لايمكن قراءته ما عليه من كلام - فى حين أن القالب الثانى مكتوب عليه "السور كال" - هذا بمقابلته بنسخة أخرى تم اكتشافها فى الانحدار الشمالى فى آخر لحظة - ونظراً لأن الخط لايمكن تمييزه على الفور بسهولة فإن المبنى الأعلى لايمكن تحديد تاريخه وعمره الا عن طريق الفخار وأجزاء اللوحة .

طبقات الأرض على عمق متر ونصف تحت سطح السلامة السفلى لم يتمكن من طريقه من تحقيق أى بارامتر مناسب . هذا ويظهر جانب من حجرة فى الناصحية الشمالية يمكن الوصول اليها عن طريق باب فى الناصحية الشرقية - وقد كوّنت الانقاض طبقة من الرماد المتساقط الى الجنوب من قمة الحائط حيث يمكن رؤيته بوضوح من الجوانب الشرقية والغربية . وفى هذا المكان تم العثور على أجـزأء اللوحة والجزء الرئيسى من الفخار -

لقد تم اكتشاف جزء من المبنى الخاص بالمدينة العليا اثناء قيام أول بعثة لنا بعمليات الحفر سنة ١٩٨٤ - حيث تم العثور على أرضية من الطوب الصغير ( ١٩ x ١٩ سم ) فى المربع ٤٣/٤١ . وفى العام التالى تم الكشف عن سور أو حائط كامل من نفس نوعية هذا الطوب - لقد كان هذا الطوب مبنيا بحيث وضعت مفارقه الواحدة فوق الاخرى - مشكلة بذلك أعمدة غير متينة - وكان هذا مما لفت نظرنا أيضا - الا أن قوالب الطوب المتبقية ليست كاملة ولكنها أرباع قوالب فقط حيث كان حجمها الاصلى ٣٨ x ٣٨ x ١٠ سم - وقد وضعت بطريقة بحيث تتداخل مع المفارق العمودية المقابلة لقطع الطوب السفلى -

هذا ومن المحتمل جدا أن يكون هذا الحائط قد تم بناءه بطوب كان لايزال رطبا (لم يجف بعد) - ذلك أن الكسور الموجودة فى الحائط توضح أن قطع الطوب كانت قد بدأت فى الانكماش عندما تمت عملية تجفيفها تحت ضغط البناء - وهكذا فقد حملنا على قطع من الطوب ذات شكل مضلل حيث أن حجمها يبلغ الربع فقط من الحجم الاصلى - أدى ذلك الى ايجاد حائط مبنى من قطع الطوب الصغيرة - حيث تقع المفارق فوق بعضها مباشرة - ولا شك أن هذه الطريقة للبناء غير متينة ولا مستقرة . فعند الكشف عن هذا الحائط وجدنا أن أعمدة عمودية مكونة من أرباع قوالب طوب فى طريقها للانفصال عن بقية الحائط . وقد كانت جميع المحيطان فى هذا المبنى وجميع مباني المدينة العليا التى قمنا بالتنقيب عنها مبنية بهذه النوعية الرديئة من الطوب .

ويأتى بعد هذا مدفن صغير يرجع تاريخه الى نهاية القرن التاسع عشر وأوائل القرن العشرين بجانب مستوطنة حديثة - ثمّ تنتهى هذه الطبقات بمباني يرجع تاريخها الى فترة الانتداب الفرنسى - وسوف نستعرض المراحل المتتالية فى تطور التل حيث نتدرج من المرحلة الاولى ثمّ فترة الطوب الاحمر المممت وحتى الابنية الحديثة التى ترجع لعصر الانتداب الفرنسى .

### العصر الآشورى المتوسط

العصر : العصر الاول  
يمثل القصر الاصلى (٣) أقدم عمر تمّ اكتشافه حتى الآن - أما انطباعاتنا عن فنون العمارة الخاصة بالمباني الأكثر قدما فهى مرتبطة بنتائج عمليات الحفر فى منطقتين منفصلتين : حائط فخم متبقى فى المربع ٣٧/٤١ فى نهاية الجزء الجنوبى من الخندق الطويل فى المنحدر الواقع على الخط ٤١١ ومجموعة غرف أو أجزاء منها فى المدينة العليا .

أنّ الحائط المتبقى الواقع فى الجنوب والمبنى بطوب من الطين قد استخدمت فى بناءة فوق الب طوب يبلغ حجمها حوالى ٣٨ x ٣٨ x ٧ سم - ويبلغ ارتفاع هذا الحائط اليوم سبعة أمتار وعرضه عشرة أمتار على الأقل - هذا على الرغم أنّ قاعدة هذا الحائط لم تكتشف بعد . هذا وقد تمّ تخطى هذا الحائط كوسيلة لمقاومة الضغط الشديد - ذلك أنّ نتائج البحث الحالية توضح أنّ هناك درجة أو سلمة منخفضة بارتفاع غير معلوم وعرض ثلاثة أمتار قد ارتفع فوقها سلمة عليها عرّفها متر وارتفاعها متران - هذا بينما أنّ الجزء الامامى من الحائط نفسه قد انقسم الى عدة محاريب - وقد تبقى المحراب الموجود فى الناحية الشرقية من المربع ٣٧/٤١ بصورة أفضل من مثيله فى الناحية الغربية .

وعندما تصل عمليات الحفر التى نقوم بها الى النقطة التى يظهر عندها الاساس المخطى للحائط بين أنقاض المظام فإنّ عملية تقدير الارتفاع الاصلى للحائط ستكون ممكنة . ذلك أنّ إعادة بناء الحائط حاليا ستعطينا ارتفاعا قدره أكثر من ١٤ مترا . أنّ امتداد الحائط جنوبا بالافسافة الى ارتفاعه وعرضه - كل ذلك لايزال غيبي - معروف - على الأقل فى الوقت الحاضر - ذلك أنّ الخندق التجريبي الذى حفرناه لفحص

هذا ويمعب تمييزها بوضوح اليوم حيث ان أرضها المنخفضة لا يوجد بها الا القليل من الاماكن المرتفعة نسبيا . ولم تتم أية عمليات حفر فى الوقت الحالى فى هذه المنطقة نظرا لانها كانت مستغلة زراعيًا بمسورة مكثفة . وعلى الرغم من ذلك فاننا فى الصيف القادم نتخيل امكانية اكتشاف بوابة مدينة أو برج تمّ تحديد أماكنهما فى هذا الصيف على بعد ٧٠ م من السفح الجنوبي للتل .

المنطقة الثانية وتمثلها المدينة العليا التى تقع على ارتفاع ٣٦٥ م فوق سطح البحر . وتمتد هذه المدينة فى معظمها الى جنوب وشرق تل الحميدية - وترتفع حوالى عشرة امتار عن المدينة السفلى التى فصلت عنها عن طريق نظام الاسوار . اننا لم نقم بآى عمليات حفر فى هذه المنطقة أيضا - ولكننا سنقوم قبل ذلك فى عمليات الربيع المقبل بالحفر فى قطعة الارض الطويلة والضيقة الداخلة فى البحر والتى تقع فى الجنوب الغربى من المدينة .

ان هناك ثلاثة أسباب أقنعتنا أنّ هذه الخطوة يمكن أن تكون مفيدة الا وهى :  
 أولا : ان هذه المنطقة مهددة بشكل خاص بمطار الشتاء نظرا للانحدار الشديد للارض فيها . ثانيا : وجود مركز وملفت للنظر لطبقة من الفخار النوزى الملون - والفخار الخابورى مع طبقة أخرى من الفخار السادة . ثالثا : ساعد هذا على تفسير بقايا المباني المرئية فى الانحدار الشمالى على أنّها منطقة كانت مسكونة .

المنطقة الثالثة : وهى القلعة التى تقع على ارتفاع يتراوح بين ٣٦٥ و ٣٩١ م فوق سطح البحر - تتميز هذه القلعة بالعلامات المحددة التالية : يمكن اعطاء نموذج أو انطباع لاهم أشكال العمارة فى تاريخ المدن العلوية عن طريق مقطع عرضى - حيث أنّ الكسر والانشقاق اللذين يمكن ملاحظتهما بالعين المجردة يظهران التربة المائلة الى الاحمرار بوضوح - وهذا يعطينا المعلومات الدقيقة عن حجم وارتفاع وامتداد هذا الجزء من المبنى الذى يشار اليه ب "قلب الطوب الاحمر المممت" أو "منطقة القمر" والتى تتكون من شكلين مختلفين - وعلى الرغم من عدم ظهورهما بوضوح فى المقطع العرضى الا انه يمكن تحديدهما بالشكل الاشلى والاشكل الجديد أو الموسع - أما الطبقات التى تعلو هذه الطبقة فأنها تمثل العمور التالية : ١- العصر الآشورى الحديث - ٢ - العصر الهلنى - ٣ - العصر الرومانى - ٤ - العصر العباسى الاول

## "التنقيب عن الآثار فى تل الحميدية"

بروفيسور دكتور/ ماركوس فيفلر

جامعة برن - سويسرا

كان تل الحميدية يقع فى ملتقى طريقين هامّين للتجارة فى الالف الثانى قبل الميلاد - حيث كان الطريق الاول يربط بين بلاد آشور والبحر المتوسط ومصادر المواد الخام فى جبال طورس والامانوس (١) . ومن مميزات هذا الخط الذى يقع فى منطقة خابور وجود مجموعة هامة وواسعة من التلال وهى: تل الحموكار تل قرسة - تل فرفرا - تل الحميدية - تل شغير بازار وتل فخريّة وهكذا حتى تل هران . أمّا طريق التجارة الثانى فيمرّ بمنطقة خابور السفلى حتى منطقة الحسكة ومن هناك يسير بمحاذاة منطقة جفجغ مرورا بتلال بزاري وبري والحميدية وبرك حتى منطقة نسيبين/ قميشلى وآسيا الصغرى .

تمتد آثار المدينة القديمة فى تل الحميدية - التى تقع فى منطقة جفجغ مباشرة ، فوق ثلاث مناطق تختلف من حيث الارتفاع . المنطقة الاولى تمثّلها المدينة السفلى التى تقع على ارتفاع ٣٥٥ م تقريبا فوق سطح البحر - ونظرا لأنّ هذه المدينة السفلى لا تعتبر فى الواقع جزءا من التل نفسه فيحتمل انه قد تمّ فصلها عن القرى المحيطة بها عن طريق سور أو جدران محاط بها (٢) .

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(١) S. Eichler et al., Tall al-Hamīdiya 1: Vorbericht 1984, OBO SA 4, Fribourg/CH, Göttingen 1985, p. 52, Abb. 7.

(٢) W.J. van Liere, Capitals and Citadels of Bronze-Iron Age Syria in their Relationship to Land and Water, AAS 13, 1963, pp. 109-122, fig. 3b; D. Oates, The Excavations at Tell Brak, 1978-81, Iraq 39, 1977, pp. 213-244.



أما المحاضرة الأخيرة فقد ألقاها البروفيسور دكتور/ م . فيفلر بعنوان:

"The Excavations at Tell Hamidi"

حيث كان موضوعها الاساسى قصر ميتانى فى تل الحميدية - الذى يبلغ ارتفاعه

٢٠ مترا ومساحته ٢٠٠ م x ٢٠٠ م .



فقد كان من الأشياء الهامة التي عولجت في هذه المحاضرة الاتصالات المحتملة أنها حدثت بين الحضارات الشرقية والشمالية الشرقية ( = جبال القوقاز والمنطقة الممتدة عبر هذه الجبال ومنطقة التينوفا ) .

خُصّصت محاضرتان لاستعراض عمليات الحفر في تل برك - حيث تمّ في المحاضرة الاولى عرض عمليات الحفر التي استمرت لأكثر من عشر سنوات في الطبقات الخاصة بالالف الرابع والثالث قبل الميلاد - وقد ألقى البروفيسور دكتور/ ج . اوتيس محاضرة بعنوان:

"Tell Brak in the Fourth and Third Millennia: From Uruk to Ur III"

"Tell Brak: The Mitanni Palace and Temple"

حيث ذكر الكثير من المعلومات القيمة وأشار الى معلومة هامة بخصوص وجود طبقتين مختلفتين تماما من فخار الحجار .

المحاضرة الثانية ألقاها البروفيسور دكتور/ د . اوتيس - حيث أشار فيها الى مجموعة هامة من الاكتشافات الخاصة بالالف الثاني قبل الميلاد - من ذلك قصر متانى والمعبد الواقع بجانبه مباشرة . أمّا أروع هذه الاكتشافات - بجانب اللوائح المختومة بالخاتم الملكى - فهو اكتشاف بقايا تمثال يوجد مثيل لهيكله في منطقة أدريمي . وقد تمّت معالجة تل ليلان بناء على الاكتشافات الكبيرة للوائح - وذلك في محاضرتين: كانت المحاضرة الاولى خاصة بعلم فقه اللغة ، وعالجت المحاضرة الثانية الناحية الاثرية .

ألقى البروفيسور دكتور/ ه . فيس محاضرة بعنوان:

"Third Millennium Urbanization: A Perspective from Tell Leilan"

حيث ذكر الكثير من التفاصيل عن فنون العمارة والنحت الخاصة بالمعبد ذى الردهات الطويلة - كما ألقى البروفيسور/ ر - وايتنج محاضرة بعنوان :

"Tell Leilan / Šubat-Enlil: Chronological Problems and Perspectives"

حيث عالج فيها موضوعين أساسيين: ١ - التقويم السنوى - ٢ - أسباب مساواة تل ليلان وشبث انلل - وهى واحدة من المدن الكبرى فى شمشى عدد (١) فى بلاد آشور .

وبعد عرض الدراستين السابقتين تمّ من خلال تسع محاضرات استعراض مشروعات الحفر الخمسة الكبرى فى المناطق التالية: ١ - تل برى/كخت ٠ ٢ - تل مزان/اوركش ٠ ٣ - تل برك/نل ابشن - ٤ - تل ليلان/شبط - انلل - ٥ - تل الحامدية/تعيدى ٠

عالمج البروفيسور دكتور/ ب ٠ ي ٠ بيكوريللا فى محاضراته:

"The Italian Excavations at Tell Barri (Kaḥat), 1980-1985"

بشكل خاص موضوع ترتيب الطبقات فى تل برى/كخت - فكان من بين المعلومات الشيقة عن هذا الموضوع الذى تندر الحقائق المعروفة عنه - الفخار الخاص بالطبقات الحديثة والتى يرجع تاريخها الى العصر الذى تلى الغزو المنغولى مباشرة ٠

أما محاضرة الدكتور/ د ٠ تشاربين التى كان عنوانها:

"A Contribution to the Geography and History of the Kingdom of Kaḥat"

فقد كان محورها الاساسى تصحيحا هاما لخطأ ورد فى خطاب مر - أ - ٣١٥ - والمشكلة المتصلة بذلك والتى تخصّ تحديد موقع نل ابشن - وهى منطقة تقع بالقرب من كخت ، وتعتبر من أهم المناطق الاستراتيجية فى بداية الالف الثانى قبل الميلاد ٠ أما المشكلة التى يبدو أنها لاتزال بلا حل فى الوقت الحاضر على الاقل فهى تحديد موقع منطقة مقرز وبالتالى تحديد موقع تادم وتعد ٠ وفيما يخصّ عرض منطقة تل المزان فقد بدأ بدراسة سابقة للتعبيرات والرموز الشرقية القديمة الخاصة بالطوبوغرافيا والجغرافيا وبعض الافكار عن حياة البدو الصحراوية - وذلك فى محاضرة البروفيسور دكتور/ ج ٠ بوسيلاتى والتى كان عنوانها:

"'River Bank', 'High Country', and 'Pasture Land': The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur"

بعد ذلك كانت محاضرة البروفيسور دكتور/ م ٠ كىلى بوسيلاتى والتى كان عنوانها:

"Three Seasons of Excavation at Tell Mozan"

حيث أوضح فى محاضراته الاهمية الكبرى لتلك الهضبة فى الالف الثالث قبل الميلاد - وليس كما كان معروفا حتى الان فى العصر الهلينى ٠ كذلك

بحيرات السد الثلاثة المستقبلية - اى فى غرب وجنوب منطقة المسكة . فبينما قد تمّ بحث المنطقة الواقعة عند بحيرة السد الجنوبية بمورة جيدة نسبيا - فان عمليات الحفر والانشطة الاخرى التى قامت بها البعثات الهولندية والبلجيكية والفرنسية والالمانية والكندية تعتبر بالنسبة للغرب غير معروفة بمورة واضحة ، ولذلك فقد مثلت النقاط الاساسية للمحاضرة الاولى التى ألقاها الدكتور/ عدنان بنى بعنوان: "The Khabur and Haseke Dam Projects and the Protection of Threatened Antiquities in the Region (A Preliminary Report)"

حيث عرض باسهاب عمليات الحفر التمهيدية للمنطقة التى تقع فيها الادارة السورية القديمة - والتى تمت تحت اشراف الدكتور/ انطون سليمان فى شهرى اكتوبر ونوفمبر المنصرمين فى منطقة تل كشكشوك التى تجمع الراء على اعتبارها هى نفسها حى الهضبة المركزية لمنطقة السد الغربية .

أما الدراسة الكبرى الثانية الخاصة بالمنطقة المحيطة بخابور فقد قدّمها الدكتور/ ديدريك ماير - وهى دراسة تمت فى السنوات ١٩٧٦ - ١٩٧٩ - فى جزء يمتد شمالا حتى الحدود التركية/السورية وغربا حتى منطقة الجفجف وجنوبا حتى الطريق المار بتل برك الى منطقة حموية وىاب الحديد حتى منطقة عين ديوار . وقد تم رصد اكثر من ٣٠٠ هضبة من العصر الحجري الفخارى الحديث وحتى عصرنا هذا . ذلك ان المنطقة المختارة (المذكورة أعلاه) قد تبدو محدودة ولا تمثل وحدة متكاملة من الناحية الاورولوجية (أى علاقة الكائنات الحية بالبيئة التى تعيش فيها) ولكن محاضرة الدكتور/ديدريك ماير - والتى كان عنوانها :

"An Archaeological Surface Survey: Some Assumptions and Ideas"

قد أوضحت بعض الظواهر المشتركة والملفتة للنظر فى هذه الفاحية - نذكر منها:

- عدم وجود نوعية الفخار حسونة وسمرة .
- الكثافة النسبية للسكان فى السهول الجنوبية ، وليس فقط فى منطقة جبال طورس ، فى عصر حلف .
- استمرار عمليات الاستيطان فى عمري حلف وعبيد .
- التكرار العجيب لفخار الحجار فى العصر البرونزى المبكر (٣) ، وعمليات الاستيطان المركزة فى العصر البرونزى الاوسط ، وذلك فى انحدار واضح حتى العصر البرونزى المتأخر ثم العصر الحديدي .

### ملخص عن ندوة :

### "عمليات الحفر الحديثة في منطقة خابور العليا"

(برن في ٩-١١ ديسمبر سنة ١٩٨٦)

تعتبر المنطقة المحيطة بخابور في الوقت الحاضر بلا شك واحدة من اهم مناطق البحث الاثرية الخاصة بالحقب التاريخية المختلفة للشرق القديم وخاصة في الالفين الثاني والثالث قبل الميلاد .

وبعد فترة طويلة من الاهمال من ناحية الابحاث الاثرية بدأت مرة أخرى منذ السبعينيات عمليات حفر مكثفة في هذه المنطقة . ذلك ان الابحاث الحديثة المترايدة قد أظهرت بوضوح أن هناك مجموعة هامة جدا من المجمعات والمرآكر السياسية أو/والدينية موجودة في منطقة محدودة نسبيا . وقد كان المؤتمر مخصصا في الاصل لدراسة عمليات البحث والتنقيب التي تمت منذ سنة ١٩٧٦ بين منطقتي الحسكة والقامشلية وكذلك في تل عمودة وتل ليلان - وذلك بهدف استعراض ما تم التوصل اليه حتى ذلك الوقت . هذا وقد لاقى مؤتمرنا هذا صدى عالميا كبيرا - حيث انه قد تم التخطيط لعقد مؤتمرات أخرى في المستقبل .

قام الاستاذ بروفيسور دكتور/ أ. دى بور - من جنيف - رئيس الجمعية السويسرية لعلم الآثار الشرقية - بافتتاح المؤتمر . وكانت المحاضرتان : الاولى والثانية عبارة عن دراستين مساهمتين عن الأنشطة التي تمت بين عام ١٩٧٦ وعام ١٩٨٥ - وكانت في الوقت ذاته مقدمة في جغرافيا وجيولوجيا حوض الخابور .

تناولت النقاط الاساسية في محاضرة الدكتور/ عدنان بنى - من دمشق - منطقة



سلسلة دراسات أثرية رقم ٦

سکاري ايڄلار مارگو سرفيلد داوود وڊورتون

# تلخیص

# هؤتمر

حول التقيّبات الأثرية الجديدة في منطقة الخابور عقد بمدينة بيرن بسويسرا من ٩ حتى ١١ كانونيه ١٩٨٦

## المحاضرون الأساتذة

محمد بن البني جوه (اؤنس) وبقدر اؤنس جوه محمود شيلاي بادالار مامور بولمى (البرت وي بوري) مار ليه لبي محمود شيلاي  
مار لؤنس فيفا هارني ولايس روبرت ولايتنغ (البرت وي بوري) مار ليه لبي محمود شيلاي

## التقرير الأول عن الحفريات في الأعوام ١٩٨٥-١٩٨٧

سَارَكْ فِي الْخِدْمَاتِ السَّيْدَاةِ كَلَامُكَ بِيَدِيهِ مَا لَمْ يَنْسَ وَيَرِ



سیاری ایچلد مارکوس شفلد

تِلْالْهِمِکِیَهٗ ٢





an 1: Aufnahmeplan Zitadelle

39-41/439

39-41/439

R 104

R 105

S1

S15

385.495

S4

384.885

385.240

385.835

385.810

S9

S2

385.785

385.765

385.855

385.845

385.855

S17

S20

385.745

385.030

S2

385.480

385.500

S13

384.920

S14

S1

383.100

S13

R 102

386.410

385.610

386.310

385.135

S11

386.165

386.515

S12

385.705

385.465

387.065

S7

386.670

387.085

385.145

S11

S31

S3.2

S5

384.730

384.645

384.210

384.670

S9

384.660

386.035

384.575

S16

S8

S10

S15

S10

S2

S3

S1

382.775

S1

S2

H<sub>0</sub>

R 108

383.235

H<sub>0</sub>

43

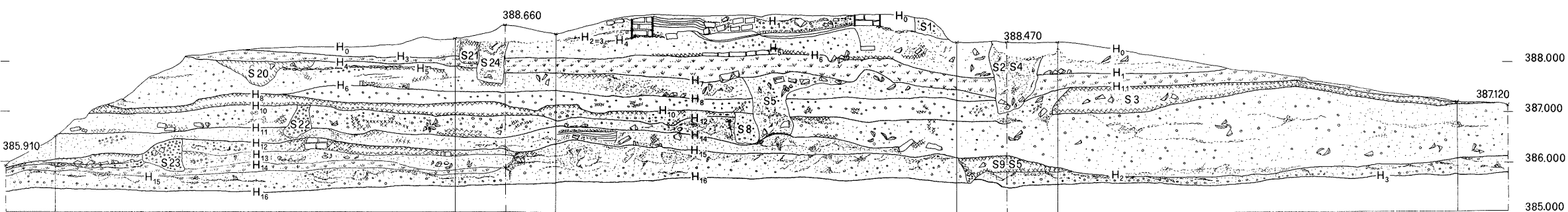
42

41

378.910

378.910

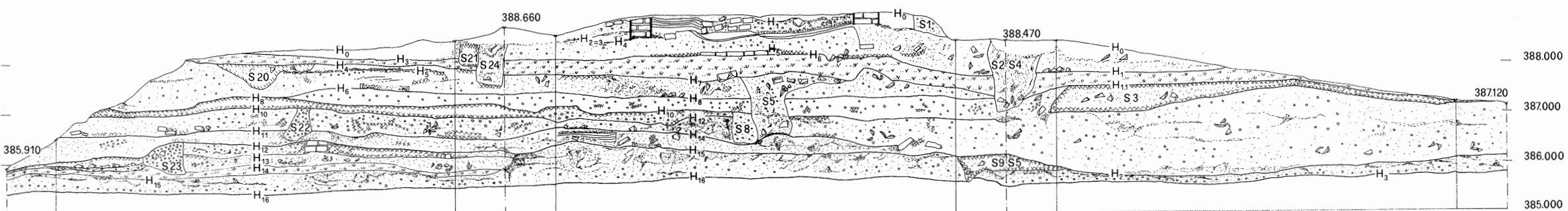
378.710



39-41/439

	ERDE		ZIEGELVERSTURZ		KIES
	GESTAMPFTE ERDE		OBERFLÄCHENSCHUTT		STAMPFLEHM
	KIES MIT SAND		ASCHE		SANDIGE ERDE

2: Schnitt 39-41 / 439



39-41/439

	ERDE		ZIEGELVERSTURZ		KIES
	GESTAMPFTE ERDE		OBERFLÄCHENSCHUTT		STAMPFLEHM
	KIES MIT SAND		ASCHE		SANDIGE ERDE